Deviance and Colonial Power: A History of Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-c.1960

By

Ivo Mhike

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Supervisor: Prof I.R. Phimister

Co-Supervisor: Dr K.V. Law

Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis is the first comprehensive study of juvenile delinquency in colonial Zimbabwe. Based on a detailed reading of archival sources generated by central government in various departments, urban municipalities, and autobiographies, it reconstructs important dimensions in the labelling and treatment of juvenile delinquency between 1890 and 1960. In doing so, it explores the socio-political development of Southern Rhodesian society and demonstrates the diversity and shifting notions of what constituted deviance and delinquency during this period. Taking issue with the existing historiography which narrowly focuses on black juvenile delinquency this thesis challenges the notion that racial distinctions overshadowed all else in the construction of juvenile delinquency, arguing that delinquency transcended race and was equally influenced by the analytical categories of class, gender and ethnicity. Through analysing the state's ideas regarding juvenile institutions and rehabilitation, it plots the contours of the shifting notions of what constituted social and colonial order. While some Southern African historiography discusses aspects of white juvenile delinquency and racial heterogeneity, this study demonstrates how delinquency is a prism that refracts on the deep divisions within white society. It suggests a different view of empire relations by exploring the fissures within groups and the limits of racial co-operation. In addition, this thesis takes important steps toward historicising the development of childhood in colonial Zimbabwe; in doing so, it significantly modifies a number of historiographies, and opens up space for creating a more comprehensive history of childhood and youth in Africa.

Keywords: Juvenile, Delinquency, Colonial Zimbabwe, Childhood, Historiography, Colonial Order, Gender, Class, Ethnicity.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis is die eerste omvattende studie van jeugmisdaad in koloniale Zimbabwe. Deur middel van ’n noukeurige ontleding van argivale dokumente, wat nagelaat is deur verskeie sentrale regeringsdepartemente, stedelike munisipaliteite en outobiografieë, word belangrike dimensies in die klassifisering en behandeling van jeugmisdadigheid in die tydperk 1890 tot 1960 gerekonstrueer. Daardeur word die sosio-politiese ontwikkeling van die Suid-Rhodesiese samelewing verken, wat wys op die uiteenlopende en verskuiwende begrippe oor wat in hierdie tydperk as afwykend of misdadig beskou is. Hierdie tesis verskil van die bestaande historiografie wat nougeset fokus op swart jeugmisdadigheid en bied daardeur ’n uitdaging aan die opvatting dat rasseverskille die vertolking van jeugmisdadigheid oorskadu. In teendeel, hierdie tesis voer aan dat misdadigheid rassegrense oorskry en dat dit eweneens beïnvloed is deur analitiese kategorieë soos klas, geslag en etnisiteit. Deur die staat se idees oor rehabilitasie en jeuginrigtings te ontleed, word die kontoere van die ewig verskuiwende begrippe oor wat die sosiale en koloniale orde sou behels, verken. Suider-Afrikaanse historiografie bespreek aspekte van wit jeugmisdadigheid en rasseverskeidenheid, maar hierdie studie wys hoe misdadigheid as ’n prisma kan dien waardeur daar nuwe lig op die klowe binne die wit samelewing gewerp kan word. Deur die skeure binne groepe en die perke van rassesamewerking te verken, tree daar ’n nuwe beeld na vore wat betref verhoudings binne die Britse ryk. Daarmee saam doen hierdie tesis belangrikke stappe om die ontwikkeling van kinders en jeugdigheid in koloniale Zimbabwe te historiseer. Dit omvorm ’n aantal historiografieë en skep ’n ruimte vir ’n meer omvattende geskiedenis van kinders en die jeug in Afrika.

Sleutelwoorde: Jeugdiges, Misdadigheid, Koloniale Zimbabwe, Kinders, Historiografie, Koloniale Orde, Ras, Geslag, Klas, Etnisiteit.

Dedication

To the memory of Linos Mubiwa; a mentor and source of inspiration…And to amaiguru, amai Tanaka – you left us too early

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Abbreviations

ABM - American Board Mission

ANC - African National Congress

BSAC - British South Africa Company

BSAP -British South Africa Police

CCN - Conference of Christian Natives

CID - Criminal Investigation Department

CNC - Chief Native Commissioner

CYL - City Youth League

DRC - Dutch Reformed Church

FNWS - Federation of Native Welfare Societies

FWISR - Federation of Women's Institutes of Southern Rhodesia

ICA - Industrial Conciliation Act (1934)

IHL - Imprisonment with Hard Labour

JEA - Juveniles Employment Act (1926)

LAA - Land Apportionment Act (1930)

LWG - Loyal Women's Guilds

MDC - Movement for Democratic Change

MSA - Masters and Servants Act (1901)

NAD - Native Affairs Department

NC - Native Commissioner

NDP - National Democratic Party

NED - Native Education Department

NHS - National Health Services

NLHA - Native Land Husbandry Act (1951)

NUAARA - Native Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act (1946)

NWS - Native Welfare Societies

PAC - Pan Africanist Congress

PEA - Portuguese East Africa

RCC - Roman Catholic Church

RF - Rhodesian Front Party

SoN - Superintendent of Natives

SRMC - Southern Rhodesia Missionary Council

SRNA - Southern Rhodesia Native Association

SRPAS - Southern Rhodesia Prisoners Aid Society

ZANU PF - Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

Glossary of Terms

Bira - all night ritual

Chimbwido/Mujiba - female and male runners and informers during the liberation war

Lobola - bride wealth

Mahobo Parties - urban beer parties: Mahobo is a Ndebele derivative which means many People.

Makwayera - colonial rural choir/dance competitions

Manyunyu - bullying in school

Nhimbe - Traditional work parties

Shebeens - 'illegal' liquor outlets

Situpa - registration certificate

Skokian - 'illegal' opaque beer brew that matures after one day

Zhii Riots - refers the sound made by a falling tree. The term was adopted to refer to the force of the 1960 riots

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis examines the notion of the 'juvenile delinquency' as a prism through which an analysis of social constructs of childhood, youth and normative behaviour can be understood; and how these constructs were entangled with state institutions and administration in the period 1890-c.1960. It focuses on two groups of people: the politically and economically dominant white settler society and the colonised black Africans.[1] The study is premised on the argument that 'juvenile' and 'delinquent' in colonial Zimbabwean context were discursive terms with varying meanings within and between races.[2] As will be argued, juvenile delinquency was a nebulous and imprecise socio-legal concept. A history of juvenile delinquency in colonial Zimbabwe explores how the construction of these terms changed in time and space, between the different races and the ages associated with them. In addition, the study analyses the dominant social values that underpinned the process of construction and application of delinquency labels to behaviours and individuals. A combination of state power, 'traditional' forms of authority, colonial capital and race relations engendered a mosaic of socio-cultural dimensions of behaviours that influenced how juvenile delinquency was constructed. More importantly, however was the fact that the state was the central institution that enforced labels on individuals and behaviours through legislation and other institutions. Furthermore, the study interrogates state rehabilitation methods and their aims. Through legislation and other state arms, colonial authorities attempted to mould an ideal colonial society for the benefit of white hegemony and economic exploitation. I chose 1890 as the starting date because it marked the beginning of white settler occupation in Zimbabwe and it set in motion relations between settlers and indigenous Africans. Within these relations developed social boundaries of deviance and conformity, acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. The study ends around 1960 because the electoral victory of Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front party (RF) in 1962 marked the beginning of far reaching socio-political changes that warrant a separate study.

While in the last thirty years deviance and crime have emerged as important topics in Zimbabwean history, few accounts have historicised the concept of the 'juvenile delinquent'.[3]

[1] In the rest of the thesis, I use African to refer to blacks, and Settler and White are interchangeably used.
[2] During the colonial period Zimbabwe was known by different names: Rhodesia/Southern Rhodesia (1890-1964) Rhodesia (1965-1979) Zimbabwe-Rhodesia (1979). For the period under study the country will be referred to as Southern Rhodesia.
[3] T.B. Zimudzi, 'African Women, Violent Crime and the Criminal Law in Zimbabwe, 1900-1952', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 30, No.3, September 2004, pp. 499-517; T.O Ranger, 'Tales of the Wild West: Gold-Diggers and Rustlers in South-West Zimbabwe, 1898-1940: An Essay in the Use of Criminal Court Records

Filling this lacuna, this dissertation explores the meanings of colonialism for juveniles and the ways in which colonial authority was used to control and label youths and how, in turn, youths contributed in shaping society. It sheds light on juvenile influence on the colonial body politic and their purchase for policy. Youth interaction with colonial administrative institutions and society reflects a dialogue in which society mirrored itself in its young people. Not only of interest to scholars of Zimbabwe, and African histories, a history of juvenile delinquency in Zimbabwe contributes to the bourgeoning literature of childhood and Empire by analysing how metropolitan and imperial notions of childhood and ideas on juvenile rehabilitation influenced the colonial construction of childhood.[4] These influences also speak to debates about the influence of western socio-cultural ideas on colonial African societies. In addition, the study illuminates perspectives on the evolution of colonial crime and colonial penal systems. Indeed, a study of colonial institutions, such as juvenile rehabilitation institutions, will shed light on the relationship between colonial policy on childhood and crime.

Juvenile delinquency was a marker of social boundaries where colonial power intersected with narratives of behaviour (boundaries of normal and deviant behaviour). This intersection refracted the conceptions of how colonial society conceived, preserved and perpetuated social order. Allison Shutt's recent monograph has shown that ideas of 'proper' social conduct were central to the racial binaries that the white colonial state strove to sustain.[5] However, juvenile delinquency was only part of the broader colonial social deviance; a range of social acts which were viewed as deviant but harmless like school pranks, to the decidedly harmful forms of behaviour like interracial sex in a society dominated by racial binaries and economic imperatives. This study explores how the colonial formulation and enforcement of laws influenced boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in youths across the racial divide. These tasks were prerogatives of colonial authorities and were in themselves an exercise of both soft and violent power. The state exercised power across multiple domains and officials at different rungs of the colonial administration, including Native Commissioners (NCs), African Chiefs, welfare officers and the police, became agents and markers of social boundaries.

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for Social History', *South African Historical Journal*, 28, 1993, pp.40-62; S.J. Ndlovu/Gatsheni, 'African Criminality in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1923', MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1995.

[4] M. Blanch, 'Imperialism, nationalism and organised youth', in J. Clarke, C. Critcher, and R. Johnson (eds.), *Working-class Culture*, London, Hutchinson, 1979.

[5] A. K. Shutt, *Manners make a Nation: Race Etiquette in Southern Rhodesia, 1910-1963*, New York, University of Rochester Press, 2015.

In examining the concept of juvenile delinquency and its varied constructions in colonial Zimbabwe, this thesis revisits four positions that dominate scholarship on juvenile delinquency in colonial Africa. The first argument is that in colonial Africa, racial distinctions overshadowed perceptions of class in the constructions and analysis of juvenile delinquency.[6] Consequently, scholarship has presented the social problem of juvenile delinquency as a problem among African male youths. Outside of South Africa, we know very little about white juvenile delinquency, particularly in other parts of colonial Africa. Although works have emerged on the broader concept of white social deviance in colonial Kenya and Zimbabwe, there is paucity of studies focusing on young white people.[7] I argue that class, gender and ethnicity influenced juvenile delinquency as much as the racial aspect. This study explores the ideological metaphors of juvenile delinquency based on race, class, gender and ethnicity. Because of colonial racial prejudice, the state discovered juvenile delinquency primarily as a white social problem. However, juvenile delinquency also illuminates the stratification of white society according to class and other intra-racial elements that informed the constructions of juvenile delinquency.

Orthodox histories of colonial Zimbabwe, written by scholars such as Robert Blake, emphasised the unity of white society.[8] Yet, a further generation of scholars such as Kate Law and Josiah Brownell have pointed to a more heterogeneous society.[9] By de-homogenising settler society, my work attempts to raise new angles in understanding settler societies in general. Works have emerged that recast settler colonialism in a new light, focusing on settler identities and settler relations with indigenous communities. However, these studies have followed the traditional settler societies of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa.[10] The settler societies of colonial Zimbabwe and Kenya have received comparatively less

[6] C. Campbell, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1939', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.45, No.1, March 2002, pp. 129-151.

[7] D. Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1987; W. Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The lives of Kenya's White Insane*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013; C. Campbell, *Race and Empire: Eugenics in colonial Kenya*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007.
[8] R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, Michigan, Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.
[9] K. Law, *Gendering the Settler State: White Women, Race, Liberalism and Empire in Colonial Rhodesia, 1950-1980*, New York, Routledge, 2016; J. Brownell, *The Collapse of Rhodesia: Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2011; see also, P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *'Rhodesians Never Die': The impact of War and political change on White Rhodesia, c. 1970-1980*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993.
[10] A.E Coombes (ed.), *Rethinking settler colonialism: History and memory in Australia, Canada, Aoteroa New Zealand and South Africa*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2006; L. Russel (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001.

attention in imperial literature on the nature and transformation of settler societies and imperial and colonial childhoods. In addition, comparative studies of settler colonies in Africa are very few.[11]

The second position is one that treats the juvenile delinquency phenomenon as arising out of urbanisation and the supposed 'detribalization' of young African. The focus on juvenile delinquency tends to romanticise rural/ pre-urban Africa as a haven of morality and social harmony where youths were amenable to social control and operated in a wide support network of extended family and respected elders, abiding by social laws and moral values. The urban area is by contrast, presented as its opposite; devoid of morality and epitomised by prostitution, crime and poverty.[12] This study explores the forms of deviance and delinquency in rural colonial Southern Rhodesia and suggests the extent to which forms of youth entertainment and self-fashioning were re-enacted in post-Second World War urban society with renewed vigour. Youth contestations of urban forms of power and authority had parallels to that of early colonial pre-urban societies against the 'traditional' forms of authority, particularly patriarchal chiefly authority. Youth movement into the urban areas altered the forms of young people's behaviours but the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency did not start with African urbanisation.

There is a small body of literature on pre-colonial and colonial rural generational conflict between African youth and their African elders. In addition, analysis tends to focus on generational conflict in war.[13] Carol Summers, however, analyses intergenerational conflict between the African youths of colonial Buganda and the institution of chiefs as a late colonial phenomenon.[14] For Southern Rhodesia, youth 'deviance' and 'delinquency' began to acquire new meanings when African societies encountered international capital epitomised by the minerals revolution of South Africa in the late nineteenth century, mainly through the institution of migrant labour. By the beginning of the twentieth century and the consolidation

[11] Exceptions include P. Mosley, *The Settler Economies. Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1963*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939.*

[12] C. Glaser, *Bo-tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976*, Portsmouth, Heinemann, 2000, p.22.

[13] D. Eaton, 'Youth, Cattle Raiding, and Generational Conflict along the Kenya-Uganda Border', in A. Burton and H. Charton-Bigot (eds.), *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*, Athens, Ohio University Press, 2010, pp.47-67; R. Reid, 'Arms and Adolescence. Male Youth, Warfare, and Statehood in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Africa' in Burton and Charton-Bigot (eds.), *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*, pp.25-46; R. Waller, 'Bad Boys in the Bush? Disciplining Murran in Colonial Maasailand', in Burton and Charton-Bigot (eds.), *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*, pp.135-174.

[14] C. Summers, 'Youth, Elders and Metaphors of Political Change in Late Colonial Buganda', in Burton and Charton-Bigot (eds.), *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*, pp.175-195; see also, E. York, 'The Spectre of the Second Chilembwe; Government, Missions and Social Control in Wartime Northern Rhodesia, 1914-18', *Journal of African History*, Vol.31, No.3, 1990, pp.373-391.

of colonial control, generational conflict was firmly entrenched and it showed through education and religion, among other facets before the upturn of rural-urban migration. African youth acquisition of new values through education and Christianity gradually created conflict between the youth and established forms of traditional leadership.

Thirdly, scholarship presents juvenile rehabilitation systems in colonial African as largely a failure that epitomised the limitations of western cultural influence on colonial societies.[15] Although scholars acknowledge the transfer of juvenile institutions from the metropole into colonial contexts, they conclude that cultural difference more than anything else was the reason for the failure of rehabilitative efforts.[16] By contrast, this thesis argues that the perceived failure of African juvenile rehabilitation rested with the philosophy of colonial juvenile rehabilitation that closely centred on repression and physical confinement of juveniles in prison facilities. The Southern Rhodesian penal system was largely physical and punitive and did little to reform the young offenders.

Fourth, juvenile delinquency discourse presents young people largely as victims in the migrant labour system and urban control regimes; devoid of agency and life strategies. While acknowledging the limits of young people's agency, by contrast, a history of juvenile delinquency in colonial Zimbabwe presents young people not only as outcomes of social processes but actors who provoked crises and forced changes in laws. This dissertation places young people, as a distinct social category, at the centre of analysis. For example, colonial state concern over white young people sheds light on our understanding of foundations of white society; white social organisation, white values and the concomitant white anxiety in safeguarding these values. African youth were at the centre of state attention as providers of labour, purveyors of modernity and agents of social and moral (dis)order in both the rural and urban settings.

In order to understand the constructs of juvenile delinquency and the various forms they took, the thesis will explain the history of the country. Below is a short history of colonial Zimbabwe from 1890 to around 1960 that plots the major contours of the colonial economy and society.

[15] This view was not limited to African colonies but also applied to the generic Non-Western world; see H. Ellis (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency and the Limits of Western Influence, 1850-2000*, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

[16] N. Çiçek, 'Mapping the Turkish Republic Notion of Childhood and Juvenile Delinquency: The Story of Children's Courts in Turkey, 1940-1990' in Ellis (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency and the Limits of Western Influence, 1850-2000*, pp.248-269.

1.1 A History of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1960

The impetus for the colonisation of Zimbabwe and subsequent white settlement was part of European imperial expansion, linked to the South African minerals revolution between the 1860s and the 1880s. In particular, the discovery of gold on the Rand pushed Cecil John Rhodes and his British South Africa Company (BSAC) to venture north in search of the 'legendary riches of Ophir…rumoured to lie between the Limpopo and the Zambezi…'[17] In 1890, the BSAC marched onto the Zimbabwe plateau to occupy and exploit mineral resources.[18] The African armed resistance to white occupation that ensued, spearheaded by the Shona and Ndebele, had largely been supressed by 1898.[19]

In the first two decades of settler colonial occupation the white population was highly transient and remained so to varying degrees for the duration of the colonial period.[20] Subsequently, the state actively encouraged white immigration and natural population growth because the success of Southern Rhodesia as a settler colony largely depended upon white population growth to offset the population imbalance with Africans. Besides, the state encouraged migration to encourage the settlement of white women because the pioneers were largely male.[21] Southern Rhodesia aggressively pursued demographic engineering through immigration policies that actively courted Europeans to come and settle permanently north of the Limpopo.[22] Furthermore, Mlambo has argued that white immigration was politically vital to the state because it sought to stabilize the white population and sustain a sense of nation.[23]

In this context, European immigration was a facet of wider economic policy. After the failure of the discovery of the Second Rand by 1902, the BSAC began to institute measures to stimulate settler agriculture. In 1908, Southern Rhodesia established an Agricultural

[17] I. Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, London, Longman, 1988, p.5.
[18] The British South Africa Company led by Cecil Rhodes acquired a Royal Charter in 1889 and in 1890 the Pioneer Column moved to promote colonialism and economic exploitation on the Zimbabwe Plateau and the sub region.
[19] P. Mason, *The Birth of a Dilemma, The Conquest and Settlement of Rhodesia*, London, Oxford University Press, 1958, p.214.
[20] Brownell, The *Collapse of Rhodesia: Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*, p.3.
[21] Law, *Gendering the Settler State: White Women, Race, Liberalism and Empire in Colonial Rhodesia, 1950-1980*
[22] Godwin and Hancock, *'Rhodesians Never Die': The impact of War and political change on White Rhodesia, c.1970-1980*, p.11.
[23] A.S. Mlambo, *White Immigration into Rhodesia: From Occupation to Federation*, Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2002, p.12.

Department that pursued an aggressive immigration policy where the company assisted new settlers through subsidies on sea passage, free rail and temporary accommodation.[24] Southern Rhodesia competed with territories of British settlement such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand for settlers, in general, and those with investment capital, in particular.[25] Overall, the white population rose from 11,032 in 1901 to 12, 596 in 1904. The population further increased by 11,010 between 1904 and 1911. Between 1907, and 1911 and there was an exponential population increase largely linked to the new agricultural policy.[26] By 1921, the population figures stood at 33,620, reaching 49,910 in 1931.[27]

The 1922 referendum ended BSAC rule and the new Responsible Government (1923) began to consolidate settler interests thereafter. Progressive white settlement and the development of definitive aspects of production in agriculture and mining were important in enhancing the settler sense of security and community. Settler consciousness grew with the expansion of white population and the consolidation of their economic position. Simultaneously, settlers challenged the BSAC which they blamed for promoting the interests of big business at the expense of small economic players.[28] After 1923, the enactment of legislation like the Land Apportionment Act (1930), Public Service Act (1931) and Industrial Conciliation Act (1934) among others, further promoted settler interests. In particular, the state used effects of the Great Depression as a pretext to justify protection of settler interests in major sectors of the economy. For example, the Maize Control Act (1934) forced African maize producers to subsidise white maize production.[29] In addition, Prime Minister, Godfrey Huggins, implemented the policy of separate development, which policy simply translated into the privileging of the whites at the expense of the African interests. According to Mlambo in the 1930s African economic marginalisation, racial segregation and paternalism became entrenched in the socio-economic

[24] V.E.M Machingaidze, 'The Development of Settler Capitalist agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with reference to the role of the State, 1908-1939', Unpublished PhD Thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1980, p.32.
[25] Ibid, p.33.
[26] A.K.H Weinrich, *Black and White elites in Rural Rhodesia*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1973, p.17.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, p.94; see also, A. P Di Perna, 'The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922', Unpublished PhD Thesis, St. John's University, 1972.
[29] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, p.174.

structures of Southern Rhodesia.[30] By the outbreak of the war in 1939, the structures of the economy were firmly under white control.

The Second World War altered the economic and demographic landscape of Southern Rhodesia. Because of the war, the colony could not get its regular supplies from Europe leading to the adoption of the policy of Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI).[31] Prior to the war, agriculture and mining formed the mainstay of the Rhodesian economy but in the 1940s, secondary industry became the third economic pillar.[32] The bourgeoning secondary industry required a skilled and stable labour force. Consequently, permanent African urban residence became a critical matter for policy makers. Housing and other social amenities were in high demand. For example, in Salisbury the African population increased from 32,008 to 75, 000 between 1941 and 1951.[33] Post-war white immigration into Southern Rhodesia added to increased urbanisation. Under the 'second colonial occupation' white population increased from 65, 000 in 1940 to 136, 017 in 1951.[34] There was a new drive within the Empire to increase white population and revive European civilisation.[35] However, Blake notes that nine tens of the new migrants settled in the urban areas, particularly in Salisbury.[36]

The post-war period gave rise to African labour militancy and the transformation what historians like Mlambo and West have read as proto-nationalist organizations into nationalist movements.[37] The 1945 Railway Workers Strike and the 1948 General Strike ushered a new phase in state-labour relations which reflected on the growing African worker consciousness. Across the African continent, the Second World War also acted as a catalyst in transforming interwar proto-nationalist movements into confrontationist mass movements.[38] In 1956 the Salisbury City Youth League (CYL) was formed with a nationalist agenda to transform the political system of Rhodesia. In 1957 the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (ANC) added to the growing nationalist movements whose agendas included the right to suffrage; 'one man one vote'. These mass movements expressed themselves in violent strikes and

[30] A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p.109.
[31] *Ibid*, p.94-95.
[32] *Ibid*, pp.95-96
[33] *Ibid*, p.81.
[34] *Ibid*. see also Brownell, *Collapse of Rhodesia. Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*
[35] K. Uusihakala, 'Rescuing children, reforming the Empire: British child migration to colonial Southern Rhodesia', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Vol 22, No. 3, 2015, pp.273-287.
[36] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p.275.
[37] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 145-148; see also, M.O. West, 'Ndabaningi Sithole, Garfield Todd and the Dadaya School Strike of 1947', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.18, No.2, 1992, pp.297-316.
[38] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, p.134.

confrontation with the police against an increasing intransigent colonial state which was not ready to implement social transformation. The late 1950s into the 1960s were turbulent years in the socio-political history of Southern Rhodesia marked by confrontation between nationalist movements and the state.

The rhetoric of racial partnership under the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1963) projected that Africans were partners in progress. However, by the late 1950s it had become clear that racial partnership had failed. In addition, the period also coincided with overcrowding in urban areas, unemployment and the incapacity of the African reserves to accommodate the increasing number of Africans. By 1960 the Southern Rhodesian state was facing a constitutional crisis, mounting pressure from nationalist sentiments for African rights, and a worsening socio-economic situation in both the urban and rural areas.

1.2 Colonial Social Relations and the foundations of 'deviance' and 'delinquency' in Southern Rhodesia

The settlers translated their military advantages into colonial relations that would facilitate their economic exploitation of the area's resources. In doing so, Southern Rhodesia's colonial rulers privileged race as the defining principle in their relations with the colony's black inhabitants. Thus, beyond the settlers' claims of 'war booty' and right to rule by conquest, they also developed a white supremacist ideology grounded in the perceived moral obligations of the whites to civilize the primitive black subject race.[39] Settlers constructed the image of an African who was inferior and incapable of acquiring white moral and cultural standards. In Southern Rhodesia, as in other parts of British-ruled Africa such as Kenya, the settlers deployed language, dress and etiquette, among other facets, as tangible expressions of the social and cultural gulf between the two races.[40]

The white settler numerical disadvantage engendered a fear of the so-called racial 'swamping', which in turn made them chronically suspicious of Africans especially after the 1896-7

[39] Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939,* p.220.
[40] A.K Shutt, *Manners make a Nation: Racial Etiquette in Southern Rhodesia, 1910-1963*, New York, University of Rochester Press, 2015. In order to preserve white settler racial distinctions, some Rhodesian manufacturers were against marketing hats, clothing and toiletries directed to Africans. In addition, the use of 'kitchen kaffir', a mixture of indigenous languages and English, as the lingua franca of the work place is also an instance of settler paternalism. To the generality of settlers, it was a sign of gross impertinence on the part of the African to speak in English to his white master. The ability to speak the master's language was framed in terms of power, authority and prestige. The attention given to these and other social and cultural elements expresses the settler's desire for racial stratification, hierarchy and differentiation.

uprisings.[41] As stated earlier the European population grew from 11, 032 in 1901 to 49,910 in 1931. In the same period the African population increased from 500, 000 to just over one million.[42] The proportion of Africans to Europeans was 45:1 in 1901 and 22:1 in 1931. This demographic imbalance represented a potential for real danger of African uprising. However, Rhodesian settlers also packaged this danger in racial and cultural terms including the ideas of the 'black peril'.[43] Fear and hatred of Africans became a deep-seated feature of white psychology expressed in draconian legislation.[44] Progressively, the white population perceived Africans as a 'problem' to be solved and a 'resource' to be exploited.

There was a close association between race and colonial authority in determining social boundaries. In the colonial hierarchy, African administrative districts were under the jurisdiction of Native Commissioners (NCs). At the local community level, African chiefs and headmen reported to the NCs, whose superiors were the Superintendent of Natives and the Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) with the overall authority resting with the Colonial Administrator. NCs were conduits and purveyors of colonial social order and enforcers of its structures and elements. As Jackson has observed, NCs were the 'eyes and ears of the aspirant dominant order and formalized the system of exploiting and administering the territory, of locating huts and labourers, mapping and taxing them, setting up settlements and reserves, patrolling, and getting to know the natives and their movements'.[45] The Native Locations Ordinance of 1898, authorised location inspectors to search any hut, house, or habitation within the limits of any Native Location for idle or disorderly persons and or intoxicants.[46] Idleness and disorderliness were value judgements of the 'discretion' of white officials. NCs and inspectors thus determined deviance, conformity, acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. They became the 'experts' on African behaviour and demeanours whose opinion was highly esteemed within colonial administrative structures as well as within social circles.

The nature of NCs administrative role enabled them to indulge their racial prejudices about the African and to judge on the appropriate course of action. As Shutt has argued, 'there was, in fact, an imperial wariness on NCs, who worked among and controlled Africans, because their

[41] Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939,* p.117.
[42] Weinrich, *Black and White elites in Rural Rhodesia*, p.15.
[43] J. Pape, 'Black and White: The 'Perils of Sex' in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 4, December 1990, pp. 699-720.
[44] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, p.51.
[45] L.A. Jackson, *Surfacing up: Psychiatry and Social Order in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1908-1968*, New York, Cornell University Press, 2005, p.29.
[46] N[ational] A [rchives] of Z[imbabwe] hereafter (NAZ); NAZ S235/ 440 *Government Notice No. 181 of 1898.*

use of power did not conform to British expectations of liberal justice'.[47] According to Wolfe, settler claims to authority over indigenous discourse represented continued usurpation of space; invasion was a structure not an event.[48] In Southern Rhodesia, the function of the NCs epitomised settler usurpation of African control over allocation of land, setting up settlements and controlling population movements. NCs presided over the 'traditional' Chiefly authority.

The Southern Rhodesia Native Regulations of 1910 and the Native Affairs Act of 1927 gave NCs power to control African population movements, lands and labour. In addition, NCs had limited criminal jurisdiction and exclusive civil jurisdiction over Africans. Furthermore, the legislation sought to protect the office of the Native Commissioner by enhancing his judiciary power in dealing with 'insolence' in Africans. To express anger at the person of the NC, shouting and causing a 'scene outside the government offices' by an African were among a range of gestures and actions which were deemed 'insolent'.[49] Insolence in an African was a value judgement of behaviour and was subject to the whims of the individual NC. The Appeals Court seldom overturned an NC's verdict in cases of insolence because the colonial system framed whites as 'sober' and 'calculated' as opposed to the African's 'emotional' and 'improvident' ways.[50] In their endeavour to force through their demands in parliament, NCs argued that if unchecked, insolence in Africans undermined state and settler authority and was a direct challenge to white racial superiority.

White fears and resentment of the African informed the formulation of draconian pieces of legislation such as the Sale of Liquor to Natives and Indians Regulations (1898), Native Locations Ordinance (1898), Master and Servants Ordinance (1901) and Immorality and Indecency (Suppression) Ordinance (1916) which, to all intent and purposes, criminalized African actions and behaviours. In particular, the Immorality and Indecency (Suppression) Act sought to preserve the sexual purity of white women from non-white men. Rape of a white

[47] Shutt, ''The Natives Are Getting out of Hand,' Legislating Manners, Insolence and Contemptuous Behaviour in Southern Rhodesia, c.1910-1963', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.33, No. 3, September, 2007, p.657.Some NCs used their power to build personal honour and prestige and controlled their areas as "fiefdoms". Some of them were men who had been part of the pioneer corps and had had their frontier encounters shaped by various events ranging from the fear of Ndebele warriors as the column cut into the interior, Ndebele and Shona uprisings of the 1890s and economic anxieties of the first two decades of occupation. See A. Darter, *Pioneers of Mashonaland*, Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1977.

[48] P. Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*, New York, Cassell, 1999, p.3.

[49] Shutt, 'The Natives Are Getting out of Hand'

[50] Ibid.

woman by an African man was punishable by death.[51] By the early 1920s, the 'Black Peril' received separate file classification under the Criminal Investigation Department (CID). Legislator, Gilfillan, summed up White anxiety to preserve racial purity on the issue of multi-racial schools:

> If we are to preserve ourselves as a white people we have to be very careful about these matters. It is not a question of a child getting an education but he gets among white people and may possibly marry another white person, which is not good for the country.[52]

Miscegenation was a grave fear because it threatened the existence of the white race and colonial authorities protected white women from the 'threat' of black men.

Proof of the pathological suspicion of the white settlers towards Africans and whites unabashed belief that they had a moral duty to 'guide' the African appeared in a number of accounts from the period. Writing in the 1890s, British journalist, E.F. Knight, characterised the Shona as a lazy and idle people given to avarice and timidity and who were natural carriers and expert miners. To him the 'native'[53] was naturally untrustworthy but had an unwavering trust in his white master.[54] In 1896 Father F. J Richartz of Chishawasha Mission near Salisbury had an equally low opinion of the Shona; 'Knowing too well the cowardly nature and history of the natives around us', he wrote, 'we could not possibly fear their rising!'.[55] Overall, white paternalism invoked the idea that Africans were perpetual children, who required empathy, care, pity, control and the benevolence of the superior white being. During the Fourth Session of Legislative Council Debates in 1907, one legislator moved that 'Africans were only at best of times children, and they must be dealt with as such'.[56] The conception of the liquor laws was succinct in driving this view:

> Under our liquor laws it was provided that no child should be supplied with intoxicating liquor, and the native was put on the same footing as the white child. If he were the white man's equal why take from him the privileges of drinking himself to death, if he felt so disposed.[57]

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[51] J. McCulloch, *Black Peril, White Virtue. Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935,* Bloomington, Indiana Press, 2000.
[52] NAZ SRG 3, *Legislation Assembly Debates, Education Ordinance (1903) Amendment Bill 1926, 16 August 1926, Column 60.*
[53] Beyond the reference to indigenous people, the term was laden with racial stereotypes and prejudices associated with being black under colonialism. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Africans contested the use of 'Native' in all official communication preferring to be called Africans. However, the term was only removed from the laws during the Federation as part of concessions to racial partnership.
[54] E.F. Knight, *Rhodesia Today: A Description of the Present Condition and the Prospects of Mashonaland, and Matabeleland*, Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1977, pp.50-51.
[55] Quoted in E. Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives. Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939,* p.36.
[56] NAZ SRG 3, *Legislative Council Debates, 18 December, 1907, Column 15.*
[57] NAZ RSG 3, *Legislative Council Debates, 16 July, 1908, Column 117.*

The infantilisation of the adult African found expression in colonial language and discourse where regardless of age, all African males were 'boys' and all African females were 'girls'. Settlers referred to African males who were the first to serve as domestic servants in colonial Southern Rhodesia as 'Houseboys'.[58] In the case of Southern Rhodesia white settlers framed the African as an adolescent child who was improvident ruled by emotions, capable of the most violent outbursts of anger, and dark acts of sexual passion.[59]

Apart from engaging with debates regarding the role of the management of the African, the thesis opens up new ways in which white society was stratified. White society was not a monolith and there were reflections of complexities and contradictions within society and state. In this realm of cultural and perceived biological difference, whites did not tolerate sympathy for the African cause. For example, white farmers in Melsetter District, South East of Rhodesia, labelled L.C Meredith, NC for Melsetter District (1895-1909) as a 'misguided Negrophilist' for being sympathetic to Africans over tax payment and defending them against ill treatment on the farms. [60] In the same district, some whites who married Africans were ostracised by their own white community as 'whites who had gone black' and were subject to various forms of pervasive social stigma.[61] In her novel *The Grass Is Singing,* Doris Lessing captures white society's indignation at white people who failed to live according to 'white standards'. The protagonists of the novel, the Turners were failed farmers and their fellows in the farming community resented them for leading a lifestyle akin to that of Africans.[62] In view of this fact, the maintenance of the racial and cultural difference between the blacks and whites in colonial Zimbabwe demanded as much from the coloniser as it did from the colonised. White society vilified fellow whites who deviated from the norm and profaned the racial differences.

Colonialism went beyond economic exploitation. Settlers were convinced of their mission to 'civilize' the Africans as part of the 'benevolence' and 'generosity' of a superior race. It was

[58] E. Tawse Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia,* Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1971, p.197; see also, Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939*. However, this term was not unique to Southern Rhodesia or British colonialism. Ferdinand Oyono's novel titled *Houseboy* dramatises the struggles of Toundi Ondoua, an African domestic servant in Colonial French Cameroon. F. Oyono, *Houseboy*, London, Heinemann, 1960; see also P. Abrahams, *Mineboy*, London, Longman, 2008 (first published in 1946); C. Brown, 'Race and the Construction of Working Class Masculinity in Nigerian Coal Industry: The Initial Phase, 1914-1930', *International Labour and Working Class History*, No. 69, Spring, 2006, p.35.
[59] T.M. Thomas, Eleven *Years in Central South Africa*, Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1970, pp.213-214.
[60] Quoted in C.H, Mabulala, 'The Native Affairs Department in Melsetter District: The Administration of LC Meredith (1895-1909 and P. Nielsen (1926-1936)', B.A Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, p.2.
[61] J.K Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia', Unpublished PhD Thesis, North-western University, 1973, p.233.
[62] D. Lessing, *The Grass is Singing*, London, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950.

common for white settlers to argue that by occupying Mashonaland, they had given relief to the Shona people who had suffered from intermittent Ndebele raids. As such, they expected the Shona to be grateful. One European expressed shock and dismay at the Shona uprisings of 1896 thus: 'Were not the Matabele and the Mashona sworn enemies, and did we not set ourselves up as protectors of the latter, and therefore these poor scattered creatures could never think of rising'.[63] Whites took Africans' failure to satisfy white expectations as a sign of ingratitude and attracted labels such as criminal, rude, insolent, impertinent, insubordinate, rebellious, and deviant and delinquent, among others.[64]

Violence often reinforced these labels. During the formative years of colonial rule in Southern Rhodesia, white officials sometimes flogged Chiefs, burnt villages and force-marched labourers.[65] In one incident, a European alleged theft by Africans from a neighbouring village and a BSAP patrol party that investigated the matter killed the village head as punishment. Leander Jameson took a favourable view of it as a deterrent to other 'impertinent natives'.[66] During this period, the gaol became a quintessential element of colonial discipline; flogging and incarceration became central elements of colonial oppression. Rough justice and violence were integral to colonialism. For example, in the fifth decade of colonialism, Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins expressed the need for violence in administering Africans. He said that, 'they [Whites] would get nowhere by being lenient with the native. What the native understood was rough justice. People who thought that by slobbering over the unfortunate native they were doing him a good turn, were mistaken…'[67]

Violence was part of the administrative and economic structures of colonial society. According to Giovani Arrighi, having gained control by military means, the whites used state machinery

[63] Quoted in E. Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives. Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe*, 1870-1939, p.36.
[64] Shutt, 'The Natives Are Getting out of Hand'
[65]S. Samkange, *Origins of Rhodesia*, London, Heinemann, 1968. *Chata Ro* (Charter Law) represented rough justice, unfair and brutal punishment; see also, P. Gibbs & H. Phillips, *The History of the British South Africa Police, 1889-1980,* Australia, Something of Value Pvt Ltd, 2000.
[66] Another incident of police brutality ended with the death of 23 Africans and 47 cattle. However, after the 1896-7 uprisings the imperial government and later the Southern Rhodesia Native Department discouraged such lynching which contributed to African grievances. L.A. Jackson, 'Narratives of Madness and Power: A History of Ingutsheni Mental Hospital and Social Order in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1908-1959', PhD Thesis in History, Columbia University, 1997, p.52; R. Hodder-Williams, *White Farmers in Rhodesia, 1890-1965: a history of the Marandellas District*, London, Macmillan, 1983; Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, p.13; P. Mason, *The Birth of a Dilemma, The Conquest and Settlement of Rhodesia*, London, Oxford University Press,1958, p.220; Samkange, *Origins of Rhodesia*, p.240.
[67] Caledonian banquet speech quoted in the *Cape Argus*, 10 August 1935, Quoted in P. Ngulube, 'Crime and Colonial Ideology: A Case Study of Bulawayo District in the period 1910-1936', BA Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1984, p.17.

to sustain domination and coercive means to restrict blacks from acquiring 'power capabilities'. [68] The economic and social tensions settler and Africans necessitated the introduction of institutions like the army, policy and prisons presumably to keep law and order. Patrick Ngulube argues that the aim of colonial ideology was to facilitate capitalist penetration and that this could not be achieved without the victimisation of the African population.[69] In this respect, violence and coercion were inherent features of white colonialism.

1.3 Settler Colonialism and White Socialisation in Southern Rhodesia

In analysing juvenile delinquency as part of broader constructions of deviance in colonial Zimbabwe, this study has been influenced by sets of interlocking literatures and the thesis, in turn, modifies some of the existing scholarly perspectives. Southern Rhodesia, as part of British colonial Africa, was one of the few settler societies in Africa, having the largest white settler community after the dominions.[70] At the forefront of the theory of settler colonialism is Lorenzo Veracini who identifies colonialism and migration as its intrinsic elements and the domination of an exogenous agency over an indigenous one and the permanent movement and reproduction of communities.[71] Migration in settler colonialism involves permanent settlement and attempts by the settler or colonist to remake his society in the new place.[72] Veracini also argues that 'settlers' often see themselves as separate from 'colonisers' and the 'metropole'.

In Southern Rhodesia, successive colonial governments strove to develop white social organisation and values with the aim of promoting a cohesive and united white society.

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[68] G. Arrighi, *The Political Economy of Rhodesia*, Hague, Mouton, 1967; Arrighi, 'Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective, A Study of the proletarisation of the African peasantry in Rhodesia', *Rhodesia Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 6. No. 3 April, 1970, pp. 197-234.

[69] Ngulube, 'Crime and Colonial Ideology: A Case Study of Bulawayo District in the period 1910-1936', p.6.

[70] D. Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980: 'The Lost Dominion,'' in R. Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.122.

[71] L. Veracini, *Settler Colonialism. A theoretical Overview*, Hampshire, Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, p.3; Veracini, 'Introducing to Settler Colonial Studies', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1:1, 1-12, 2011, p.1-2; see also Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics of an Ethnographic Event*; Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8, 4, 2006, pp. 387-409; D. Pearson, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies: States of Unease*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001; C. Elkins and S. Pedersen (eds.), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, New York: Routledge, 2005; The key to colonialism is the domination by an external agency over an indigenous one. For the initial attempts at defining Colonialism see R. J Horvath, "A Definition of Colonialism' *Current Anthropology* 13, 1, 1972, pp.45-57; Godwin and Hancock, *'Rhodesians Never Die': The impact of War and political change on White Rhodesia, c.1970-1980.*

[72] J. Belich, 'The Rise of the Anglo World. Settlement in North America and Australia, 1983-1939', in P. Buchner and D. Francis (eds.), *Rediscovering the British World*, Calgary, University of Calgary Press, 2005, p.53; see also Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1983-1939*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011.

According to Veracini, the endurance of settler societies was predicated on nurturing a sense of 'sameness' and policies that are designed to naturalise immigrants through an ideal model of social organisation.[73] Typically, the passing of white values to the younger generation sustained and perpetuated white dominance. Despite state efforts, fissures were evident in white society. The settler colony was diverse in its ethnic composition, political and class interests. For example, Southern Rhodesia had a rich British, Afrikaner, Jewish and Greek heritage.[74] Economically, white class interests ranged from a white rural bourgeoisie, white petty bourgeoisie, white workers and large international capital.[75] The tendency of scholars such as Blake to perceive white society as an undifferentiated monolith hides much of the dynamism of, and variety within white Rhodesian society.[76] Brownell asserts that in ninety years of colonial rule, white population was not only transient but also had shallow national loyalties.[77] As a result, achieving a stable white population remained an unattained dream. Peter Godwin & Ian Hancock observed that, in the 1970s when Rhodesia was plagued by white emigration, the state took aggressive and expensive steps to attract more immigrants as well as to implant a sense of loyalty among them.[78] Essentially, the state sought to manufacture 'Rhodesian-ness'; 'Rhodesians believed their 'Rhodesian-ness' supplied a common bond which overrode any individual aberrations'.[79]

Nevertheless, the pursuit of a common colonial project in relation to Africans ensured that certain dominant ideas emerged. For example, the state developed and enforced meanings of 'whiteness'. According to Josephine Fisher, the state objectified 'white' was objectified as the apex of racial hierarchy and in Southern Rhodesia; it was almost synonymous with economic and political dominance.[80] In the eyes of the state whites who deviated from the official versions of 'whiteness' were deviant and delinquent. In fact, Southern Rhodesian leaders carefully cultivated the centrality of whiteness in driving colonial policy. Prime Minister Huggins affirmed that

[73] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, p.6.
[74] *Southern Rhodesia Report of Education Committee, 1908*, p.8.
[75] Arrighi, *The Political Economy of Rhodesia*, p.22.
[76] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*
[77] Brownell, *The Collapse of Rhodesia: Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*, p.3.
[78] Godwin and Hancock, *'Rhodesians Never Die': The impact of War and political change on White Rhodesia*, p.17.
[79] *Ibid*, p.16.
[80] J. L. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe*, Canberra, Australia National University Press, 2010, p. xi.

> The greatest civilising influence in Southern Rhodesia is the White settler, as long as he is really white inside… All the settler asks is…that there shall be a reasonable prospect of his children remaining white even unto the tenth generation.[81]

Huggins' assumption of the naturalness of whiteness is not difficult to locate within a colonial superstructure predicated on white racial superiority. According to Burton, whiteness theory expresses ethnic and racial difference based on power, privilege and oppression – a structural organisation of preferential treatment of whites.[82] The perceived racial and cultural superiority emerged as the dynamic by which the whites sustained a leading position in social life. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, whiteness was connotative of civilisation and privilege among others values which many whites readily accepted. White anxiety over racial demographic imbalance became the justification for institutionalised racial segregation. Broadly, the policy of separate development spearheaded by Huggins in the 1930s entrenched white privilege. Although identity was socially constructed, it was largely inseparable from skin colour. The 'superiority' of the coloniser was physically marked by white skin colour and socially by 'civilised' customs.[83] Black skin colour signified 'inferiority' and 'barbaric' customs.[84] Although the thesis is interested in the distinctions drawn between 'black/white', it is not a study of whiteness per se. For comprehensive discussions on whiteness in Zimbabwe, Rory Pilossof and David McDermott Hughes have provided important insights.[85]

Rhodesian whiteness was also associated with hegemonic masculinities. Leaders like Huggins shared the imperial notion of whiteness as embodying ideas of rule and success.[86] For example, colonial officials expected male youths to be patriarchs, who would inherit, build and defend what their parents had conquered.[87] According to Robert Morell, hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity in a particular society, one that 'holds sway, bestows power and

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[81] G. M. Huggins, 'A Vital African Problem', *African Observer* 2 February 1934, pp.18-25.
[82] D. Burton, 'Non-White Readings of Whiteness', *Consumption Markets and Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 2009, pp.349-50. See also, L. Boucher, J. Carey and K. Ellinghaus (eds.), *Re-orienting Whiteness. A new agenda for the field*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
[83] C. Kelly, 'White Men, An Exploration of Intersections of Masculinity, Whiteness and Colonialism and the Engagement of Counter-Hegemonic Projects', in E. Uchendu (ed.), *Masculinities in Contemporary Africa*, Dakar, CODESRIA, 2008, p.115.
[84] Ibid.
[85] R. Pilossof, *The Unbearable Whiteness of Being: Farmers' Voices from Zimbabwe*, Harare, Weaver Press, 2012; D. McDermott Hughes, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe. Race, landscape, and the problem of belonging*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010; R. Frankenberg, (ed.), *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997; Frankenberg, 'Introduction: Local whiteness, localizing whiteness', in R. Frankenberg (ed.), *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
[86] C. Summers, 'Boys, Brats and Education: Reproducing White Maturity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1915-1935', *Settler Studies*, Vol.1, No.1, p.133.
[87] Ibid, p.134.

privilege on men who espouse it and claim it as their own'.[88] This form of masculinity not only subordinates women but other forms of masculinity as well. Mike Donaldson regards hegemonic masculinity as 'exclusive, anxiety provoking, brutal and violent'.[89] Raewyn Connell argues that there is a hierarchy of masculinities from the hegemonic to the subordinate ones.[90] Masculinity was organised around dominance. However, there was development of subordinate masculinities of subordinated classes and races. For example, working class masculinities developed through the expulsion of women from industries.[91] In Southern Rhodesia, hegemonic masculinity was most readily associated with white men. In fact, the intersections of masculinity and whiteness were central to white colonialism. Rhodesian policy makers envisioned a white aristocracy driven by values of 'discipline' and 'rule': 'The White men were the aristocrats of this country and it behoved them to keep that position for themselves'.[92] In this respect, Rhodesian masculinity was closely associated with aspects of Imperial values of what constituted respectable/unrespectable forms of behaviour. For example, Native Commissioners' power to prosecute 'insolence' in Africans under the Southern Rhodesia Native Regulations (1910) and the Native Affairs Act (1927) was a defence of the prestige of government officials.[93] NCs interpreted these powers as a preservation of the mandatory respect for the white race, particularly men, by Africans.

The social values of settler colonialism combined elements from the mother country and local experiences to form a distinct hybrid culture.[94] The identity of a white Rhodesian was one such hybrid product. According to Hodder-Williams, Southern Rhodesian values were a fusion of the ideals nurtured in the public schools of England and those imported from the Cape Colony.[95] Similarly, British dominion settlers acquired a hybrid identity that was distinct yet retained some connection with the British Empire. For Southern Rhodesia Phimister observed that,

> In place of the once popular convention whereby Southern Rhodesia's attractions were invariably subordinated to one aspect or another of Imperial service, a new generation of novelists developed a

[88] R. Morell, 'Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, p.608.
[89] M. Donaldson, 'What is Hegemonic Masculinity?', *Theory and Society*, 22, 1993, p.645.
[90] R. W Connell, 'The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History', *Theory and Society*, Vo. 22, No. 5, Special Issue: Masculinities, October, 1993, pp.607-610.
[91] Ibid, p.611.
[92] Quoted in Summers, 'Boys, Brats and Education: Reproducing White Maturity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1915-1935', p.134.
[93] Shutt, 'The Natives Are Getting out of Hand', p. 653.
[94] Veracini, 'Introduction to Settler Colonialism', p.3.
[95] Hodder-Williams, *White Farmers in Rhodesia, 1890-1965. A History of the Marandellas District*, p.89.

> more detached view of Empire in which colonial character was forged by the very act of survival in a hard land.[96]

Writing in 1920s Southern Rhodesia Ethel Tawse Jollie, the first female Rhodesian parliamentarian, noted that white youths in Southern Rhodesia had to work hard and be disciplined because there was 'no promise path for them, no following of well-trodden ways, and no comfortable civilisation to wrap them around'.[97] For Prime Minister Huggins, the country needed 'young men who had fagged at school and had been flogged at school, people who knew how to command and obey and knew how to handle their black labourers'.[98] The distinct Rhodesian identity and a patriotism couched in toils of the colony gave credence to the aphorism 'the Empire is my country, Rhodesia is my Home'.[99] Indeed, while Rhodesian whites maintained links with Empire, their identity was shaped by the peculiar experiences of the colony. However discursively this identity was constructed, society persecuted and ostracised dissenting whites for the sake of the 'honour of the masses'. The superior status of the dominant race is enforced by a rigid conformity of all members of the dominant society to generally 'accepted norm'.[100] As a result, the whites had limited choice and many whites were happy to conform.

White society's values were guided by a variety of principles but there were dominant ones. For example, muscular Christianity (life of bravery, 'manliness' and cheerful physical activity)[101] was an essential part of Rhodesian identity. It was believed that values of whiteness and a sense of a Rhodesian identity had to be reproduced in white youths because 'the real meaning of the laborious efforts to conquer this vast country [were] – the children…'[102] This was imperative in order to sustain a system of racial paternalism 'unto the tenth generation'. After 1918, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guide movements gained popularity because they were perceived as ways of facilitating discipline and bush craft.[103] In addition, the Southern Rhodesia Cadet Corps programme founded in 1900 for boys in school epitomised the brutal, violent and militaristic nature of white masculinity. Cadet Corps taught boys from twelve years

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[96] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, *p.*181.
[97] Tawse Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia,* p.257.
[98] L.H Gann and M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia. The Man and His Country*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1964, p.70.
[99] Tawse Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia,* pp.241-242.
[100] Quoted in Weinrich, *Black and White Elites in Rural Rhodesia*, p.4.
[101] N.J Watson, S. Weir and S. Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', *Journal of Religion and Society*, Vol. 7, 2005, pp.1-21.
[102] Tawse Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, p.240.
[103] The Scouts were founded by Baden-Powell in 1907 to assist young men to utilize military and colonial frontier discipline in peacetime and renew white middle class manliness.

weapons handling, signals, and musketry among other military skills designed to cultivate vigour in youths.[104] The inter-war years saw the introduction of Navy and Air force corps.[105] Cadet Corps were meant to create a reserve force from which the state could recruit in case of an African uprising. Under the auspices of the Defence department, the junior cadets would pass through senior cadetship (15 years) to the Rifles Club. The Rifles Club formed the nucleus of the citizen (voluntary) forces and usually reinforced the semi-military policy. In the early 1920s, Southern Rhodesia's Medical Inspector recommended physical drill and gymnasium as fundamental to child health and character.[106] The 1918 and 1926 Defence Acts stipulated compulsion military call-up to all White Rhodesian males from the age of 18 years. These Acts linked well with the Cadet system in militarising white Rhodesian youths.[107] In particular, the Cadet system was central to the military recruitment during the World War One. Rhodesian school hymns evoked the exploits of pioneers such as Jameson and Blakiston as paladins of early Rhodesia.[108] In relation to the Kenyan case, as Lonsdale notes, mastery required military, legal, and personal force to ensure prestige.[109] In this respect, white 'values' were inculcated in recreation as well as through formal channels.

Rhodesian society also shaped the women's gender roles for the sustenance of an ideal society. Women were perceived as mothers of the imperial race in settler colonies, and symbols of moral chastity and beauty, and conduits of 'good' behaviour.[110] These representations of white femininity were part of female socialisation in Southern Rhodesia. According to Kennedy sex across the race divide threatened 'the most sacred symbol of [European] paramountcy, the virtue of white women and thus the productive destiny of the race'.[111] As Hoch observed, 'Defence of manhood demanded, above all, the defence of the white goddess of civilisation against the black sex crazed, barbarians…'[112]

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[104] NAZ S726/SW3/1-2, Cadets –Policy 1926
[105] NAZ S726/W36/8 -14, Cadets- Policy 1933-1939
[106] Tawse Jollie, The Real Rhodesia, p.237.
[107] *Southern Rhodesia Defence Act 1918.*
[108] Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980: 'The Lost Dominion', pp.140-141.
[109] Lonsdale, 'Kenya: Home Country and African Frontier', in Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, p.90.
[110] B. Bush, 'Gender and Empire. The Twentieth Century', in P. Levine, (ed.), *Gender and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp.77-111.
[111] Kennedy, *Islands of White*, p.216.
[112] P. Hoch, 'White Hero Black Beast: Racism, Sexism and the Mask of Masculinity', in P. Murphy (ed.), *Feminism and Masculinities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p.100; H. Reynolds, 'The Question of Miscegenation in the Politics of English-Speaking Countries in the Early Twentieth Century', in Boucher, Carey and Ellinghaus (eds.), *Re-orienting Whiteness*: *A new agenda for the field*, pp.73-82; J. Carey, 'Women's Objective-A Perfect Race: Whiteness, Eugenics, and the Articulation of Race', in Boucher, Carey and Ellinghaus (eds.), *Re-orienting Whiteness: A new agenda for the field*, pp.183-198.

1.4 Juvenile Delinquency in Global Context

The majority of the literature on vagrancy and juvenile delinquency is based on analysis of British society, temporally being linked to the industrial revolution. [113] Over the past 50 years, historians have analysed the British problem of juvenile delinquency as part of social history and debates about Victorian and early twentieth-century social attitudes towards urban poverty. [114] British social reformers believed that economic deprivation and dysfunctional families were the principal causes of juvenile delinquency. Authorities viewed children from the slums as lacking proper care. This social theory became the bedrock of state paternalism and carte blanche intervention in working class families to determine guardianship and the future of the children. [115] The 1908 Children's Act further consolidated state power over family matters. However, new literature on juvenile delinquency has emerged in recent years that analyses the perceived impact of ungoverned childhood development in Britain on the Empire. [116] Unchecked adolescent development was perceived as a threat to both national and imperial demise.

Margaret May[117] and Dior Konate[118] offer perspectives on the development of the concept of juvenile delinquency and its legal framework for the British and French systems, respectively. In England, the state was not sympathetic to the adoption of a systematic approach against delinquency and only started recognizing Reformatory and Industrial Schools in 1854. It was only in 1857 that the government started to accept delinquency as a distinct social problem. In the French system, the treatment of juveniles was closely linked to the rehabilitation of former

[113] C.J Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy and Beggars and Begging*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1987; L. Rose, *'Rogues and Vagabonds': Vagrant Underworld in Britain, 1815 to 1985*, London, Routledge, 1988.

[114] Blanch, 'Imperialism, nationalism and organised youth'; S. Magarey, 'The Invention of Juvenile Delinquency in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Labour History*, No.34, May 1978, pp.11-27; May, 'Innocence and experience: the evolution of the concept of juvenile delinquency in the mid-nineteenth century', *Victorian Studies*, No. 18, 1973, pp.2-29; S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?: an oral history of working-class childhood and youth, 1889-1939*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981; P. Meyer, *The Child and the state: the intervention of the state in family life*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977; J. Springhall, *Coming of Age-adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1986.

[115] V. Bailey, *Delinquency and Citizenship: Reclaiming the Young Offender, 1914-18*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1987.

[116] S. Olsen, 'Adolescent Empire: Moral Dangers for Boys in Britain and India, c.1800 to 1914', Ellis (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency and the Limits of Western Influence, 1850-2000*,pp.19-41; see also, Olsen 'Towards the Modern Man: Edwardian Boyhood in the Juvenile Periodical Press', in A. Gavin and A. Humphries (eds.), *Childhood in Edwardian Fiction: Worlds Enough and Time*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009; Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914*, London, Bloomsbury, 2014.

[117] M. May, 'Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-19th Century', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 17 No. 1 The Victorian Child, 1973, pp.7-29.

[118] D. Konate, 'On Colonial Laws and the Treatment of Female Delinquents in Senegal: The Case of Leonie Gueye', *Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*, Vol. 6, No. 10, 2006. pp.35-60.

slaves through patronage and tutelage in the early nineteenth century. In the eyes of the French establishment, there was not much difference between a delinquent and a freed slave because the patronage system was a perpetuation of bondage as most of the patrons were the former slave masters. Policy was only refined towards the twentieth century. However, one can draw commonalities between the British and French systems. For the initial stages, the approach was largely punitive because jail was the representative rehabilitation institution for delinquents of whatever age and later moved to reformatory systems. In the case of Britain, Herbert Samuel's Children Act of 1908 was the foundation to the reformatory system. This study will explore how colonial policies were duplicates of the laws in the metropole. For example, Southern Rhodesia passed its own Children's Act in 1918 and Industrial Schools were the first proposed juvenile rehabilitation measure in the colony. It will analyse the reasons behind the transplant of systems from the metropole and their superimposition on the periphery and the effect thereof.

The social problem of juvenile delinquency was also linked to Empire and migration.[119] The mobility of people, ideas and practices between Britain and its imperial possessions was essential in reducing the cultural divide. Migration from Britain into the Empire was much an adult undertaking as it was for young people. Recently, histories of migration have become part of the 'new' imperial histories written in the past thirty years or so.[120] The Fairbridge Society founded in 1809 initiated a child migration scheme into the Empire. The scheme served two purposes; rescued neglected children from the urban squalors who were likely to acquire delinquency tendencies and helped sustain the British identity of the settler empire.[121] As part of the British Empire, Southern Rhodesia also became part of the imperial migration scheme and received child migrants between 1946 and 1962.[122]

[119] E. Boucher, 'The Limits of Potential: Race, Welfare, and the Interwar Extension of Child Emigration to Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol 48, No.4, 2009, pp.914-934; Boucher, *Empire's Children: Child Emmigration and Child Welfare in the British World, 1869-1967*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014; M. Harper and S. Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010; G. Sherington and C. Jeffery, *Fairbridge: Empire and Child Migration*, London, Woburn Press, 1998; K. Paul, 'Changing Childhoods: Child Migration since 1945', in J. Lawrence and P. Starkly (eds.), *Child Welfare and Social Action in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp.121-144; P.J Rich, *Chains of Empire: English Public Schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom*, London, Regency Press,1991; E. Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004.

[120] H. Harper and S. Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.

[121] Boucher, 'The Limits of Potential: Race, Welfare, and the Interwar Extension of Child Emigration to Southern Rhodesia', p.922.

[122] Uusihakala, 'Rescuing children, reforming the Empire: British child migration to colonial Southern Rhodesia', p.280.

The post-Second World War period saw a resurgence of debates on juvenile delinquency with the rise of the teenager concept in the twentieth century United States of America.[123] In the 1930s, adolescence became a developmental period separate from childhood that demanded, among other things, the acquisition of high school education. At the same time, merchandisers, advertisers and the popular media courted teenagers as a distinct substructure. However, in the post war period youth popular culture and consumerism in dress, music and cinema begun to undermine the patriarchal values in the average American family home and caused an 'epidemic of juvenile delinquency'. Youths became synonymous with violent behaviour, 'excessive' consumerism and 'degenerate' popular culture.[124] Youths were 'subverting' the morality of society. The Western influences of youth popular culture had a global impact which also caused a 'moral panic' as the Soviet youth imitated the 'degenerate' western culture.[125] In this respect, delinquency played into East-West relations of the Cold War and authorities in the Soviet Union viewed the Capitalist West and its social influences as 'decadent'.

A considerable body of literature exists on juvenile delinquency and youth in Africa, focusing on the 'emergence' of juvenile delinquency in colonial towns, child prostitution and youth 'rebellion'. Richard Waller has written a bibliographical paper on the enduring image of the 'rebellious' youth in Africa and argues that colonialism altered the meanings of 'youth' and 'adult' as well as the forms of youth 'rebellion'.[126] Andrew Barton and Helene Charton-Bigot's edited collection on generational conflict between youth and their elders represents a fresh interpretation of the generation problem by focusing generational conflict in late pre-colonial East Africa that found expression in wars.[127] Contributions from Richard Waller, Dave Eaton, Helene Charton-Bigot and Carol Summers include conflict in war in late pre-colonial society,

[123] G. Palladino, *Teenagers: An American History*, New York, Basic Books, 1996.
[124] M. Brake, *Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Sub-cultures in America and Canada*, New York, Routledge, 1985, pp.85-87; N. Macket, 'Dangers and Progress: White Middle Class Juvenile Delinquency and Motherly Anxiety in the Post-War US', in Ellis (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency and the limits of Western Influence, 1850-2000*, pp.199-226.
[125] G. Tsipursky, 'A Soviet Moral Panic? Youth, Delinquency and the State, 1953-1961', in Ellis (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency and the limits of Western Influence, 1850-2000*, pp.173-198; American popular culture even worried policy planners in England; see also, K. Bradley, 'Becoming Delinquent in the post-war Welfare State: England and Wales, 1945-1965', in Ellis (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency and the limits of Western Influence, 1850-2000*, pp.227-247; for South Africa see, A. Grundlingh, ''Are We Afrikaners Getting too Rich?' Cornucopia and Change in Afrikanerdom in the 1960s', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.21, No.2/3, June/September 2008, pp.143-165.
[126] R. Waller, 'Rebellious Youths in Africa', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 47, No.1, 2006, pp.77-92.
[127] Burton and Charton-Bigot (eds.), *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*; see also, Honwana and De Boeck, *Makers and Beakers*

the rise of the educated elite and socio-political conflict, youth unemployment in late colonial society and youth sexuality.

Similarly, Chloe Campbell, Laurent Fourchard, Andrew Burton analyse the development of Juvenile delinquency in Kenya, Lagos and Dar-es Salaam respectively.[128] They focus on the socio-political background to the problem of juvenile crime in the different societies and conclude that juvenile crime was an African male youth problem that emerged out of the social environment in the urban centres. Although works by Burton and Fourchard provide valuable insights into forms of youth delinquency and state control mechanisms, they nonetheless fail to capture philosophy and implementation of juvenile rehabilitation systems. In addition, these works do not escape from the dominant narratives of racial differentiation and social deprivation. Such analysis blinds us from appreciating the existence of juvenile delinquency amongst whites. In addition, they follow 'state discovered' forms of African juvenile delinquency. However, my study benefits from these works because I will draw parallels between Southern Rhodesia and other British colonies like Kenya and Nigeria for comprehensive analysis of social issues in the British Empire and how policies in the metropole influenced or were adopted by the colonies.

Another theme that emerges from the literature on juvenile delinquency is the emergence of the female delinquent as a moral problem. Colonial systems struggled to conceptualize a female delinquent outside the general sexual connotative stereotypes.[129] As Konate argues, colonial Senegal struggled to handle female delinquents because there were no institutions for them. Saheed Aderinto examines child prostitution as one of the numerous forms of social and sexual networking in colonial Lagos.[130] Aderinto avoids analysing women as a homogenous entity and focuses on child prostitution as a particular form of exploitation. Colonial authorities were reluctant to curb such forms of sexual exploitation because all African females were viewed as 'moral problems'. Such colonial attitudes perpetuated child exploitation. I will examine the

[128] Campbell, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1939'; A. Burton, 'Urchins, Loafers and the Cult of the Cowboy: Urbanisation and Delinquency in Dar-es Salam, 1919-1961', *Journal of African History*, Vol.42, No. 2, 2001, pp. 199-216; Burton, ''Jamii ya wahalifu'. The Growth of crime in a colonial African urban centre, 1919-1961', *Crime, Histoire and Societies/ Crime, History and Society*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2004,pp.85-115; L. Fourchard, 'A history of juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Lagos', *Journal of African History*, 47 ,2006, pp. 115–137; Fourchard, 'The Making of the Juvenile Delinquent in Nigeria and South Africa, 1930–1970', *History Campass*,Vol. 8, No.2, 2010, p.129-146; P. Ocobock, ''Joy rides for juveniles': vagrant youth and colonial control in Nairobi, Kenya, 1900-52', *Social History*, Vol, 31, No.1, February 2006, pp.39-58.

[129] Konate, 'On Colonial Laws and the Treatment of Female Delinquents in Senegal: The Case of Leonie Gueye'

[130] S. Aderinto, ''The Girls in Moral Danger': Child Prostitution and Sexuality in Colonial Lagos, Nigeria, 1930 to 1950', *Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences*, Vol. 1 No.2, 2007, pp.1-12.

extent to which the colonial Zimbabwean case debunks or reinforces the gender stereotypes of colonial society.

Because of the close relationship between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in terms of legislation and other social policies, South African literature is especially instructive on the legal foundations of youth policy, 'Native' policy and the similarities and differences in white values.

1.5 History of Juvenile Delinquency in South Africa

South Africa has a rich scholarship on youth, deviance, gang culture and violence. However, the majority of the literature on youth generally refers to black South Africans. Based on oral and documented evidence, scholarship traces the various forms of youth organizations and culture which developed amongst the African migrants in towns during the late 19th century and first urban setting which stunted social mobility and offered slender economic opportunity. The social and economic deprivations triggered territoriality and pugnacity which in turn paved the way for a culture of secrecy and violence.[131] Clive Glaser has contributed a significant number of works in this area.[132] He presents youth crime as intimately linked with youth culture and unemployment and argues that youth gangs were a direct result of economic and social deprivations in South Africa. He identifies unemployment, lack of schools, social facilities the disruption of the urban family as some of the underlying causes of juvenile delinquency problem on the Rand.[133]

In addition, gang crime was an endeavour of youths to create an alternative world where they could create an identity, 'respectability', space and economic opportunity. This engendered the development of urban black masculinities. Glaser further examines the sophistication of the organization of gangs from the 1930s juvenile delinquency to the 1976 student uprisings and how they metamorphosed, becoming a good recruitment ground for nationalist politics while at the same time remaining autonomous. In analysing youths, Glaser draws a clear distinction

[131] P. la Hausse, 'The Cows of Nongoloza: Youth, Crime and Amalatia Gangs in Durban, 1900-1936', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol 16, No. 1 March 1990, pp.79-111.
[132] C. Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi, The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976*, Oxford, James Currey, 2000; Glaser, 'Swines, Hazels and the Dirty Dozen: Masculinities, Territoriality and the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1960-1976', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No.4, Special Issue on Masculinities in Southern Africa, December 1998, pp.719-736; 'Managing the Sexuality of Urban Youth: Johannesburg, 1920s-1960s', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2005.
[133] Glaser, *Bo-tsotsi*, pp.21-41.

between *tsotsi* township gangs and student political organisations because the two were driven by distinct sets of values. While *tsotsi* gang values hinged around physicality and fighting skills, the school environment prioritised academic achievement, debating and sport.[134] Out of these values students emerged as leaders of political organisations. This thesis benefits from Glaser's analysis because in Southern Rhodesia educated youths also mobilised into nationalist politics from the 1950s. Parallels with the South African case, will be drawn throughout the thesis.

Katie Mooney offers a different perspective to the predominant narrative of black male juvenile delinquency in South Africa by examining delinquency amongst white youths.[135] She argues that post-Second World War street gangs of white youths had neither migrant identities nor any meaningful economic explanation but were an expression of alternative masculinities to those deemed socially acceptable. These white youth gangs arose during the post-Second War decade with its popular culture of fashion, music (rock- 'n-roll) and the rise of cinema entertainment for youths. Groups were relatively small and bound by youthful thrills and desire for illegal fun. In this respect, white youths were kicking against the confining categorisations that white society placed on them. It is Mooney's contention that Ducktail masculinity (hairstyle popular with white youth street gangs) was fluid and non-homogenous but retained the culture of territoriality, pugnacity and violence as existed among African gangs in the townships.

Similarly, Albert Grundlingh provides an excellent account of the impact of South African economic prosperity of the 1960s on young people's behaviours.[136] The period coincided with the global rise of popular youth culture in music and dress. The newly acquired youth tastes were viewed by sections of white society as an affront to Afrikaner morals and Calvinist values. In particular, white youth transgressed the racial boundaries by having sexual associations across colour lines. These youth behaviours constituted deviance and delinquency and triggered a 'moral panic' during the peak of apartheid. Racial contamination was much a concern in South Africa as it was for Southern Rhodesia. Some youth behaviours subverted the

[134] *Ibid*, p.4-5.
[135] K. Mooney, ''Ducktails, Flick-knives and Pugnacity': Subcultural and Hegemonic Masculinities in South Africa, 1948-1960', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, Special Issue on Masculinities in Southern Africa, December 1998, pp.753-774.
[136] Grundlingh, ''Are We Afrikaners Getting too Rich?': Cornucopia and Change in Afrikanerdom in the 1960s'

sustenance of racial binaries on which the political and social organisations of the two societies were hinged.

Laurent Fourchard makes a comparative study on the development of juvenile penal systems in Nigeria and South Africa.[137] For Fourchard, the state 'discovery' of juvenile delinquency in the 1930s informs us about the development of new laws and institutions more than it tells us about youth crime itself. Juvenile delinquency was popularised by academics, government officials and welfare organisations in the 1930s in both Nigeria and South Africa. To a degree, Fourchard argues that colonial, post-colonial and apartheid policies were part of the problem of juvenile delinquency and not a solution to it. In addition, he recognises the transnational nature of juvenile penal systems with imperial attitudes shaping policy. However, since the Nationalists came to power in 1948, South Africa broke ranks with Empire influences and developed its own policy system based on localised versions. This study benefits from a comparative analysis of policies across the British Empire in the development of the juvenile delinquency discourse. In particular, it analyses how the British philosophy on child policies influenced policy mechanisms in the colonies and beyond the local policy variations.

In addition to juvenile policy formulation, my study explores the implementation of policy in juvenile rehabilitation. Linda Chisholm thesis is probably the most comprehensive study on the state and social constructions of juvenile delinquency in South Africa and the development of its juvenile rehabilitation systems.[138] The study traces the development of the juvenile reformatory system and how the philosophies of rehabilitation were linked to wider educational policies demands of capital. In particular, from the 1880s juvenile rehabilitation was influenced by the needs of merchant capital and commercial agriculture and productive labour was the most important aspect of disciplinary training. The upturn of industrial capital in the twentieth century witnessed the development of Industrial schools for juveniles. Juvenile rehabilitation also formed part of state social welfare and state paternalism directed at the working class. The development of the poor white problem justified state intervention in the lives of working class families as well as racial segregation to protect white economic, political and social dominance.

[137] L. Fourchard, 'The Limits of the Penal Reform: Punishing Children and Young Offenders in South African and Nigeria, 1930 to 1960', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.27. No.3, September 2011, pp.517-534; Fourchard, 'The Making of the Juvenile Delinquent in Nigeria and South Arica, 1930-1970'

[138] L. Chisholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa: a study in Class, Colour and Gender, 1882-1939', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989.

Chisholm's analysis raises important issues of state social engineering and its limits, which is a theme that runs through this study.

Juveniles appear as a distinct age category in some works but the historiography of young people in South African is dominated by generic youth studies. For example, youths are synonymous with the South African struggle for independence.[139] The majority of works on young people's participation in politics homogenise youth but as Glaser's work in *Bo-tsotsi* has demonstrated, within the broader youth category was a very active participation of young Africans below the age of 18 years, who can be studied separately as a sub category of juveniles. This trajectory in South African historiography was partly driven by the racialisation of the term 'youth'. According to David Everatt, 'South Africa has white teenagers but black youths'.[140] In this respect, youth is a racialised and value laden term which came to represent young black people and their participation in South African society. While it is much easier to identify juveniles with teenagers, youth tends to blur such distinctions.

Jeremy Seekings examines the social construction of a 'youth problem' from the late 1980 to the early 1990s.[141] Sections of society viewed the emergent 'marginalised black youths' as a threat to the political and social fabric of South Africa. These youths allegedly came from broken homes and they boycotted schools and increased violence on the streets.[142] The moral panic that gripped society was focused on young, black men, stereotyped as 'youth'. They were seen as a threat to 'civilised institutions and values. In her thesis, Rachel E. Johnson provides a gendered perspective to 'youth'. For Johnson, 'youth' is predominantly presented as male and the struggle for South African independence as an exclusively a male domain.[143] In particular, Johnson examines a narrative that suggests that from the mid-1980s South African youth politics became a masculine pursuit. She argues for a more complex understanding of

[139] C. Bundy, 'Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of Youth and Student Resistance in Cape Town, 1985', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1987; M. Marks, *Young Warriors: Youth Politics, Identity and Violence in South Africa*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 2001; N. Dlamini, *Youth and Identity politics in South Africa, 1990-1994*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005.
[140] D. Everett, 'Introduction' to D. Everatt and E. Sisulu (eds.), *Black Youth in Crisis: Facing the Future*, Braamfointen, Ravan, 1992; Sisulu, 'Organisation, Identity and Violence amongst activist Diepkloof Youth, 1984-1993', MA Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1993.
[141] J. Seekings, 'The 'Lost Generation': South Africa's 'Youth Problem' in the early-1990s', *Transformation 29*, 1996, pp.103-125; See also, Seekings, *Heroes or Villains? Youth Politics in the 1980s*, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1993; 'Media Representation of 'Youth' and the South African Transition, 1989-1994', *South African Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, No.2, April 1995, pp.25-42.
[142] Seekings, 'The 'Lost Generation', p.103.
[143] R.E Johnson, 'Making History, Gendering Youth: Young Women and South Africa's Liberation Struggles after 1976', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, 2010; see also, L. Manicom, 'Ruling Relations: Rethinking State and Gender in South African History', *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1992, pp.441-465.

liberation politics and the reproduction of history as arenas for contesting and creating gender ideologies. She concludes that the absence of young women from the histories of the struggle is baseless because it runs contrary to female youth participation and should constantly be challenged.

1.6 Juvenile Delinquency in Zimbabwe

A number of works have emerged on juvenile delinquency in Zimbabwe but the majority of these works focus on the late colonial and post-colonial periods. What is missing is a comprehensive account that historicises the juvenile delinquency from the colonial period. However, there are a few exceptions. For example, Josephine Nhongo makes a comparative analysis of the juvenile rehabilitation facilities of black and white races in Southern Rhodesia from the 1930s to the early 1950s.[144] She concentrates on the bifurcation that existed in these institutions as dictated by the policy of racial segregation showing how the differential financial and infrastructural allocations to handle the problem of delinquency affected the rehabilitation process. She also traces the legal framework under which delinquency was handled, and emphasises the exclusion of the African child from the 1929 Children's Act and the ramifications thereof. However, beyond the race issue, Nhongo fails to place these developments within the context of the wider political economy and social constructions of deviance in colonial society. In addition, the work, as the title suggests, lacks the gendered perceptions of juvenile delinquency in colonial society. However, my study benefits from this work in so far as an appreciation of the problem of juvenile delinquency would be incomplete without perspectives on racial prejudices in handling juvenile delinquency. In his Bachelor of Social Work dissertation, John A. Cullen analyses the late colonial society and the role of parenting in the development of juvenile delinquency.[145] Methodologically, however, the work was driving at the single causative factor to juvenile delinquency. As a result, the work provides no other alternative explanations. As is argued, the problem of juvenile delinquency was a complex issue and this study goes beyond the singular cause approach to include class, gender and ethnicity.

[144] J. Nhongo, 'Male Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia: A survey of the problem from the 1930s to the early 1950s', Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1989.
[145] J.A Cullen, 'Inadequate Parental Roles as a causative factor in Juvenile Delinquency', Honours Social Work Dissertation, University of Rhodesia, 1976.

Norma Kriger[146] and Terence Ranger[147] discuss aspects of generation conflict during the liberation struggle between the young *Vana mujiba and Chimbwido* (runners and informers) and guerrillas on the one hand and parental and chiefly authority on the other.[148] By the late 1970s, as the liberation war intensified armies were recruiting young boys, sometimes from schools, to meet the demand for men at the front. This engendered a situation of institutional absence and a growing number of armed delinquents in the rural areas. The majority of recruits were now receiving short training in the training bases in Mozambique before they were armed sent back to fight. In oral accounts of the struggle, the 1970s appear as the period when the guerrilla code of conduct of self-restraint and respect collapsed as the young guerrillas took over. Killings and beatings increased and there were increasing reports of young females being forced into sexual unions with young guerrillas. This period, however, has not received scholarly analysis using the concept of juvenile delinquency.

Ivan Hove and Thandazani Mpofu focus on the statutory reforms of punishment specific to juveniles in post-colonial Zimbabwe.[149] Hove recognises how the post-independence Zimbabwean judiciary system suffered from colonial legacies and was unable to dispense juvenile justice effectively. By 1984, 16 year juveniles were still being tried in criminal courts and not in juvenile courts because of a backlog of cases, shortage of magistrates and probation officers. Mpofu offers a comparative analysis of penal systems between Zimbabwe and Sweden and the extent to which available sentences offer an opportunity for offenders to receive treatment. She concluded that more reforms are necessary in order to enhance the effectiveness of the juvenile reform system in Zimbabwe largely because of authorities' negative attitudes to juvenile delinquents. The rehabilitation system has not freed itself from colonial attitudes of viewing juvenile delinquents as criminals and juvenile rehabilitation institutions as 'jails' for children. In addition, resource allocation to rehabilitation facilities and jails has been very limited under persistently harsh economic climates. In this respect, underfunding of juvenile

[146] N. Kriger, 'Zimbabwe War of Liberation: Struggles within the Struggle', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.14, No.2, 1988, pp.304-324.
[147] T. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe. A comparative Study*, London, James Currey, 1985.
[148] T. Lyons, *Guns and Guerilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle*, Trento, Africa World Press, 2003.
[149] I. Hove, 'Juvenile Delinquency and the Sentencing Practice in Courts', Honours in Social Work Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1984; T Mpofu, 'Is Juvenile Sentencing aimed at treatment or punishment? A comparative analysis between Zimbabwe and Sweden', Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2006. On the operation of post-independence juvenile rehabilitation system see A. Mphansi, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Zimbabwe: A case study of John Smale Home, Barham Green', Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1983.

penal systems has jeopardised juvenile rehabilitation in Zimbabwe. My study provides a link between the colonial and post-colonial official attitudes toward juvenile delinquency, funding, personnel shortages among other things.

Ushehwedu Kufakurinani *et al* have documented the impact of the post 2000 Zimbabwean migration on families during the post 2000 period.[150] They conclude that migration has caused breakdown of families and long distance parenting which has engendered, among other things, the development of juvenile delinquency particularly among youths of school going age. Delinquency has, therefore, emerged as a result socio-economic problems in Zimbabwean society that have undermined family values and parents' ability to provide for their children. In the same vein, my discussion on the 'emergence' of juvenile delinquency in the 1930s analyses how poverty and deprivation affected white society moral fabric, undermined social values and how society failed to meet parental obligations.

Although there is a paucity of historical works that directly speak to juvenile delinquency for the colonial period, there is a general body of literature on childhood and youth. Beverley C. Grier's path breaking work on African juvenile labour in colonial Zimbabwe stands out as one of the most comprehensive studies on youths.[151] Grier qualifies the importance of child labour to the colonial economy at a time when works on colonial labour systems focused on adult male labour at the expense of women and children.[152] She highlights how African childhood was altered in time and space under colonialism at the dictates of the labour needs of the capitalist economy. In addition, central to her work is the agency of African adolescents who resisted social categorization and control by African patriarchy and the colonial state. This piece of work is important because it gives perspectives on how children entered the labour market and how they were perceived and constructed by colonial processes.

In his Masters' dissertation, Gilbert Mada analyses the militarisation of white Rhodesian youths through Cadet Schools and universal military call-ups.[153] His study hints on discourses of

[150] U. Kufakurinani, D. Pasura, J. Macgregor, 'Transnational Parenting and the emergence of Diaspora Orphans in Zimbabwe', *African Diaspora*, 7, 2014, pp.114-138; Kufakurinani, 'A Crisis of Expectation? Narratives on the impact of Migration on Gender and Family in Zimbabwe, 2000-2011', *Zambezia*, XXXX, (i/ii) ,2013, pp.39-62.
[151] B.C Grier, *Invisible Hands: Child Labour and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2006.
[152] For details on juvenile labour see also, C. Van Onslen, *Chibaro: African mine labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933*, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1976; S.C, Rubert, *A most promising weed: A history of tobacco farming and labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1945*, Athens, Centre for International Studies, Ohio University, 1998.
[153] G. Mada, 'Interventionism vs Resistance: The Militarisation of White Youth in Southern Rhodesia, 1926-1980', M.A Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2006; For a more detailed study on youth conscription in the

hegemonic white masculinities driven through institutions like youth military schools and sport. Young male Rhodesians were taught to cherish guns and from the 1970s, the Rhodesian Front government advanced ideologies that called for the advancement of warrior machismo in the preservation of white superiority. However, Mada's conclusions are overly simplistic because white society was complex and white values involved much more than militarism. In this study, I explore issues of white homogeneity and state social engineering and how it was implemented in order to achieve white dominance. In addition, state social engineering also existed at the level of Empire. Katja Uusihakala explores the nexus between growth of Empire, childhood and social engineering. The Rhodesian Fairbridge Memorial College was a boarding school established in Bulawayo in 1946 aimed at advancing Empire through the increase of "pure blood" British population in the colonies.[154] Children with a sufficiently high IQ between the ages of 5 and 13 years were selected in Britain and sent to Southern Rhodesia where they received a first class education for high professional and elite position. Children with high IQ were preferred in order to minimise their 'degeneration' and contact with 'native' races. The case of the Fairbridge School shows how Empire was sustained not only by adult migration but colonial societies were engineered from the metropole through child migration programmes. My study explores how the movement of people and ideas across the empire influenced similarities in policies and the framing of childhood.

The social constructions of childhood and youth are also informed by women and gender histories. Elizabeth Schmidt,[155] Teresa Barnes[156] and Diana Jeater[157] have examined colonial constructions of images of African women. Jeater examines African marriage relationships in Southern Rhodesia and how female sexuality was subjected not only to African patriarchal control but also how the coming of colonialism remodelled and refashioned it. The process of regulating female sexuality was mainly in the political sphere with control in their physical movement and values of good wifehood, partly meditated the Christian values, as well as in the reproductive process. In the same vein, Barnes highlights the position of marginality accorded to African women within the colonial economy and how their presence in the urban

1970s see also, L. White, *Unpopular Sovereignty. Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonisation*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2015.

[154] Uusihakala, 'Rescuing children, reforming the Empire: British child migration to colonial Southern Rhodesia'

[155] E. Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe 1870-1939*, Harare, Baobab Books, 1992.

[156] Barnes, *We Women Worked So Hard, Gender, urbanisation and social reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956*, London, Heinemann, 1999.

[157] D. Jeater, *Marriage, Pervasion and Power: the construction of moral discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1930*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993.

environment was ‘a moral problem’ met with intolerance from both the African patriarch and the colonial state. Notwithstanding, women took the initiative to negotiate for space in the urban set up which was considered a male domain and also contested the labels given to them. These two works are particularly important because they inform my study in the conceptualization of the African woman and how this informed notions of the female delinquent. Over and above that, they serve as a window into the colonial mind on how it constructed not only women but also colonial subjects as a whole.

This study also draws from non-historical works on childhood. Robert Muponde analyses childhoods from a literary perspective and argues that childhood is accorded a central role in social, political, and cultural concerns to express culturally and historically specific ideas.[158] Drawing from a wide range of Zimbabwean literature in English, he presents childhood as a shifting set of ideas and under continual construction ‘contested, temporal and emergent’; childhood as incompetent and vulnerable; and ‘childhood as an idea in society’s explanation of the world as whole’.[159] The three perspectives above emerge in my analysis of juvenile delinquency and the use of fictional literature could provide an essential angle in analysis childhood and their agency. Although my work uses biographies and autobiographies, fictional writing is not wholly discounted as a source of ideas about a specific historical periods and society’s value systems.

1.7 A Note on Sources

The thesis is based on a qualitative research design depending mainly on primary sources in the analysis of constructions and perceptions of deviance and delinquency in colonial Zimbabwe. I utilized material from the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) such as Native Commissioners Reports, Commissions of Inquiry such as the Juvenile Delinquency Commission of 1944, Central Investigation Department (CID) files, Native Welfare Associations correspondence, circulars and minutes of meetings, among others. The sustained nature of the reports and surveys produced within the various government departments provided a foundation for the construction childhood and youth experiences under colonialism. In particular, perspectives gleaned from parliamentary debates shed light on the colonial mind on the conception of childhood and policies directed at them. In addition, Education committee

[158] R. Muponde, *Some kinds of Childhoods: Images of History and Resistance in Zimbabwean Literature*, New Jersey, Africa World Press, 2015.
[159] *Ibid*, p.5.

reports of 1908 and 1916 gave me room to explore the philosophy and place of colonial education in intra and inter racial relations. Successive colonial governments regarded education as a vital tool in the maintenance of white hegemony and economic dominance over the subject races.

I consulted the crime statistics from the ministry of justice in the reconstruction of juvenile crime. Successive colonial governments spent time and resource in documenting crime because it was central to the maintenance of law and order. The development of crime statistics was also closely linked to the policing of African population movement and the provision of labour. These aspects were linked to perceptions and constructs of African childhood and what was deemed appropriate behaviour. In this respect, Native Commissioners' reports were particularly important. I also utilised African newspapers and magazines such as the *Bantu Mirror, African Daily News,* and *African Parade* among others to capture the voice of the African educated 'elites' on the development of urban society, management of urban space and their values of 'respectability'. The views in the editorial comments and other contributions to the papers shed light on how sections of African society viewed and responded the colonial urban and rural social transformation including the development of juvenile delinquency.

To allow for wider perspectives I also used material generated by urban municipalities on various aspects including African welfare, health, housing and recreation. In particular, the Native Administration Department reports which stretched between 1947 and 1974 give a comprehensive foundation to an analysis of urban societies. They provide a range of information from the number of families in each residential area, number of children and those of school-going age as well as the enrolment levels in the urban Primary and Secondary Schools, and recreational facilities. From these reports one can interpret the effects of infrastructural limitations on communities in general and on children in particular. Salient in these reports are the bottlenecks in the provision of educational facilities which contributed to juvenile delinquency. Large numbers of primary school leavers who were too young to work could not be accommodated in the limited urban secondary school facilities because they were considered as 'illegal residents'. The urban conditions for Africans after World War II illuminated the contradictions between the state desire to develop a settled and disciplined African workforce at a time when it was not committed to providing the requisite infrastructure that would nurture such a society.

Although reports generated by local municipalities provided empirical data there was a limit to which they could be utilised. The town authorities have rich repositories on urban policies and people's experiences spanning several decades but they do not have fully functional libraries where the material can be accessed. For example, the Bulawayo City Council has an archive on housing and social policies but the archive has no catalogue for easy access to the material. The same can also be said of Harare (formerly Salisbury). The urban councils face problems at two levels regarding the establishment of functional libraries namely funding and trained personnel. Consequently, it is largely the local government files housed at the National Archives of Zimbabwe which can be accessed through a system of cataloguing. However, not all urban councils deposited their material at NAZ and for those that did the information is incomplete and there are some missing files.

The colonial archive was also limiting to a study of this nature. For example, white racial infantilisation of the African resulted in the blanket usage of the term 'boy' to refer to all male Africans. This presented a challenge on the interpretation of the archive for 'boy' as a demarcation of age and 'boy' as a pejorative term especially for the period 1890 to the 1930s. In addition, this blanket term blurred age distinctions and made the identification of categories like 'youth' and 'juvenile' hard to pin down. Furthermore, this 'invisible' category has neither voice nor agency within the official record. Typically, Africans were spoken for and were subject to interpretation.[160] This study attempts to circumvent this challenge through the employment of autobiographies. The lived experiences of individuals and their encounter with colonialism provided an alternative interpretation into how children and youth imagined life and their experiences. The life experiences of Lawrence Vambe, Maurice Nyagumbo, Dambudzo Marechera, and Didymus Mutasa among others help explore the different angles of African children and their agency under colonialism. In addition, the development of the school system in the 1920s and 1930s saw the emergence of a separate social category of young people who identified with education and Christian values forcing colonial officials to identify this cohort in specific terms.

Literary works capture the contextual atmosphere and if carefully used have as much socio-historical value as oral interviews. Through these works of literature writers mirrored society's norms and values and such writings often provided contemporary accounts of both an insider

[160] D. Jeater, *Law, Language and Science: The Invention of the 'Native Mind' in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1930*, Portsmouth, Heinemann, 2007.

and participant. In this respect, they carefully captured the contextual atmosphere, power struggles of localised communities and whole societies. Juvenile delinquency was a social problem which emerged from power relations and norms and societal values captured in these contemporary accounts of African life. However, I acknowledge the limits of literary works as sources of empirical data beyond offering insights into aspects of social life.

1.8 Thesis Structure

Drawing from literature on Zimbabwean history, chapter one provides an overview of colonial Zimbabwean history from 1890 to 1960 mapping the major contours in socio-political developments. Building on what is already there, the chapter points to new ways in which new furrows can be ploughed. It discusses colonial social relations between the white settlers and the colonised Africans in which hierarchies of race, class and gender were developed. The hierarchal structure sustained white dominance and from it emerged concepts of 'deviance' and 'delinquency' within and across races. In addition, the chapter discusses white socialisation and the development of dominant 'white' values which the colonial settler state expected all whites to abide with. Overall, those who operated on the fringes of state sanctioned behaviours were deemed deviant delinquent.

The thesis is divided into two broad sections with Section A comprising three chapters and two chapters in Section B. This division has been necessitated by two main reasons. First, the construction of meanings of deviance and delinquency in the black and white race and state response to them had marked differences and could not be sufficiently discussed in the same chapters. Second, discussions on juvenile delinquency within the two different races chronologically overlap. These factors warranted the development of separate chapters divided into two broad sections. Section A deals with African juvenile delinquency and comprises of chapter 2, 3 and 4. Section B looks at delinquency among whites in chapter 5 and 6. However, the division does not entail disparate discussions. Instead, comparisons and cross references are made.

Chapter two explores the development and enforcement of concepts of 'deviance' and 'delinquency' in rural Southern Rhodesia from the 1890s to the 1950s. It analyses the impact of colonialism on the generational relations between the African youths and male elders. As is argued, colonial institution transformed 'traditional' authority and gave youth a platform to escape patriarchal control through wages labour, new forms of wealth accumulation, education

and Christianity. These new institutions set the youths on a collision course with parents/guardians, African Chiefs as defenders of traditions and customs, in their capacity as functionaries of the state. Authorities were particularly worried about new forms of youth entertainment which they perceived to be 'immoral'. Through using the concepts of 'youth' and 'deviance' this chapter seeks to understand the ways in which the colonial state sought to control its African population. The use of youth deviance to understand colonial society and colonial social order is especially revealing because the control of youth and their behaviour was one of the many ways through which the colonial state sought to entrench and sustain layers of white hegemony.

Further examining issues surrounding youth deviance and crime discussed in chapter two, chapter three adds an important dimension to historical understanding of African youths. It examines African urbanisation and the transformation of youth deviance and crime from the 1920s to around 1960. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section one examines juvenile delinquency as a socio-economic problem associated with youth adjusting to colonial and urban regulation in towns which were exclusively designed for white settlement. The lack of social services such as adequate housing, recreational facilities coupled with slender economic opportunities and a low wage structure influenced the state 'discovered' juvenile delinquency problem. Indeed, crimes like theft and house breaking arose out of the limited urban economy. The section further demonstrates that juvenile delinquency was as much a socio-economic problem as it was a technical one. Juveniles were arrested under the broad vagrancy regulations for 'loitering', hawking and 'soliciting for prostitution'. Juvenile delinquency statistics were inflated by such crimes. Section two analyses the transformation of juvenile delinquency into a socio-political concern for the state from the late 1950 to around 1960. The emergence of confrontationist mass nationalist movements during this period found expression in violent strikes and demonstrations. Youths were some of the new adherents to these emergent movements with their grievances of unemployment and limited educational facilities. Section three examines the philosophy and nature of state efforts at dealing with African juvenile delinquency between 1930 and 1945. It analyses the legal foundations of juvenile delinquency rehabilitation, juvenile incarceration and policies which sought to 'divert' African youth energies into 'proper channels'. The section demonstrates that the state efforts at curbing juvenile delinquency were late in coming and when they did come they were half-hearted and poorly funded. The quintessential state strategy against delinquency was to rid the urban areas of African juveniles.

Chapter four analyses the nature of African youth policy from 1945 to 1960. The Second World War transformed the economic and demographic structure of African society. The expansion of the manufacturing industry in beginning in the 1940s demanded a skilled and stable African labour force. Overall, African welfare services expanded to ameliorate the condition of the urban Africans and youth policy was realigned. The chapter determines the extent to which the policies in the post 1945 period constituted any significant departure from the pre-1945 policy and practices. It examines the treatment of youth and youth deviance through the 'liberal' policies starting from the immediate post war years to the Federal years of racial partnership. The chapter also interrogates the liberal policies as they applied to African education, provision of youth welfare and the development of juvenile rehabilitation facilities.

Chapter five explores the contours of white juvenile delinquency in the context of the politics of white rule from the 1890s to the 1950s. It traces the emergence and development of constructs of juvenile delinquency. The 1930s witnessed state 'discovery' of juvenile delinquency in the wake of the Great Depression but delinquency labels associated with poverty had long before been applied on youth and youth behaviours. White delinquency intersected with the safeguarding of 'white standards' for the sustenance of racial binaries and the perpetuation of white racial superiority and colonial rule. The chapter de-homogenises white society along race, culture and class lines. I will argue that state limitations to achieve a white monolith resulted in the side-lining and vilification of certain groups of whites along race, culture and class. I will show how the myth of white superiority hung like a spectre over the whole construction of white youth identities. In addition, gender is employed as a unit of analysis to shed light on the specific forms of juvenile behaviours and the meanings attached to them. In addition, I argue that state response to the 'spectre of the poor white problem' which underlines juvenile delinquency in the 1930s involved a series of measures aimed at engineering colonial society and preserve white dominance. White juvenile delinquents were rehabilitated to (re)embrace the socially prescribed identity in white society.

Chapter six traces the conceptualisation and operation the 'child in need of care' from the 1930s to 1960. The socio-legal foundations of the 'child in need of care' were influenced by British and imperial notions of childhood. Southern Rhodesia operated a racially differential social welfare policy in which white children, particularly those from the working class families received state protection in welfare programmes. However, the need for care justified paternalistic state interventions on behalf of parents who failed to uphold 'white standards' in raising their children. The state had the authority to determine the future of children by

determining the nature of education they pursued and appropriate type of skills training. Broadly, the Juvenile Affairs Boards of the 1930s were fundamental in meeting the employment needs of white children leaving school. The Boards represented an extra market measure in cushioning white youths against unemployment in the harsh economic environment of the Great Depression. However, the white female juvenile had a special place as a child in need care. White poverty increased possibility of interracial contact and the female was perceived as especially vulnerable to miscegenation. The female 'moral deviate' exposed white fears and intolerance of cross racial sexual contact. The rehabilitation of the 'morally corrupt' also represented state social engineering of female children to embrace Victorian concepts of domesticity and confine their career paths to domestic related jobs.

Consolidating the main arguments of the thesis, the conclusion will outline the major trends in the development of juvenile delinquency in Southern Rhodesia. It traces the concept of juvenile delinquency and its broader implications on debates on colonial society. It also opens up space for a discussion on the nature of colonial childhood history and its local and transnational influences. Ultimately, the thesis aims to create a more comprehensive account of juvenile delinquency that speaks to state social engineering, white settler homogeneity and notions of Empire.

Section A

African Juvenile Delinquency

Chapter Two: African Youth Deviance and Crime in Rural Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1950s

Introduction

This chapter explores the development and enforcement of concepts of deviance and delinquency among African youths in rural Southern Rhodesia and exposes the fundamentals of and changes in the prevailing notions of what constituted colonial social order. Apart from cases where individuals were in violation of the law, delinquency was dependent upon Rhodesia's social system. Both the colonial state and the Africans who occupied positions of authority employed ideas of deviance as a tool of social control. For the colonial state, the control of youth and their behaviour was one of the many ways through which it entrenched layers of white hegemony. Analysing deviance as a tool meant to enable colonial social control requires that we move beyond statistics of criminal activities committed by people whom the state categorised as juveniles. The nature of colonial relations and institutions did not allow a clear distinction of juvenile as, both, an age and social category during this period. In particular, there was no system of registering African births and age determination was discretionary. In addition, the nature of record keeping in crime statistics had inconsistences and it is difficult to draw conclusions based on, incomplete and unreliable statistical data. Moreover, although statistical data allows us to extrapolate on the incidence and nature of youth misdemeanour, the concept of 'juvenile delinquency' is difficult to apply. The absence of precise ways of capturing age meant that many of those people whom the colonial state considered to be juveniles could as well have been young adults while the indiscretions that I discuss here were not committed against the state (and were therefore not criminal), but against African seniors. Consequently, the broader terms of 'youth' and 'deviance' allow for a more nuanced study of the behaviours of young people.

2.1 Crime Statistics and Juvenile Offenders in Southern Rhodesia

The colonial state devoted time and resource to ensuring the maintenance of law and order. The historiography of Southern Rhodesia documents African crime because the enactment and observation of legislation was central to the colonial state's ability to effectively administer

and control the population.[1] However, none of the existing works discusses the nature of juvenile crime and the trends in crime statistics. The colonial state developed a legal system designed to coerce and exploit the subject races. In view of this fact, colonial crime statistics provide an ample and practicable basis for analysing the emergence, nature and development of juvenile crime. However, the nature and operations of the BSAP during the formative years of colonial rule was a limiting factor in reporting and documenting crime. In particular, the police force was not interested in assuming "law maintaining order" roles. In 1903 the Secretary for the Law Department lamented that,

> The BSAP in general have shown a languid interest in criminal work. The majority of the members of the police appear to regard themselves as a purely military body. They view any invitation to assist the civil authorities in the investigation of criminal matters beyond the supposed scope of their duties.[2]

In addition, the police force was overwhelmed by the large areas they had to cover. Periodic police patrols in the African reserves sometimes took up to two weeks to complete.[3] Over and beyond that, African police were notorious for brutalising people through plunder, rape and beatings during their tax collection patrols. It was the African police

> Who ravished their daughters, and insulted their young men, who tweaked the beards of their chieftains and made lewd jokes with the elder women of the Great House, who abused the law they were expected to uphold, who respected none but the Native Commissioners and officers of police, who collected taxes at point of their assegais, and ground the people in tyranny and oppression.[4]

As already highlighted, the white police were no less brutal. In this respect, the poor relationship between the police and the African people engendered fear, suspicion and resentment. It is likely that some crimes especially those involving children were not reported to a police force that was notorious for its brutality.

The table below shows juvenile crime statistics for the period 1910-1936. It includes the number of cases per given year and the number of districts contributing crime statistics.

[1] Zimudzi, 'African Women, Violent Crime and the Criminal Law in Zimbabwe, 1900-1952'; Ranger, 'Tales of the Wild West: Gold-Diggers and Rustlers in South-West Zimbabwe, 1898-1940: An Essay in the Use of Criminal Court Records for Social History'; Ndlovu/Gatsheni, 'African Criminality in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1923'
[2] National Archives of Zimbabwe [Hereafter referred to as NAZ] DB 2/3, Attorney General and Law Department Correspondence: The Secretary of the Law Department to the Attorney General, C.H. Tredgold, 09 March 1903.
[3] NAZ S235/ 392, Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances," NC Belingwe to CNC, 24 September, 1930.
[4] Ndebele Headman, Somabulala, quoted in Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives*, p.37.

Table 1: Juvenile Delinquency Statistics, 1910-1936.

Year	No. of Crimes Brought before the Courts	No. of Districts Contributing to Crime Statistics per year
1910	36	11
1912	114	21
1919	283	38
1920	334	37
1921	229	36
1922	252	35
1923	336	35
1924	365	45
1925	280	41
1926	283	45
1927	317	51
1928	324	47
1929	419	51
1930	522	51
1931	450	54
1932	422	52
1933	470	51
1934	676	48
1935	721	55
1936	653	53
Total	**7486**	

Source: NAZ J5/4/1Juvenile Offenders: Returns, 1910-1923. NAZ J5/4/2 Juvenile Offenders: Returns, 1924-1936.

Between 1919 and 1923, the number of cases fluctuated. The predominant crimes were housebreaking, theft, contravention of the Native Pass Laws and the Master and Servants

Ordinance.[5] As early as 1911, the Chief Native Commissioner observed that the rise of crime figures in the colony was a result of what he termed 'petty offences owing to youngsters breaking away from tribal control to enter the colonial labour market'.[6] From 1927 into the early 1930s, there was a significant increase in the number of cases from 317 in 1927 to 470 in 1933. This trend is attributed to two related factors. Firstly, the Juveniles Employment Act (1926) legalised the issuing of work certificates for juvenile wage labour contract.[7] As a result, African juveniles were allowed greater movement across administrative districts and away from parental control. In addition, legalising juvenile labour paved the way for African juveniles' liability to a web of legislation including the Master and Servants Ordinance (1901) and the Native Pass Laws (1902) which were designed to keep a steady flow of labour and stipulated parameters of work relations.

For example, in 1927 in Mazoe District there were four cases of desertion and one absent without leave involving juveniles of between 12 and 13 years of age.[8] In 1935 African juvenile, Watson (14 years) of Gatooma received 8 cuts for refusing to obey his employers' instructions.[9] Prior to 1926 juveniles could escape trial for desertion or contravention of pass laws, but the 1926 act changed all that. Although African juveniles had long been part of the wage labour market, legalising juvenile labour increased the rate at which employers contracted them and made juveniles liable to a litany of labour laws. According to Grier, not only was child labour a cheaper option in terms of wages paid out, but juveniles offered the employer more value because they could be manipulated in terms of work targets.[10] Secondly, the Great Depression and its concomitant economic problems made juvenile labour an even more attractive option. In addition, the legal movement and presence of juveniles in areas of industry and commerce in times of economic difficulty increased crimes of housebreaking and theft.[11]

However, the nature of record keeping, age determination, and government's attitude towards African criminality during this period makes a study into African juvenile delinquency through crime statistics a very difficult task. Although juvenile crime statistics for this period appear separately from the overall crime figures in the colony, they are only statistics of juveniles

[5] NAZ J5/4/1, Juvenile Offenders: Returns, 1910-1923; NAZ J5/4/2 Juvenile Offenders: Returns, 1924-1936.
[6] NAZ N/3/3/2, Native Department, Chief Native Commissioner-Correspondence: CNC to Secretary to Administrator, 12 October 1911.
[7] *Juveniles Employment Act 1926*
[8] NAZ J5/4/2, Juvenile Offenders: Returns, 1924-1936.
[9] Ibid
[10] Grier, *Invisible Hands: Child Labour and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe*, p.139.
[11] 'The employment of Native Juveniles' *The Bantu Mirror* 14 May 1933.

whose ages could be determined, more often than not, through the discretion of NCs and judiciary officials. The African 'juvenile' was the reference term in colonial labour recruitment and tax payment.[12] However, there was lack of consensus on who was a juvenile. In order to maximise labour to satisfy the needs of capital, the conceptual elements of an African juvenile were not necessarily numerical but were at the 'discretion' of colonial officials. In the political economy of Southern Rhodesia, the use of 'discretion' in determining the age in an African was a convenient tool in primitive accumulation. Although the Juvenile Employment Act (1926) stipulated that an African would start paying tax at 16 years the Native Commissioner could simply judge that one was 16 years even when they were, in fact, 14 years old. This confusion as to who was a juvenile persisted beyond the jurisdiction of NCs. The Ibbotson Report on African Juvenile Delinquency of 1944 indicated that while the legal age of adulthood was 18 years some judiciary officials viewed a juvenile as someone under the age of 17 years, while the police regarded a 14 year old as an adult by virtue of eligibility for a certificate under the Native Passes Act of 1914.[13] This confusion rendered statistical data unreliable making it difficult to draw conclusion from them.

In exercising power Southern Rhodesian NCs disregarded African birth records on Missionary Baptism Certificates and trusted their own judgement and 'discretion'. Authorities widely believed that African juveniles were smaller in stature than their white counterparts.[14] Similarly in Kenya 'Officials determined age often by looking under the arm for hair'.[15] In this respect, 'juvenile' and 'adult' became very porous concepts. The difference between a juvenile and an adult in an African depended on the whims of a particular colonial official. This lack of a standard for age determination gave officials wide ranging powers over African subjects. It is possible that some NCs deliberately inflated the ages of 'juveniles' so that they were made to pay tax and enhance returns in districts with low population. The same was done to satisfy labour demand. Overall, the computing of crime statistics in determining the incidence and nature of juvenile crime was compromised.

Prior to the 1940s Southern Rhodesia colonial governments were unwilling to recognise African juvenile crime as a social problem that required state attention because this would

[12] *Juveniles Employment Act 1926*
[13] P. Ibbotson, *Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, The Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia, 1944, pp.9-11.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] R.M.A. Van Zwanenburg and A. King, *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1975, p.4-5.

warrant provision of social institutions. In addition, Colonial officials were not supportive of social spending on Africans which did not have a direct effect on labour supply.[16] For example, African education and health needs were relegated to the operations on missionary bodies.[17] In particular, the BSAC government wanted to minimise the cost of administration while maximizing the profit of colonial enterprise. Significant government support for social services only came in the form of grants-in-aid to a select few African institutions in the 1920s. Whereas a lunatic asylum was established for the 'violent and dangerous lunatics' in 1908[18] because they disrupted colonial social order, the same was not done for juvenile delinquency because the matter spoke directly to access to and control of labour. It is likely that some taxpayers were actually juveniles who would occasionally break the law. However, certifying and confining them to a rehabilitation institution would influence tax returns and labour supply. Colonial officials also conveniently classified juveniles as adults in order to avoid the awkward situation of having a growing number of juvenile offenders that the government was unwilling to recognise as a problem. The Commission of Inquiry into African Juvenile Delinquency of 1944 reported that, 'the ages of many juveniles brought before the courts were overestimated and were regarded as adults and they served imprisonment as such'.[19] This fact of the colonial judiciary system renders statistics for juvenile crime in Southern Rhodesia a limiting source in historicising juvenile crime.

The extent of juvenile 'delinquency' in Southern Rhodesia cannot be determined because all recorded cases appeared as first offenders. Since the state did not recognise juvenile delinquency as a social problem, there was no incentive to compute case histories of repeat offenders. Consequently, the collation of statistics made it difficult to separate recidivists or repeat offenders who had developed delinquency tendencies from first time offenders. It is, therefore, difficult to arrive at concrete statistics of juveniles as an age category and delinquents as a technical term denoting repeat offenders. In addition, sentencing of juveniles was not done in any systematic or uniform way. Individual judicial officials and Native Commissioners judged each case on its own merits and sentencing was subject to their discretion. For example, in Enkeldoorn in 1936 African juvenile offenders of 17 years were sentenced to cuts for any crime.[20] In Melsetter, Mutigwa (14 years) was sentenced to 3 weeks Imprisonment with Hard

[16] Summers, 'Boys, Brats and Education: Reproducing White Maturity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1915-1935', p.133.
[17] I. Mhike, ''A case of Perennial Shortage': State Registered Nurse Training and Recruitment in Southern Rhodesian Government Hospitals, 1939-1963' Masters Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007, p.12.
[18] Jackson, *Surfacing Up: Psychiatry and Social Order in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1908-1968*, p.47.
[19] Ibbotson, *Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, 1944, p.19.
[20] NAZ J5/4/2, Juvenile Offenders: Returns, 1924-1936.

Labour (IHL) for stealing mangoes. In the same year in Mtoko, Chale Shamva (16 years) was given 15 cuts with a cane for culpable homicide.[21]

Furthermore, the inaccuracies of colonial juvenile crime statistics were not only a result of the environment in which they were generated but sometimes they were inaccurate in themselves. For example, crimes statistics and criminal reports for the period 1890-1909 were inaccurate and unreliable. Their reliability is compromised because they are not corroborated by other sources such as the CNC's reports and annual reports of the Department of Law. The national criminal reports for 1910 suggest that 60 whites and 150 non-whites were prosecuted yet for the same year the annual reports of the Department of Justice recorded 385 whites and 1,907 non-whites. [22] As Gatsheni-Ndlovu notes, the administrative competency of the law enforcement organisations was slow and the gradual improvement of efficiency in dealing with crime affected crime statistics.[23] Between 1910 and 1918 there was a gap in juvenile crime figures, probably because of the First World War. However, this reason still does not explain absence of figures from 1910-1914.

The reliability of juvenile delinquency figures also speaks to the broader debates about overall populating statistics in Southern Rhodesia. The colonial state relied on the rough estimates made by the CNC's office as a general guide to the rate of African population increase. NC's use of discretion in determining age in African young people distorted the computing of figures of the economically active and the number of taxpayers. Consequently, the first African census of 1962 indicated that previous estimates were off the mark if known rates of increase were extrapolated back from 1962.[24] In addition to the poor methods of population computing, NCs, Africa police and messengers were overwhelmed by population enumeration in the larger districts that were sometimes sparsely populated.[25] Furthermore, the turnover of NC's also affected the development of intimate knowledge of area population trends.[26] In view of this fact, colonial population figures were distorted by racialised and political economy informed interpretations of African population.

[21] Ibid.
[22] Ngulube, 'Crime and Colonial Ideology: A Case Study of Bulawayo District in the Period 1910-1936', p.8.
[23] Ndlovu/Gatsheni, 'African Criminality in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1923', p.15.
[24] R.W.M, Johnson, 'African population estimates-myths or reality', *Rhodesia Journal of Economics*, Vol.3, No.1, 1969, pp.5-16.
[25] D.N Beach, 'Zimbabwean Demography: Early Colonial Data', *Zambezia*, xvii, (i), 1990, p.33. see also, L. Zinyama and R. Whitlow, 'Changing patterns of population distribution in Zimbabwe', *Geojournal*, xiii, 1986, pp.365-384.
[26] Ibid.

2.2 Colonial Economy, African Youth and 'Deviance'

The colonial capitalist economy created alternative forms of wealth (money) and the means to acquire that wealth through wage labour, affording young people a platform to fight against patriarchal authority of African male elders. In addition, patriarchal control over land and labour was undermined by the new form of political power; the colonial state.[27] Although, the creation of colonial customary law, to a degree, strengthened African patriarchy, wage employment enabled young men and women to escape the economic and social control of male elders. The centres of economic activity (farms, mines and urban areas) were away from areas of African residence, and young people were able to escape patriarchal spatial control through migrant labour system. According to Rennie, Ndau youths under Gaza rule in the south east (which became Melsetter District under British colonial rule), who went to the mines in South Africa during the second half of the 19th century traditionally kept control of their earnings, turning over to their parents only a part of their wages.[28]

In addition, this migrant labour system coupled with the age-based regimental system in the Gaza Empire which emphasised valour and achievement created a sense of individualism that proved the undoing of kinship ties.[29] However, to suggest that migrant labour undermined kinship ties is not necessarily true because kinship ties were important in both the journey from home and migrants' stay at places of work.[30] More importantly, among the Ndau, money and regiments gave the hitherto latent conflict between the young and the old an institutional expression.

The colonial economy only served to sharpen these conflicts. It changed the spatial elements of juvenile labour. Initially men would migrate but as the capitalist economy transformed African society and productive systems, juvenile labour also entered the labour market. The JEA institutionalised the registration and employment of juveniles thereby opening economic opportunities to for an age group which was previously largely confined to household chores.

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[27] J. Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State-making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1890-2003*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006; J. Alexander, J. McGregor and T.O. Ranger, Violence *and Memory. One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland*, Oxford, James Currey, 2000.

[28] Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia', Unpublished PhD Thesis, North-western University, 1973.p. 269.

[29] Ibid.

[30] see, P. Delius, *A Lion Among the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal*, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1984; J. Giblin, *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge from the State in Twentieth Century Tanzania*, Oxford, James Currey, 2005.

In 1932, the *Bantu Mirror* complained about 'native juveniles roaming about seeking employment at a very young age'.[31] The colonial state legislated juvenile labour ostensibly to reduce the African family tax burden but the real motive was the need to satisfy colonial economy's labour needs. The workings of the act revealed the extent to which the colonial economy had decapitated the family unit and weakened traditional control apparatus over young people. In 1935, the Native Commissioner for Bulalima-Mangwe reported that,

> The matter was debated at the last Board Meeting, and a resolution passed that employment of boys be prohibited, except in such cases where a formal indenture or apprenticeship be entered into. It is felt that boys of a tender age who are employed often in unwholesome surroundings become vicious, and are estranged from their families; that most of them in no way support their parents from wages they earn.[32]

Many years later, the historian Richard Waller pointed out that the colonial state grew by harnessing the energies of the youth in various occupations such as being employed as petty functionaries in colonial administration, askaris, catechists and teachers, and as labourers building a modern economic infrastructure.[33] A young person became 'proficient in occupation which his father did not understand and was unable to practice…[and] too tended to despise the older generation as too old fashioned and unintelligent'.[34] Concomitant to this new role, youths acquired a sense of economic power and freedom.

In most pre-colonial Zimbabwean societies land, labour and cattle were central to the economy and polygamy had both a social and an economic function. Marrying many wives was a symbol of elevated social status and was central to the provision of labour for the household economy.[35] Most societies were patriarchal with land ownership and the control of labour within the jurisdiction of male elders and chiefs. Traditional leaders were able to accumulate wealth through their access to and control of land and labour.[36] This privilege enhanced their ability to maintain social control, as well as preserve their high social status and identity. Shona fathers had leverage over sons by virtue of their control of the means of production, land and cattle, and the means of reproduction (access to wives through cattle).[37] In this respect, male elders gained the acquiescence of young men and women through battery economic and cultural

[31] *Bantu Mirror*, 14 May 1932.
[32] NAZ S235/5/3, Native Commissioner, Bulalima-Mangwe Annual Report, 1935, p.10
[33] R. Waller, 'Rebellious Youth in Africa', p.78.
[34] A. Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam*. (Eastern African Studies.) Oxford: James Currey, 2005, p. 204.
[35] Schmidt, *Peasants Traders and Wives; Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939*, p.49-50.
[36] *Ibid*.
[37] Grier, *Invisible Hands, Child Labour and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe*, p. 27.

mechanisms. However, colonial rule transformed these social processes leaving male elders with an enfeeble legacy of control.

The migration of young people in search of wage labour was within the wider political economy of Southern Rhodesia. Successive colonial governments during this period were involved in primitive capital accumulation to augment state resources and support white commercial interest. Legislation included the Masters and Servants Ordinance (1901), Native Pass Ordinance (1902), Hut Tax (1904), Private Locations Ordinance (1908), Kaffir Beer Ordinance (1912), Dog Tax (1912), Cattle Dipping fees (1914) among others. These laws were further consolidated by legislation on land such as the Land Apportionment Act (1930). To all intents and purpose, these pieces of legislation were designed to force Africans to sell their labour to white commercial interests.

Youth participation in migrant labour was to escape patriarchal prerogatives and, partly, to transcend familial expectations and gain some autonomy over their labour power.[38] Youth decisions to participate in the colonial labour economy were also based on economic necessity and youth sense of adventure; 'The small piccanin', Tawse Jollie observed, 'gets tired of herding the family cattle or goats for nothing and hires himself out to a neighbouring farmer or to his wife, or he trots into the nearest town and gets a job in a store or kitchen'.[39] Colonial officials noted with concern the high incidence of rural exodus by young men as constituting a major grievance among parents because ploughing, harvesting and caring for livestock fell on women and old folk.[40] Chief Ntola complained that, 'the combined influences of the vicious civilising agencies on the younger generation as a result of their acquiring individual habits will tend to have a desire to free themselves from parental discipline'.[41] Although it may be argued that the generational conflict between the younger generation and the gerontocracy predated and outlived colonialism, the new social configurations necessitated by youth migrant labour accentuated these long standing conflicts.

Tawse Jollie describes how the African juveniles' appetite for the new colonial commodities got them hooked to the process of wage labour and commodity consumption.

[38] *Ibid*, p.34
[39] Tawse Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, p.255.
[40] I. Mhike, ''Untidy Tools of Colonialism' Education, Christianity and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia: the case of Night Dances, 1920s-1930s', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Vol. 38 Supplement, August 2012 p. 62.
[41] NAZ S482/550, CNC's Report to the Prime Minister on the Meeting of Mzingwane Chiefs, 15 December 1925, p.2.

> Nothing is quainter than the man-of-the-world air assumed by piccanin when they visit the Kafir (sic) store to do their shopping after drawing their pay. They have talked it all out before-hand, and know exactly what they want, but as likely as not they have several different funds to be expended for other piccanins, and the arithmetic involved would puzzle some people. As each sum is kept wrapped up separately in some mysterious fold of a small boy's scanty clothing, confusion is avoided, and he points out the articles he needs, planks down his money and picks the change with *aplomb* which would never betray the fact that this is the first money he has ever handled…The major purchases are easy- a blanket which looks like wool but is only cotton, a 'bopa' or length of cotton cloth to tie around him, or perhaps one of the gaily patterned cotton shawls…a mouth-organ, a comb, a snuff-box with a looking-glass in the lid, a coloured handkerchief, a gaudy brooch of earring made in Birmingham… It is apparent that the taste for shopping thus created will not easily be lost, and when the small boy begins to buy coats and breeches his fate is sealed. The work machine has surely got him. By and by he wants a wife, and has to raise what is to him a considerable sum.[42]

Colonial wage labour offered the African 'juvenile' opportunity to satisfy his desire for new commodities and the quest for economic freedom came at an earlier age than the pre-colonial homestead economy allowed.

The migrant labour system and colonial tax obligation on the African elevated the social status of the youth and set the potential for conflict with elders. For example, there were dances in the Chipinga district in the South East which were held as celebrations 'in welcome of those who have returned safely from work in the Johannesburg mines' with 'money for the government'.[43] Money for the government suggested tax obligations. Communities marked the safe return of young men with carnival and fanfare because their earnings would pay for household tax obligations and sometimes for the whole community.[44] In the drought prone areas of Melsetter and Chipinga Districts, migrant labour was central to tax payment. For example, between 1926 and 1936 persistent drought in the Sabi Valley caused Africans to default on their tax obligations.[45] In addition, the farmers in the area were notorious for offering low wages and ill-treating their African servants.[46] As a result, it became almost a custom in these districts that at a certain age the young men must proceed to South Africa to find employment.[47] By the 1940s, going to the Rand was an age-old custom and an African who had not worked in South Africa was looked by society upon as lazy.[48] Migrant labour was so central that it became a rite of passage for young men to graduate into adulthood. In order to enhance their chances of marriage young men had to go through migrant wage labour which

[42] Tawse Jollie, *The real Rhodesia*, p.256.
[43] NAZ S235/392, Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at Night Dances, NC Chipinga to CNC, 11 December 1930.
[44] Mhike, ''Untidy Tools of Colonialism': Education, Christianity and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia: the case of Night Dances, 1920s-1930s,' p. 66.
[45] C.H. Mabulala, 'The Native Affairs Department in Melsetter District: The Administration of LC Meredith (1895-1909) and P. Nielsen (1926-1936)', Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1986. p.11.
[46] Ibid
[47] NAZ S235/505, NC Melsetter Annual Report 1927, p.14.
[48] NAZ S1563, NC Melsetter Annual Report 1946, p.9.

had effectively become the rite of passage having taken over from the traditional initiation ceremonies. Failure to do so invited labels of ridicule and derision.[49] The new social values engendered new forms of masculinities based on migrant wage labour and acquisition of money.

Beyond the symbolic social function of the Chibununu dance among the Ndau and Sena people of South Eastern districts, the dance itself involved movements 'suggestive of the prancing of cocks amongst hens'[50], reflecting newly found confidence and elevated social status. In this respect, the migrant labour system engendered new social values which institutionalised achievement and adventure as fundamental values of youth. However, since the young men carried the burdens of their communities such as tax obligations they were able to free themselves from patriarchal control and carve a new social position and identity. Access to bride wealth and the new wants of the colonial economy were now firmly in their control with increasing numbers of youths less likely to acquiesce to patriarchal control.

2.3 African Education, 'Youth' and Delinquency

The development of African schools enhanced the development of the wider concept of youth and engendered a new youth identity and forms of deviance and delinquency.[51] By the 1920s schools were increasingly becoming a feature and source of pride in African villages of Southern Rhodesia.[52] African chiefs encouraged the establishment and expansion of schools in their areas. Africans desire for education had gone beyond the desire for basic literacy and had become a quest for an education that enhanced their social mobility.[53] The development of colonial education and the rise of the mission and kraal school system in colonial Rhodesia paved way for the emergence of a youth identity. According to Charton-Bigot the development of colonial schools contributed to the emergence of youth as a specific social category and

[49] Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia', p.276.
[50] NAZ S235/392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at Night Dances, NC Chipinga to CNC, 11 December, 1930.
[51] Western education and Christianity were two fundamental elements of colonialism which constituted part of the wider civilizing mission. The BSAC actively partnered the missionary bodies by giving them pieces of land to establish stations and effectively relegated African educational and medical services to these church missions. This move was initially predicated on profit maximisation and cost minimisation concepts of Company rule but persisted even after the 1923 Responsible Government.
[52] L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early days to 1934*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1965, p.223.
[53] C.Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, Portsmouth, Heinemann, 2002, pp.3-4.

schools created the conditions for the existence of a new category of actors between childhood and adulthood.[54] The term 'pupils' came to represent this distinct social group whose identity was weaved around education and Christianity. However, the use of the term in reference to those of school going age has to be treated with caution because it was not necessarily a term that could assist in identifying a particular age group. Whereas the term pupil, in the present, might be used to apply to the 6 to 14 age group in primary school, the nature of Southern Rhodesia colonial society and education created different circumstances. In this respect, identifying this cohort as youth is more appropriate as compared to trying to identify sub-groups such as juveniles. Proper age categorisation for Africans became standardised with increased African presence in urban areas in the 1940s. It is in this context that 'juvenile', 'youth' and 'adult' became more clearly separated.

In his autobiography, Maurice Nyagumbo gives a picture of this amorphous body of 'pupils'

> In 1933, a school was established at Mutenure village - Mukuwapasi School… As soon as the school was opened, it was flooded with pupils of various age-groups. There was a group which included married men and women; another of big boys and girls, numbered about two hundred and was the largest group, a third group consisted of pupils aged between 14 and 25 years old. All these groups were kept separate. The last group was ours, aged from 8 to 14.[55]

Although the presence of married men and women in school may have been part of the first wave of schools and the initial appetite for education, the high demand for schools meant that Africans went to school at a more mature age. As part of the precipitous trajectory of colonial schools, subsequent colonial correspondence began to make reference to what it called the 'educated young generation' whose identity coalesced around education, Christianity and new forms of entertainment and social organisations which were influenced by western values. Although the term has become synonymous with the African educated elite in the form of teachers, preachers, clerks and demonstrators and their influences, it also applied to all those attending school regardless of their age.

Mission system of education operated on a network of central boarding schools on mission stations and village 'outschools' or 'kraalschools'.[56] The former were responsible for training an elite group of Africans who became professionals such as teachers and preachers. The latter were the feeder schools which had less infrastructure and less qualified teachers. However, it

[54] Charton-Bigot, 'Colonial Youth at the Crossroads: Fifteen Alliance 'Boys', in Burton and Charton-Bigot (eds) *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*, p.85.
[55] M. Nyagumbo, *With the People: An Autobiography from the Zimbabwe Struggle*, London, Allison and Busby, 1980, p.23; Nyagumbo became a nationalist in Zimbabwe's struggle for independence.
[56] Summers, *Colonial Lessons. Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, p. xxii.

was the network of the 'kraalschools' which determined the influence of a missionary body. The schools could accommodate up to 200 students and the teacher to student ratio was set by official at one teacher for every 50 students.[57] These 'outschools' provided education up to Standard 1 and used vernacular as medium of instruction while the central boarding schools used English for instruction up to Standard VI.[58] In 1915 the American Board Mission (ABM) at Mt Selinda was operating up to ten village schools with a pupil population of about a thousand and between 1919 and 1928 these schools witnessed growth in numbers to about 4000.[59] In the 1930s the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in the Gutu and Fort Victoria area had a few schools short of a hundred and around 15 000 students.[60] The new education system drew young people together as the missionaries fervently competed to transform the African societies within their spheres of influence.

Vambe notes the enthusiasm and drive with which missionaries manned their schools; 'the Roman Catholic missionaries at Chishawasha took the education of all young Africans very seriously, and the priests and nuns used to call on all the villages from time to time to ensure that no child escaped schooling'.[61] Missionary recruitment drive was sometimes military style because the missions stood to benefit through students labour and for some through government grants-in-aid. Some African youths were equally enthusiastic at the new prospects of learning to read and write in order to enhance their social status and economic opportunities.

Archival sources and autobiographies indicate that the convergence of youths in schools generated many forms of misdemeanours. In the 1930s Nyagumbo failed his grades in school and spent two years in Sub-Standard B because 'my cousin Harrison and I used to play truant' during the winter months.[62] H.H Orlandini, a missionary with the DRC, Alheit Mission in Gutu district was notorious for accumulating wealth though fining students for absconding class.[63] In addition, acts of theft among students were not uncommon and were sometimes justified given the regime of day schooling. For example, Vambe would rise early in the morning and

[57] *Ibid*, p. xxiii.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia', p. 243.
[60]B. Davis and W. Dopcke, 'Survival and Accumulation in Gutu: Class Formation and the Rise of the State in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vo. 14, No. 1, October 1987, p.80.
[61] L. Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976, p.22.
[62] Nyagumbo, *With the People: An Autobiography from the Zimbabwe Struggle*, p.21.
[63] NAZ S1542/M8, NC Gutu to Superintendent of Natives, Victoria Circle, 28 May 1933.

take a 5 mile walk to school to attend a compulsory mass at 6am before class and had no time for a decent meal. As a result, he 'had no scruples about plundering the mission orchard…'[64]

The central boarding schools had their own forms of delinquency. At St Faith central boarding school students were force marched, beaten and made to sing during the first month of their arrival.[65] The culture of bullying, or '*manyunyu*' as it is called in Shona language became an orientation feature of boarding schools even after independence in Zimbabwe.[66] Nyagumbo further laments what he termed 'gladiatorial contests' where 'senior boys organised brutal fights between smaller boys. The vanquished was considered a coward and qualified for further punishment from the senior boys...'[67] To a degree, these acts of bullying were not senseless acts of delinquency but had a social function in so far as they built character in young people. Being away from home and outside parental protection, bullying was believed to build resilience and ability to look out for oneself, which may explain why the majority of cases were never reported or investigated. However, since there was no regulation to acts of bullying there were chances that some of these delinquent behaviours became dangerous and disruptive of the learning environment. As Nyagumbo recalled, 'I felt quiet brutalised by these fights'.[68]

As already highlighted, youths took the opportunities presented by wage labour to free themselves from parental control and cultivate a modicum of financial independence. Schools became the new centres of youth dissemination of ideas, the need to satisfy their desires for new wants and an alternative world view to that offered by their rural home. Guzha, who later became Chief Zvimba, began paid work in Salisbury at the age 10 in the early 1900s.[69] Vambe skipped school in 1930 at the age of 13 to seek employment in Salisbury. Although he was not successful at getting a job because of his small stature, his friend and age mate, Freddy, got a job as a houseboy.[70] Such delinquent behaviour was condemned both at home and at school. Eventually, Vambe returned to school where he was 'severely caned' and at home 'every adult in my family was convinced that I was delinquent almost beyond hope of redemption. They all feared I was a disgrace to the family, I was a weak character'.[71] After Standard III economic needs sent boys into the labour market, so that the proportion of girls to boys rose from 26 to

[64] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* p.25.
[65] Nyagumbo, *With the People: An Autobiography from the Zimbabwe Struggle*, p.24.
[66] When I started boarding school in 1996 in Zimbabwe, bullying was still rampant. Very few cases were ever reported except in instances where serious injuries were sustained.
[67] Nyagumbo, *With the People: An Autobiography from the Zimbabwe Struggle,* p.29-30.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, p.17.
[70] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, pp.20-21.
[71] *Ibid.*

36 percent in the 1930s.[72] In 1940, Nyagumbo and his cousin took advantage of their being away at boarding school at St Faith Mission to abscond and go to South Africa to seek for employment.[73] Although young people were increasingly taking to wage labour during this period, schools offered a favourable environment where their dreams were conceived and the plans to fulfil them were mooted and refined away from the watchful eye of parents and constraints of the home environment.

The image of the educated African (products of missionaries and conduits of their master) as rebellious to the colonial state and African traditional leaders pervades much of African colonial history.[74] The school worked as both a space where parental supervision was limited and as a cultural village where western values took root. Colonial authorities and African chiefs viewed missionary education and Christian influences as the root cause of 'deviant' youths; 'It has been my sad experience to find…that as soon as a native is 'converted'… he frequently becomes exceedingly idle and troublesome fellow'.[75] Frederick Lugard, the British colonial administrator of West Africa from 1895 perceived such a type of African education as threatening to the system of indirect rule. In Southern Rhodesia the colonial authorities had long raised concern over the nature of African education but in the colonial racial division and the BSAC government's financial stringency African education had been left under the ambit of religious missions. In 1907 NC for Belingwe warned;

> To educate him, (the African) in book learning alone, without the wholesome discipline of labour, is fatal. A smattering of education suffices to give him imagination, very little of which the ordinary uncivilized native possesses. The first result of imagination is to breed ideas, and the ideas which come more readily on an idle man are his grievances or supposed grievances… The partially educated barbarian is the man who foments discontent leading, as it has done in Natal, to rebellion.[76]

After the First World War, the Southern Rhodesia state through the Director of Native Education, H.S Keigwin highlighted the dangers of literary African education as threatening to white domination and disruptive to colonial constructions of 'tribal' society.[77] In the post-First

[72] S S235/509, Director of Native Development Annual Report 1930, p.16.
[73] Nyagumbo, *With the People: An Autobiography from the Zimbabwe Struggle,* p.78.
[74] E. York, 'The spectre of the second Chilembwe; Government, Missions and Social Control in Wartime Northern Rhodesia, 1914-18', *Journal of African History*, Vol.34, No.3, 1990, p.377; Kennedy, *Islands of White*
[75] Quoted in Kennedy, *Islands of White,* p.162; York, 'The spectre of the second Chilembwe; Government, Missions and Social Control in Wartime Northern Rhodesia, 1914-18,' p.377; see also, D. Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: a social history of the Hwesa people, c.1870-1990s*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
[76] NAZ S138/260, NC, Belingwe, Annual Report 1907, p.11; see also, S. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion, 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960.
[77] M.O West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965,* Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2002, pp.13-15.

World War period government established Domboshawa and Tsholotsho technical schools as part of the drive to provide technical education in agriculture, carpentry and building.[78]

Mission schools' offer of literary education was based on economic reasons. Although practical education was at the central to missionary teachings it was expensive to run for most mission establishments and very few could afford it even among those who received government grants-in-aid. The ABM at Mount Selinda School in Melsetter District was among the few schools which receiving a government grant since 1903 and offered technical subjects in carpentry and building.[79] However, while government wanted to use technical education to minimise African competition with whites, over time, missionaries perceived it as a means for Africans to attain equity with whites.[80] The colonial state officials were quite indignant at what they perceived as missionary interference at their efforts to control the Africans. In particular, they perceived African social mobility as an unintended goal of mission education.[81] Conflict between white economic interests and missionary perception of African education led to tensions between state and other white colonial interests on the one hand and the church on the other. To a degree, church perception of African civilization and advancement entailed ideals of equality for all God's children, a development which threatened white economic domination achieved through racial segregation.

One colonial official scoffed at missionary thinking thus,

> Their primary mistake, from which most of the trouble springs is the assumption, to which all missionaries seem to be officially compelled to subscribe, that the African negro is or can be made by education, the moral and intellectual equal of the Whiteman.[82]

Missionaries also viewed their educational products such as teachers and preachers as harbingers of modernity and vital in missionary efforts at transforming African societies, in uprooting 'heathenism' and the 'deep seated superstitions'. On the other hand the state and other white colonial commercial interests like farmers regarded the 'mission boys' as peddlers of insolence, rebellion and insubordination.[83] The Southern Rhodesia Native Regulations Act (1910) and the Native Affairs Act (1927) which empowered Native Commissioners to deal with 'insolence' in Africans also targeted educated youths. As Howman reported, 'The young

[78] *Ibid*.
[79] Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia', p.264.
[80] Ibid.
[81] West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965,* pp.13-15
[82] Quoted in Kennedy, *Islands of White,* p. 311.
[83] *Ibid,* p.163; Shutt, 'The Natives are getting out of hand', p.663.

people are growing up in a thoroughly undisciplined manner…We have taken away all that served them as moral sanction and replaced it by nothing except a shallow knowledge of the Bible and the Hymn book…'[84] To a degree, the young educated African's taste in Europeans clothes and etiquette; wearing western type suits, hats and speaking in immaculate English were transgressions of the racial boundaries which the whites strove to sustain.[85]

In addition, the educated African broke from the white framing of Africans as providers of unskilled labour because once educated the African looked down upon manual labour. He was 'rude and rebellious' and deviated from the norm. For example, in the 1930 and 1940s teachers in the Gutu district did not take part in manual communal tasks such as fetching water for the deep tank because they viewed such tasks as demeaning of their social status.[86] Colonial need for cheap African labour, white regulation of the numbers of educated Africans to minimise competition with white interests and state financial stringency were some of the reasons why the colonial state was slow in taking initiative in African education and did not entertain African clamours for compulsory education.

The Government wanted to strike a balance between development and the dangers of producing a black 'white collar proletariat'.[87] However, the position of the African middle class is more complex than Gann describes. Their ability to influence colonial society went beyond confronting and challenging segregationist logic. According to Davis and Dopcke, their lives involved reshaping and appropriating colonial power and authority and they used the segregationist structures to accumulate wealth and create an identity of their own.[88] They were individuals and members of emergent African elite with agency to identify with both the people and the colonial authority at different times.[89] By choosing the type of education and particular mission institutions and rejecting others, the educated Africans were placing themselves in systems where they felt they got the best education for social mobility and economic benefit. They were able to build communities in schools and churches, worked as teachers, preachers and demonstrators. For example, Missionary Orlandini and his African preachers and teachers at Alheit Mission, Gutu District accumulated 400 head of cattle through fining students for

[84] NAZ S138/260, NC Sinoia to CNC 20 December 1926.
[85] Kennedy, *Islands of White*
[86] Davis and Dopcke, 'Survival and Accumulation in Gutu: Class Formation and the Rise of the State in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939', p.78.
[87] Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early days to 1934*, pp.326-227.
[88] Davis and Dopcke, 'Survival and Accumulation in Gutu: Class Formation and the Rise of the State in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939', p.65.
[89] Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, pp. xv-xxvi

absconding, running a farm and levying 'taxes' on locals. The CNC observed that Dutch evangelists and teachers in the Gutu and Fort Victoria Districts were acquiring cars and residential property in Fort Victoria and were investing capital in the Union of South Africa.[90] The educated African was able to accumulate wealth, exercised influence and was a threat to colonial state designs.

The educated African was central in the evolution of colonial race relations. Colonial discussions on race relation prior to the 1920s were a debate constituting relations between whites of British origin and Afrikaners. The 'Native Question' which occupied white colonial settler minds revolved around labour shortages and security in the event of another uprising. The colonial racial hierarchy placed whites firmly on top and did everything to sustain it that way. However, with the rise of the professional class of Africans by the mid-1920 and increased racial agitation discussions about race relation gradually began to factor the African as a potential hindrance to white commercial interests. In the 1920s the Government Technical Schools for Africans at Domboshawa and Tjolotjo experienced a series of strikes and protests as students demanded a curriculum which enhanced their social mobility.[91] Mission schools were not spared this growing agitation. For example, the London Missionary Society Inyati Institute in Matabeleland experienced strikes as a result of tensions between mission administration and ''youths' vision of themselves as respectable individuals, who should be consulted on running their institution'.[92] Overall, youths challenged a state engineered education for Africans designed to subjugate them.[93]

Education and acquisition of skills narrowed the gap between whites and the emergent class of Africans. In the wake of these developments the racial threat posed by the African found expression in, among other things, the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) crimes under the 'Black Peril' from around 1923.[94] McCulloch argues that anxiety white about the 'Black Peril' was an expression about weaknesses in the white 'body politic'.[95] Kennedy is of the opinion that the peril scares corresponded with internal anxieties in white settler society.[96] The early 1920s scare coincided with the politics of whether Southern Rhodesia should join the

[90] NAZ S1542/M8, CNC to Secretary of the Prime Minister, 08 May 1933.
[91] Summers, *Colonial Lessons*: *Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940,* p.5.
[92] *Ibid*.
[93] *Ibid*.
[94] Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia', p. 256-257.
[95] McCulloch, *Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935,* p.82.
[96] Kennedy, *Islands of White,* pp.138-146

Union of South African or choose Responsible Government. The status gap which the whites strove to sustain was being expressed and epitomised in the sexual isolation of white women from non-white men. The white woman represented white racial purity and survival of the white civilisation and in defending her whites were symbolically preserving their existence. To a degree, this highlight the hypocrisy of the colonial system and white male chauvinism which gave the impression that only the women needed protection yet white men were also responsible for the emergence of people of mixed race.

However, Southern Rhodesia perceived educated Africans as a necessary evil. According to Summers, the educated African middle class were viewed as both dangerous and necessary by the colonial system because they provided essential services to colonial administration but among them emerged agitors who questioned the colonial system.[97] The coming of Responsible Government in 1923 resulted in the expansion of the civil service, and there emerged as its concomitant the need for a class of Africans who worked in the lower ranks of the civil service.[98] In addition, the expansion of government development programmes through the establishment of technical schools and the need to improve the quality of African education saw the rise of a class of professional Africans as teachers, preachers, agriculture demonstrators, messengers and clerks. The European population was not large enough to fill all the positions for an effective colonial administration.

African educated elites were also a political threat to traditional structures of authority in rural areas. The educated Africans reorganised African areas and their ability to lead, and their material acquisitions allowed them to command respect in the areas they lived. This development set them on a collision course with the gerontocracy and, particularly African chiefs. For example, the issuing of orders by teachers and demonstrators potentially destabilised traditional authority.[99] In addition, teachers in the Fort Victoria, Chibi and Gutu districts preferred to participate in the Victoria Branch of the Southern Rhodesia Native Association (SRNA) when it was formed in 1925 and not in their local community's social organisations and communal labour initiatives.[100] They perceived themselves as a class above their communities including the structures of authority. Among other initiatives, the SRNA advocated that African schools be under African administration, compulsory education for

[97] C. Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, p. xix.
[98] D.J. Murray, *The Governmental System in Southern Rhodesia*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1970, p.42.
[99] Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, p.86.
[100] Davis and Dopcke, 'Survival and Accumulation in Gutu: Class Formation and the Rise of the State in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939', p.65.

Africans and higher wages for African teachers.[101] Such initiatives enshrined the educated elite desire to occupy positions of leadership. To a degree, organisations like the SRNA represented the antecedents of nationalist movement of the 1950s. According to Mlambo, antecedents of African political organization in post-conquest Southern Rhodesia were elitist proto-nationalist movements which took the form of mutual–aid, self-help and ethnic-cultural organizations during the interwar years.[102] The development of these social organisations among the African educated elite was comportment to their new identity and an expression of their emergent middle class values.

Similarly, Chiefs in the Luangwa region of Northern Rhodesia complained of the 'educated native teachers attempting to create themselves into a class above chiefs'.[103] Indeed, teachers' education, high social status and access to avenues of wealth accumulation made them assume the role of spokes people and de-factor leaders in rural communities. In Southern Rhodesia, Gutu district, elders were afraid of teachers largely because operations of the Dutch Reformed Church under missionary Orlandini wielded a lot of influence to the point of presiding over divorce cases, collecting 'taxes' and fining members of their community, often in defiance of the Native Commissioner.[104] These miscreant and deviant elements irked both the state and traditional authority.

The educated young generation's social organisations and forms of entertainment in rural Southern Rhodesia interfered with both issues of traditional leadership and social morals and effectively invited labels of deviance and delinquency from the state and rural traditional leaders. In 1930 the office of the CNC instituted an investigation to determine allegations of immorality and excessive beer drinking at 'so called Dances or Tea meetings held at night by irresponsible persons…' in parts of rural Rhodesia.[105] The investigation came as part of lobbying by the Conference of Christian Natives (CCN) an affiliate body of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference (SRMC) who had raised morality concerns over these dances.[106] Initially the terms of the investigation were vague and broad in so far as NCs and Assistant NCs were to focus on 'Night Dances'. Dance was an integral part of African society serving many different purposes such as celebration of harvest, invocation and propitiation of

[101] Ibid.
[102] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, pp.129-132.
[103] York, 'The Spectre of the Second Chilembwe', p.377.
[104] Davies and Dopcke, 'Survival and Accumulation in Gutu', p.74.
[105] NAZ S255/452-457 CNC Circulars, 1923-1956: CNC to NCs and Assistant NCs, 05 September, 1930.
[106] The Conference of Christian Natives was a lobby group of African missionaries affiliated to the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference. They engaged government on policy issues in relation to African Welfare.

departed spirits (*mabira*), other religious ceremonies, thanksgiving as well as for recreation purposes. One official quipped, 'The resolution quoted comes in serious conflict with Native Custom and Religion, for there are many forms of ceremonial dances and, as far as I know, the only one which is performed by day is the *ukubuyisa* dance'.[107]

However, the investigation modus operandi identified the problem as lying not with specific dance names or styles but the character of organisation and participation. African male elders singled out dances which were popular with the youth in 'Kraal' and central mission schools. These dances were usually organised by the educated and semi-educated, particularly the school teachers and patronised by the school going cohort of youths. Summers argues, these dances were offshoots of mission fundraising concerts and were popular with youths and attracted greater numbers to schools.[108] The dances included the *Chinyamasasuri* or *Ndege*, *Makwayera* (Choirs), dinner dances, tea meetings and every social organisation which the educated were leading. In gathering evidence, the NCs worked closely with African Chiefs and male elders who clearly viewed the influences of the young educated generation with suspicion. In particular, the wave of social organisations and dances led by the educated Africans which became a ubiquitous feature of rural Rhodesia eschewed any notion of traditional leadership and threatened their control and social status. African chiefs had long disapproved of the negative influences of education and Christianity on their authority and the 1930 investigation provided an opportunity to fight the growing influences of the class of educated Africans. For example, the *Ndege* dance was performed during the day but it nevertheless came under investigation of 'night dances' because it was popular with the young generation. NC for Plumtree implicated the missionaries, '…the evil complained of is increasingly with the civilizing influences for which the missionaries, to a great extent, are responsible'.[109] The position above did not only resonate with views of the African elders on the educated African but also confirms the state's discomfort with the unintended results of uncontrolled missionary education.

Male elders perceived the wave of 'dances' as havens of immorality and excessive beer drinking because they were being organised and presided over by 'irresponsible persons'.[110]

[107] NAZ S235/ 392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances", Superintendent of Natives, Matabeleland to CNC, 10 September 1930.
[108] Summers, *Colonial lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, p.160-163.
[109] NAZ S235/ 392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at 'Night Dances', NC Plumtree to CNC, 09 December 1930.
[110] NAZ S235/ 392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at 'Night Dances,' NC Enkeldoorn to CNC 26 November 1930.

Similarly, Chiefs in Luangwa District, Northern Rhodesia, complained about their loss of authority through the teachers and their introduction of 'a new dance unknown to the Angoni tribe called *Chipe*, which led to immorality'.[111] In patrilineal societies traditional ceremonies and beer parties were presided over by the authority of male elders. Often, the position of the Chief enshrined both political authority and semi-religious function which made him both mortal and divine, attributes which combined to strengthen his authority and social status. However, the new wave of social organisations led by the mission educated Africans introduced alternative and new forms of leadership whose basis was not the heredity and succession but one based on enlightenment of education and skills training. Leadership through succession did not recognise ability and merit and as a result the burgeoning educated young generation had a low opinion of chiefs and perceived the idea of Chieftainship through succession as a hindrance to African progress. As a result, the new organisations were indifferent to parental and chiefly authority.

Dances were sometimes held during the night by a predominantly youthful clientele, away from home, parents and, overall without the chief's authority. The alleged extent of beer drinking and sexual immorality at these dances caused 'moral panic' largely because the dances were devoid of 'acceptable' supervision. The teachers who organised these social functions deemed part of a 'young and irresponsible generation' because they had neither traditional nor state authority. They were creating a parallel power base to that of male elders.

> Teachers of one or more kraal schools write to one another and arrange a joint dance of their school pupils. Alternatively, the people at whose kraals they dance give a goat or something similar-alternatively it is arranged that the combined schools should go on to cultivate for some individual (black or white), a price is arranged by the teacher - one or more beasts usually - on completion of the dance or work the animals are taken by the party to a place in the veld and then killed…dance and feast may go on for 2 days and nights or for as long as two weeks. The pupils and teachers go outside the district into adjoining districts.[112]

The delineation of a category of wayward 'young educated' generation was, partly, an attempt by the male elders to disempower and exclude this emergent class from social recognition and respect. Since youth were associated with immaturity and irresponsibility, by labelling teachers as 'young generation' the gerontocracy attempted to delegitimise their influence and undermine their power in decision making within the communities. In addition, Chiefs traditionally referred to their subjects as "children". In the 1960s Chiefs aligned with the white Rhodesia Front government (RF) against African nationalists and were appalled by activities of their

[111] York, 'The Spectre of the Second Chilembwe', p.379.
[112] NAZ S1542/M8 NC Gutu to Superintendent of Natives Victoria, 28 May 1933.

'children' for failing to support the political process.[113] In addition, colonial authorities discursively constructed morality. The dances were labelled 'immoral' largely because they by-passed traditional structures of authority. Furthermore, adoption of the term 'night dances' was symbolic of the perceived immorality obtaining at such gatherings.

The emergent young educated generation, particularly the male school teachers represented a variant of African patriarch. Although they set themselves apart from traditional male elders, they still operated in a society organised on patriarchal lines and accorded them power and authority by virtue of being men. However, they represented emergent masculinities associated with the new colonial economy.[114] Education and Christian value were central to the development of 'new' men. Their influence was independent of traditional power structures and therefore undermined the local structure of power as well as the, hitherto, held values of manliness. They reconfigured what was 'respectable' in a man within the evolving African social milieu.

Dances also became a bone of contention because they disrupted the organisation for labour for the rural household and they were being used by the teachers as means for wealth accumulation. Teachers used these social organisations to accumulate wealth because teaching was not a well-paying profession.[115] The dances resembled traditional work-party (*nhimbe*) and by virtue of their organisation, teachers benefited materially. The teachers controlled the negotiation with farmers for the price to be paid for work done. With the increasing popularity of the dances, more and more labour time was being lost during weekends and holidays as the youths gathered for these dances; 'during the holidays these people are often way from home for days…'[116] This irked the parents because during the school days their children worked on the mission farms to raise school fees. As Rennie notes that, Mount Selinda mission school in Melsetter District, operated on government grant which was supplemented by student school fees and compulsory two hours per day manual labour requirements.[117] School children also

[113] L.W. Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia, White Power in an African State*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1973, p.73.
[114] See discussion on hyper masculinities and the nationalist discourse K. Manganga, 'Masculinity (*Dodaism*), Gender and Nationalism: The Case of the Salisbury Bus Boycott, September 1956', in S.J Ndlovu-Gatsheni and J. Muzondidya, (eds.), *Redemptive or Grotesque Nationalism? Rethinking Contemporary Politics in Zimbabwe*, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2011, pp.133-151.
[115] Summers, *Colonial lessons*, p.xiv.
[116] NAZ S235/ 392, Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances," CNC to Secretary for Native Affairs, 06 December 1930.
[117] Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia', p.342.

raised a herd of cattle and grain for sale to defray expenses.[118] Therefore, the combination of school and dances deprived the household economy of much needed labour.

Beyond the educated Africans symbolic expression to do away with chiefs through new social organisations, they directly challenged chiefly authority. They advocated that the power of chiefs be replaced by a more effective system of 'really educated Native men who could approach the white men of responsibility in high places and speak to them as men to men about things that concern the Natives'.[119] Traditional chiefs' fear and resentment of the educated young generation was not without cause. In 1930, NC for Melsetter, Nielsen observed that African chiefs; 'As mediums of communication between the Government and the native people they continue to serve a useful purpose. As instruments by means of which to exercise control or to inspire respect or blind obedience their day is past.'[120] Colonial officials were increasingly distraught about the weakening of chiefly authority through which they sought to control Africans within the reserves. The Chilembwe Uprising of 1915 in colonial Nyasaland had highlighted the prominence of the educated Africans in organising and executing rebellion.[121]

2.4 Policing African Female Sexuality

Parents viewed itinerant dance parties as an embodiment of deviance because they subverted control over their children, particularly that of young women. Dance parties, the school environment and the influences of education and Christianity on young people transgressed acceptable moral boundaries because they weakened patriarchal control of female sexuality. Making reference to the increasing incidents of youth deviance and the opposition to the growing influences of teachers, NC for Enkeldoorn highlighted that, 'The matter had been discussed with Chiefs, Headmen and parents complain that they no longer exercise authority over their children and the controlling forces are Missionaries and kraal teachers…'[122]

[118] Ibid
[119] NAZ S1057/6 Minutes of the second meeting Chipinga Native Board, January, 1932 in letter from NC Chipinga to CNC, January 19, 1932; see also, Summers, *Colonial Lessons,* pp.15-22. However, there were chiefs who had qualifications beyond inheritance like Ziki, Willie Samuriwo, Gonzao Patrick Guzha (Chief Zwimba), Chief Mangwende. These became champions of education and development in their areas and encouraged children to attend school.
[120] NAZ S235/509, CNC Annual Report, 1930, p.14.
[121] York, 'The Spectre of the Second Chilembwe'
[122] NAZ S235/ 392, Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances", NC, The Range, Enkeldoorn, to CNC 12 November 1930.

The control over children and particularly the female child was a sensitive matter because it combined the productive and reproductive aspects of the rural economy.

> The Natives think the loose habits of the girls attending school are due to the undermining of native religion and parental authority. Girls and boys are gathered together in the schools with this evil result. The older people say that at the schools the parent's wishes are ignored. Their daughters are taught to read and write and by this means they are able to correspond with evil young men who are away from their kraals at work, and under no tribal restraint. The girls are taught to look upon their parents as heathens, someone to be looked upon with scorn and contempt.[123]

These sentiments embody the anxiety and fear that parents, especially fathers, had over the ungoverned movements of their daughters. According to Gann, mission stations (boarding schools) educated a small number of girls because African men needed to keep them under close supervision and the majority of African men did not like the idea of their daughters taking up paid employment away from home, largely because they were afraid that their daughters would fall pregnant to white employers and jeopardise their chances of marriage.[124] The institution of marriage was held in high esteem and the female chastity was jealously guarded because it was central to the father's accumulation of wealth through the bride wealth.[125] As a result, African male elders associated mission schools with immorality because they encouraged the mixing of young people in an environment with limited parental control hence widening the possibility of sexual misdemeanours. The concern of parents intersected with the state's moral discourse which perceived the African woman the single major problem why men would not leave their rural homes to seek wage labour because they feared losing their wives. Overall, colonial officials framed African women as brazenly immoral and of insatiable sexual desires.[126]

Female sexuality was tied to the economic security of the household. For example, it was the prerogative of African fathers to determine suitors to their daughters in order to safeguard financial security through bride wealth. This sometimes led to arranged marriages, betrothals and other forms of marriage which gave no regard to the daughters' views, all for the need to safeguard the family financial security.[127] Female youths were beginning to derive control over their life choices from outside the domestic space. They derided traditional marriage practices as relics of a primitive past and expressions of heathenism in their parents. The influence of

[123] NAZ S235/ 392, Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances", NC Nyanga to CNC 26 September 1930.
[124] Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early days to 1934*, p.324
[125] Jeater, *Marriage Pervasion and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1930*, p. 103.
[126] Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939*, p.101.
[127] *Ibid*, pp.113-115.

Christianity on young people empowered them against the control of the so-called traditional practices and enabled youth to depict elders as immoral and influenced by evil forces. Literate young women's ability to communicate with young men through the use of written letters undermined the control of the father which they enjoyed in the pre-colonial homestead economy. As a result, education empowered young women to choose whom to love without the interference of parents and guardians. However, these choices purely based on love sometimes irked the parents because they were not the best option in terms of financial benefits. My argument here does not suggest that education undermined the institution of bride wealth but parents could no longer determine suitors for their daughters as they did before.

However, suggesting that pre-colonial and early colonial African women did not have the power to choose lovers purely based on romantic love would be overstating the point. Schmidt's argument, although valid to a degree, denies pre-colonial women agency and suggests that Shona women were liberated from forced marriages in the advent of Christianity and colonialism. This was a discourse which missionaries propagated and watered in order to over-emphasise their influence on African societies by setting themselves as liberators of African women and other 'oppressed' groups. There is no evidence to suggest that the majority of marriages were arranged.

In addition, young women adhered to values of monogamy and white weddings away from polygamous marriages, often to rich old men.[128] To strengthen their case against the uncontrolled movement of their daughters, male elders in Southern Rhodesia labelled young men as predators and libertines seduced their daughters. For example, teachers were viewed as moral perverts who manipulated their relationship with students to gain sexual favours. NC for Nyanga illustrated this thoroughgoing image of African teachers in the rural areas; 'they say that many of the Native Teachers have seduced their daughters as such people are more often than not a law unto themselves'.[129] Since teachers wielded considerable control within the school environment, the possibility of female sexual manipulation could not be discounted.

[128] Social novelist Wole Soyinka in *The Lion and the Jewel* dramatises the tensions between traditional society represented in the institution of bride price and the ideas of the African educated elite who scorned such practices as barbaric. Baroka who represents tradition fights the youthful, educated and 'modernised' Lakunle for the love of Sidi. Among other things, Lakunle attempts to alter the social institutions of his community according to western values.

[129] NAZ S235/ 392, Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at 'Night Dances', NC Nyanga, 26 November 1930.

The teacher's image as a predator on young women in schools was strong among African male elders. In 1932 the NC for Mazoe reported that,

> During the past, particularly the last two years, the type of Kraal School teacher has… altered for the worse from the older respectable type of man with moral force and great personality to whom the heathen Native could and did look up to with respect. In his stead appears a very young man who, although better educated has obviously little experience. He certainly commands but little respect from the elders but perhaps exerts some influence on the young people, most particularly the girls.[130]

Summers suggests that some of the new teachers were as young as 14 years of age.[131] The new wave of young teachers followed the Native Education Department (NED) decision in 1927 to remove teachers who did not have the requisite qualifications to teach. Education and not age became the basis for attaining jobs. In view of this fact, moral discipline in schools was a genuine cause for concern given the ages of some of the teachers.

African male elders opposition to dance parties, perceived lax school environments[132] and the alleged predatory practices of teachers became more vocal as African prospects in the colonial economy grew thinner and bride wealth became more commercialised. During the late pre-colonial and early colonial period, traditional bride wealth in Mashonaland was around ten sheep and ten goats or 50 hoes and twelve yards of strings of beads but by the late 1920s *lobola* averaged between seven and ten head of cattle and two to five pounds.[133] The disruption of the rural economy during the depression years and the further undermining of the African economy through measures like, Land Apportionment Act (1930) and Maize Control Act (1931) put most households at financial risk. In addition, wages on the labour market and prices for African produce were low.[134] In addition, the environmental degradation in the reserves due to overcrowding prompted the state into instituting measures such as the destocking exercises which further undermined the rural economy.[135] Under these circumstances, the importance of the institution of marriage as a source of wealth accumulation became even more important. The productivity of the land could not be guaranteed, the recurrence of drought and

[130] NAZ S235/509 NC Mazoe Annual Report, 1932, p.5.
[131] Summers, *Colonial lessons*, p.89.
[132] In contrast to Southern Rhodesia in South Africa schools represented an extension of parental control and sometimes substituted traditional and adult supervision so much that parents made financial sacrifices to send their children to school; Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi*, p.5-6.
[133] Rev H.C. Hugo, Quoted in Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia; early days to 1934*, pp.227-228
[134] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948. Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, pp. 171, 183 &185.
[135] W.A. Munro, *The moral economy of the State: Conservation, Community Development, and State Making in Zimbabwe*, Athens, Ohio University Centre for International Studies, 1998, p.67.

loss of livestock meant that African male elders remained with very few options of wealth accumulation and *lobola* was one of the few remaining sources of wealth they could control.

Beyond the influence of teachers, the mission station further created tension with African patriarchy and invited labels as a place of immorality because it offered refuge to women (young and old) who were running away from African patriarchy. This undermined African male elders' material base because these women were a source of labour and or could bring in wealth through *lobola*. Schmidt argues that the mission station became a place of refuge to women escaping arranged and abusive marriages, widows who refused to be 'inherited' as well as those girls who aspired to become nuns. However, Schmidt notes that these women were simply replacing one form of patriarchy with another.[136] The mission station environment continued to stifle women under the authority of missionaries. Female labour was critical to the mission's accumulation of wealth. For example, at Chishawasha mission young women who wanted to become nuns had to work and earn enough to buy off their guardians at whatever price of *lobola* they expected to get.[137] However, such arrangements did little to ease the tension between the station and the male elders. Bishop Robert Chichester was threatened by an African father over his daughter; 'You are taking away my daughter to make a nun of her. This is wicked… don't you realise that this can cause us to start another rebellion…'[138] There is obviously much calculated political exaggeration in this assertion which, however, serves to highlight the tension that existed between missionaries and Africa males over the control of female sexuality and the institution of marriage and *lobola*. Choosing to become a nun over marriage was increasingly perceived by patriarchy as a form of deviance.

Vambe illustrates these tensions;

> Chishawasha [mission] was a remarkable magnet of women of easy virtue from Salisbury and other places. Many of the local women too had emerged from their traditional role of subservience. Some of them had a highly developed sense of dress, the result of European influence, and those who had taken to using soap and other beauty aids were hard to resist. Naturally they exacerbated the kind of tribal strain that the people of old Mashonganyika village had foreseen and dreaded.[139]

In this respect, the mission station resembled deviance and contempt of tradition, particularly with regards to the control of female spatial movements and sexual freedom. There emerged two conflicting perceptions on the control of female sexuality. Whereas the missionaries perceived African women as victims of African patriarchy who needed protection, African

[136] Schmidt, *Peasants Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939,* p.94.
[137] *Ibid,* p.97.
[138] *Ibid*
[139] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* p.20.

male elders and the state were increasingly united in advocating tighter control of female movements and sexuality, albeit for different reasons.

Away from the mission station, youth entertainment sometimes took the form of commercialised beer societies. In areas adjacent to towns such as Goromonzi, Seke and Chikwaka this type of entertainment was held regularly and was popular with the younger generation returning from urban centres.[140] Chief Seke and the elders in the communities were largely opposed to these dances on the ground of the freedom given to young women to mix with younger men more congenial than their elderly husbands.[141] NC for Bindura reported that beer and sexual services were allegedly sold at these nocturnal excursions.

> I am informed that it is the practice to invite the attendance of a few girls of an immoral character who mingle among the dancers and afterwards receive a share of the profits… and I am told that general lewdness of speech and gesture prevail. While I agree as to the evils of the "Tea Dance" it seems to me that it is not so much a case of the 'Dances' resulting in loose habits as of loose habits resulting in the dances.[142]

The emergence of these dances reflected the town and country interactions where urban forms of entertainment such as Ballroom dances, concerts, tea and '*Mahobo*' parties were being replicated and sometimes modified to suit the rural setting.[143] This intrusion of urban influences unearthed an undercurrent of discontent in male elders in their quest to control young men and women. These forms of entertainment also 'attracted rural young women awakening to the pleasures of the urban setting'.[144] Such views from the NCs only served to reinforce the official image of the deviant and delinquent African female as nothing more than morally loose. The moral element which was evoked in opposition to these forms of entertainment was a concern to the colonial officials who believed that young men did not want to leave the reserves to find work because they were afraid of losing their wives. NC for Gokwe reported that during these dances,

> …one would observe in the veld in the neighbourhood of the dances, men and women in compromising positions…girls and wives of absentee husbands are likely to become pregnant to unidentifiable men, the offspring of such chance unions being described by the euphemism 'a child found in the grass' i.e. veld…[145]

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[140] NAZ S235/ 392, Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at 'Night dances', NC Goromonzi 20 September, 1930.
[141] Ibid
[142] NAZ S235/ 392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances, NC Bindura to CNC, 11 December, 1930.
[143] See Chapter Three.
[144] NAZ S235/ 392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances," Assistant NC Bindura to NC Amandas 20 September 1930.
[145] NAZ S235/ 392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances", NC Gokwe to Superintendent of Natives, Matabeleland 27 September 1930.

Although there was evidence of moral pervasion at some night parties, for the greater part of forms of youth entertainment, allegations were unconfirmed.

2.5 'The Heralds of Zion and the New Jerusalem': African Youths and the Rise of Independent African Churches, 1920s-1930s.

African youth were central to the emergence and growth of various brands of independent African churches in Southern Rhodesia in the 1920s and 1930s. The state and, to some degree, African chiefs viewed these movements as an expression of religious eccentricism which was fraught with danger to the maintenance of law and order in the colony. The emergence of religious sects and quasi-political establishments shared similarities with the contemporaneous trajectory of night dances. Both the dances and the religious sects challenged established norms. The nature of organisation, leadership and goals of these new entities were a religious expression of rebellion against established religions and authority. In Southern Rhodesia there were three main independent African church movements namely the Watch Tower, the Zionist and Vapositori movements.[146] However, these movements were by no means the only ones. In addition, there were other smaller movements whose influences were short such as the Chaviari and Muchape movements.[147] These churches were transnational in character and some often took a radical stance diametrically opposed to the status quo.[148]

By the late 1920s Africans began to question the efficacy of Christianity as a panacea to their social and economic needs. The values of education and Christianity had failed to secure prosperity and social mobility.[149] For example, the rise of millenarianism was among other

[146] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948*, p.197; T.O Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930*, Heinemann, London, 1970, p. 199-200. The post- First World War saw a robust trajectory of independent African churches. Their influences were attributed to northern territories and South Africa. They claimed Holy Spirit possession as the major different from the other established Christian churches. In 1919 Petrus Ndebele brought the Zionist movement from South Africa to Insiza District and had hundreds of followers. However, it was Samuel Mutendi who popularised the movement in the Fort Victoria and Gutu Districts and became one of the largest churches in the region. The Watch Tower movement began in Bulawayo in 1923 and by 1925 it had spread to Mashonaland. In 1932 Johannes Marange started his Vapositori movement in the Umtali and Melsetter areas.

[147] Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia', pp.472-478. The Chaviari and Mchape movements were condemned by the state and male elders for allegedly professing sexual utopia by instructing followers to have sex with multiple women and the lack of local community support ended these movements.

[148] E. Chitando, 'African Instituted Churches in Southern Africa: Paragons of Regional Integration?', *African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2, 2004, pp. 117-132; ''For We Have Heard for Ourselves?' A Critical Review of T. Ranger's Portrayal of Christianity as an African Religion', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 28(1), 2001, pp. 218-234; J.M, Chirenje, *Ethiopianism and Afro-Americans in Southern Africa, 1883-1916*, Louisiana, Louisiana State University Press, 1987.

[149] Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930*, p.199-200.

things a manifestation of frustration with the structure of leadership in the established missionary bodies which Africans perceived to be too much under white control and actively stifled African leadership beyond certain posts. Normally, Africans were confined to the lower ranks of the administrative hierarchy of church administration.[150] In addition, the new religious sects were against traditional leadership, particularly rules of succession for chiefs which gave older members of society a foothold on chieftainship and effectively disqualified young people.[151] Independent churches gave youth hope for social mobility and ascendency in leadership structures. This philosophy of the new religious establishments dovetailed with and augmented young people's appetite for an education which would facilitate effective competition with the white man; a kind of education which would facilitate for social mobility and accumulation of wealth.

The structures and philosophies of the new church movements appealed to young Africans. For example, The Watch Tower movement heralded the imminent collapse of white rule, the power of chiefs and the condemnation of whites to servanthood and the end of tax payment in Southern Rhodesia.[152] In addition, the movement had youth roles with its structures of operation and promised wealth to its followers.[153] The Zionist and Vapositori movements promised to offer miracles of cure, fertility, rain, prophecy, protection from witchcraft and exorcism which elements were absent in Christianity.[154] This philosophy appealed to the African poor because they did not have to pay for these services. For example, in Gutu and Fort Victoria districts, Mission hospitals belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church were charging fees for hospital attendance and so did African traditional healers, yet the independent African churches offered healing services for free.[155] As a result, thousands found refuge in the new movements. Above all, the claim that followers were Holy Spirit possessed made their faith more tangible than that of the white missionary established churches.

The emergent churches coincided with development of quasi-political organisation which colonial administration viewed with suspicion and as a potential danger to law and order.

> The more or less surreptitious teaching and preaching by Native emissaries from the Union of the doctrines of new and eccentric sects fashioned after union models has continued but it would seem as if

[150] I. Daneel, *Quest for Belonging: Introduction to a Study of African Independent Churches*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1987, p.23.
[151] Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia*, 1898-1930, p.60.
[152] *Ibid*
[153] NAZ S138/226, Assistant Native Commissioner Urungwe to NC Lomagundi, 28 June 1931
[154] Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930*, p.60.
[155] T. Shoko, 'Independent church healing: the case of St Elijah cum Enlightenment School of the Holy Spirit in Zimbabwe', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Vol. xxxii, no. 3, 2006, pp. 129-153.

> the attitude of the older people of late stiffened against these manifestations of undisciplined religiosity which even to their untutored minds appears to be fraught with danger to law and order…That the effect of these meetings is generally bad is not to be doubted; looseness and immorality generally, as well as a weakening of the normal healthy attitudes of the Native towards established authority are the more noticeable results of these nocturnal activities.[156]

The education policies of the 1930s contributed to the rise of African independent churches. Following the establishment of the Department of Native Education in 1927, Director Harold Jowitt introduced a number of reforms including improvement of the African teaching profession by training those teachers without requisite qualification of Standard VI.[157] In 1930 'Kraal' schools were estimated at about 1, 274 with a gross enrolment of 93,424.[158] However, the majority of schools which did not meet the requirements of teacher qualification were closed and this left thousands of pupils without schools. In addition, government austerity measures adopted during the 1930s further undermined the funding of the African education. Furthermore, the impact of the Great Depression was so severe that few African families could afford school fees. For example, there was a significant drop in the number of pupils in the Melsetter District in 1932 because the depression coincided with a drought making the economic situation in the district worse and forcing juveniles to seek wage employment rather than go to school.[159]

Schools closure created a desperate and floating body of youth with nothing to occupy them. These hordes of youths became the newly found adherents of the independent churches and the clientele of the burgeoning night parties and dances in their areas. These idle youths found solace and entertainment in independent African Churches and the popular night dances respectively. The 1930s economic problems and tax obligations became a source a grievance. Poverty levels were worsened by the falling wage rates on the labour market owing to viability problems.[160] The strength of the African churches, particularly the Zionist movement was its response to the problems caused by the money economy, the desire for young people to rise in material standards and positions of leadership. In the Fort Victoria and Chibi districts, the Zionist movement was so powerful that it emptied Dutch Reformed Mission schools and hospitals. African youths also joined the movement as part of a protest against the poor

[156] NAZ S235/ 392, Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at 'Night Dances'; NC Bindura to CNC, 11 November, 1930.
[157] Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early days to 1934*, p.332-333.
[158] NAZ S1563, Director of Native Development Annual Report, 1930, p.23.
[159] NAZ S235/510, NC Melsetter Annual Report 1932, p.17. The Sabi Valley was hit by persistent drought between 1926 and 1935 and the situation was aggravated by the low wages which the white farmers in the area offered. Consequently, African peasants started to default on tax payment.
[160] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accummulation and Class Struggle*, p.186.

educational standards of the Dutch Reform Church schools.[161] The pass rates were very low and few managed to transform their lives through education, yet the vast wealth of the church was a glaring contrast with the poverty in the areas African areas it served.[162]

Religious formations involving youths were not confined to the mainstream movements but were sporadic. For example, in 1934 Assistant NC for Goromonzi reported of "apostles" and those who claimed to be Jesus Christ and were baptising converts in the Hunyani River. He drew on a particular case of about '63 males and 15 females - all of them being about 18 years old' whose leader claimed to be Jesus Christ incarnate and re-enacted the biblical triumphal entry into Jerusalem.[163] In 1957, the *African Daily News* reported of a girl of 13 years who claiming spirit possession, healing and prophesy who started her own church called the Boarder Church in Chiota Reserve.[164]

2.6 State Response, 1930s to c.1950

African male elders clamoured for state invention to curtail alleged immorality and debauchery in youths and the general undermining of the chiefs' authority. For example, Chiefs in Shiota reserve called on the Government to ban excessive beer drinking.

> The women and the young children congregate together and drink beer to excess. We ask you [government] to bring in a law compelling us [Africans] to leave alone the new strong brew beer…Our young men quickly become old through drinking freely; the numerous cases of assault and fighting are due to beer drinking.[165]

The state shared the African male elders view that new youth organisations were disruptive to law and order, and the 'harmony' of African society. As a result, immorality became an internalised state concept. The state raised the moral pervasion flag concerning forms of social organisation that were outside the state sanctioned activities. Forms of entertainment, quasi-political organisations and the burgeoning African churches were framed as 'immoral'. The state saw its deontological role as that of preserving 'moral sanity' and social order among the 'natives'. This dovetailed with the views of the African patriarchy who felt that the emergent forms of social organisation threatened their moral authority as custodians of tradition and

[161] Davis and Dopcke, 'Survival and Accumulation in Gutu: Class Formation and the Rise of the State in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939', pp.80-81.
[162] Ibid, p.81.
[163] NAZ S1563 Assistant NC Goromonzi Annual Report 1934, p.7.
[164] *African Daily News* 22 March 1957.
[165] NAZ S482/550 Minutes of meeting between the Governor of Southern Rhodesia and the Chiefs, Headmen and Natives of Shiota Reserve, Marandellas District, 06 June 1927, p.4.

culture and as functionaries of the state. Whether or not the state was really concerned with stemming the alleged incipient debauchery in African youths was a secondary matter. The threat to the authority of African chiefs was the central aspect which Government wanted to address.

The call to strengthen the power of chiefs among colonial officials became louder in the 1930s. NC for Lomagundi affirmed,

> The tribal system, however, must be based on tribal control and if it be conceded that this system is not in any way necessary to our native administration, the argument in favour of granting some real power, however small, to the native Chiefs becomes difficult to controvert. If it be considered that the tribal system is unworthy of perpetuation, then, to avoid chaos we must put ourselves in a position to replace it with something better before it dies a natural death.[166]

According to Waller, by buttressing chiefly authority and forming alliances with the African gerontocracy, the colonial state redefined and managed 'tradition'.[167]

The interwar years shifted the political debates over the segregation, control and development of Africans in Southern Rhodesia and the state sought to further consolidate its powers.[168] The development of new forms of social organisations and erosion of the power of chiefs coincided with the economic disruptions of the Great Depression and compelled the state to reaffirm its authority. The state moved to reconfigure 'tradition' by increasing the legal powers vested in chiefs. In 1936 the Kaffir Beer Act was amended in response to the flourishing beer parties and 'big dinners'. Under the new regulations, guests to beer parties were mandated to leave the assemblies before sunset. In addition, beer parties in the villages were subject to the authority of the chief.[169] In addition, the workings of the Native Law and Courts Act of 1927 was consolidated and augmented by the Native Councils Act of 1937 which established a governance structure in the rural areas. In particular, the new laws aimed at eliminating the limitations chiefly authority from missionaries, emergent educated African elite and settler interests.[170] The new system of laws concretised the position of African chiefs as functionaries of the colonial state. However, there is no evidence to suggest that new forms of social

[166] S235/392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances," NC Lomagundi to CNC 02 November 1930.
[167] Waller, 'Rebellious Youths in Africa', p.79.
[168] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accummulation and Class Struggle*, p.197; see also Monroe, *The moral economy of the State*, (Chapter Two).
[169] NAZ S235/388 Native Legislation: 1928-1936, *Kaffir Beer Act 1936*.
[170] Davis and Dopcke, 'Survival and Accumulation in Gutu', p.91.

organisation directly affected the provision of labour to the capitalist sector of the economy which may explain why the state's response was gradual.

The consolidation of the authority of chiefs was taken as an alternative to directly legislating against the dances which had become the sole entertainment for boys and girls in the African reserves and could not be arbitrarily stopped overnight. Some NCs saw no need to institute legislation against these dances and instead advocated the teaching of moral restraint and discipline by the church in schools.[171] Ironically, the state was seeking the help of missionaries whom they implicated as the cause of the problem. Statements from some NCs indicated a willingness to legislate against the dances yet they doubted the state's capacity to enforce the ban due to the low numbers of police details.[172] Overall, the new social organisations demonstrated the tensions between Government and the church over the control of Africans, particularly the educated.

The ecological and social process in the African reserves had to be managed in order to consolidate state power and avert ecological collapse. The drought of 1922[173] in the colony and the even more protracted droughts (late 1920s into the 1930s) for parts of South East[174] coupled with population and livestock increases, put a strain on land in the African reserves.[175] The Natural Resources Commission of 1938 identified significant overgrazing in the African reserves. Consequently, the natural Resources Act of 1941 forced Africans to destock by selling their livestock to the Cold Storage Commission, a parastatal, at priced determined by the state.[176] In addition, there were other soil erosion prevention mechanisms put in place. By 1944, however, the majority of the African reserves were at least 50 percent overpopulated.[177] In this respect, the rise of the state power during the interwar years was a result of a combination of factors which included ecological and socio-political ones. The consolidation of state control was couched in conservation and preservation language. The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 introduced stricter measures to preserve the productive capacity of the land and to

[171] NAZ S235/392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances," NC Gokwe to Superintendent of Natives, 27 September 1930.
[172] NAZ S235/392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into Alleged Immorality at "Night Dances," NC Goromonzi to CNC 20 September 1930.
[173] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, p.63-64.
[174] Mabulala, 'The Native Affairs Department in Melsetter District: The Administration of L.C Meredith (1895-1909) and P. Nielsen (1926-1936)', p.14.
[175] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, p.62.
[176] *Ibid*.
[177] *Ibid*, p.64.

accommodate larger numbers of Africans, especially in light of the post-war white immigrants who also required land.

However, the influences of the educated Africans and presence of forms of social organisations that irked the state remained a feature of African reserves even after the Second World War. In 1948 the state noted the growing trend of 'Leaders Associations' in the African reserves being formed by African Teachers and Demonstrators as a good step towards the development of African welfare associations.[178] However, government felt that such organisations needed to avoid setting themselves apart as an aristocratic intelligentsia from the older and more conservative elements of the population.[179] In addition, the night concerts continued to be a feature of the African reserves. In 1949 an article in the *Bantu Mirror* complained of failure of African parents to raise their children in a "civilised" manner.

> … when children between 13 and 16 years of age tread their way from one school to another (7miles off), through unreliable bushes and galleys in darkness to sing and dance all night there and hail the gay sun the next day with wasted queer voices, dust laden faces and feet, and feeble bodies, their practice is not in keeping with the times and physical rules.[180]

The quotation above reveals the shifting values within certain sections of the African society. In the 1930s the proliferation of night concerts was an expression of novel forms of entertainment supported by the educated but castigated by African male elders. However, in the 1940s the emergent African middleclass and its ideals of family reconfigured the role of parents in children's upbringing. The 'protection and well bringing up of their offspring (sic)" was central to developing of a 'civilised race'.[181] It appears that the forms of entertainment which entailed the ungoverned movement of youths were becoming less popular with the educated Africans. In their place was sport, Scouts and Guides and Wayfarers movements among others. In particular, sport was associated with good physical health and was an important part of youth education.[182]

Conclusion

New forms of deviance and delinquency in African youth emerged largely as a consequence of colonial conquest in Southern Rhodesia. As African society forcibly transitioned from an

[178] NAZ S1564, *Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development for the Year 1948,* p.17.
[179] *Ibid.*
[180] *The Bantu Mirror* 25 January 1949.
[181] *Ibid.*
[182] NAZ ORAL AOH/6 Mrs Lilian Nhari.

agrarian to a capitalist economy, socio-economic changes took place that opened fissures between generations, setting the young against the old not just in terms of modes of behaviour, but also on questions of social leadership, and political and economic aspirations. An African youth that questioned its surroundings and increasingly challenged the status quo emerged whose aspirations and conduct proved problematic to the state and African chiefs. In addition, the imposition of colonial capital and its requirements for the discipline of labour and race relations brought to the fore the fundamentals of social control which were directed at altering the behaviours of Africans. State intervention through legal means epitomised authorities' anxiety at the crumbling traditional African leadership structures and ecological collapse which undermined the capacity of reserves to contain larger numbers of Africans.

The next chapter traces the roots of youth misconduct and other modes of non-standard behaviour among the urbanised Africans in the Rhodesia of the 1920s to around 1960. It draws attention to state conceptualisation of 'juvenile delinquency', the nexus between so called delinquency and the socio-economic problems of the period, the socio-political inflections of the 'problem' and how it was dealt with from the 1930s to 1945.

Chapter Three: Juvenile Delinquency and African Urbanisation, 1920s–c.1960

Introduction

This chapter traces the origins of youth crime and other forms of deviant youth behaviour amongst urbanised Africans in colonial Zimbabwe from the 1920s to around 1960. It explores how deviant youth behaviour developed into a distinct social problem which the colonial state conceptualised as 'juvenile delinquency'. The chapter has three sections. The first section deals with delinquency as a socio-economic problem from the 1920s to the 1950s. The second section looks at delinquency as part of social-political crises of Southern Rhodesia from the 1950s to the early 1960s. The third section analyses the treatment of juvenile delinquency from the 1930s to 1945. Chapter two demonstrated that the concept of youth in rural Southern Rhodesia was associated with 'modernity' in the changing socio-economic context and at other times youths were perceived as embodiments of insolence and rebellion against the state and traditional forms of leadership. With the development of colonial towns and the subsequent migration of African youths into urban areas in search of wage labour African youths became an essential part of urban processes.[1] African spatial control and non-provision of social amenities like housing, and youth socialising agents such as schools and recreation facilities contributed to the development of juvenile delinquency. In addition, 'white' colonial towns had the highest concentration of state and local authorities' apparatus of control and surveillance for criminal and 'deviant' behaviours. The colonial urban area illuminated the process of inscribing social and ideological relationships; of configuring identities into specific boundaries; and of identifying when, where and how boundaries were transgressed.

John Illife notes that, 'it was the Second World War that made juvenile delinquency a 'problem' in Africa'.[2] According to Fourchard, in colonial Africa the notion of juvenile delinquency was popularised from the 1930s by politicians, welfare officers and voluntary organisations.[3] Commentators suggest that the process of urbanisation led to the breakdown of 'tribal life', the disruption of the family unit and the problem of housing shortage and other social amenities

[1] T. Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe: Harare and Highfield, 1940-1964*, New York, University of Rochester Press, 2008, pp.29-69; R. Gray, *The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*, London, Oxford University Press, I960, p.107.
[2] J. Iliffe, *The African Poor: A History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p.187.
[3] Fourchard, 'The Making of the Juvenile Delinquency in Nigeria and South Africa, 1930-1970', p. 129.

contributing to delinquency. Overall, works on delinquency in colonial Africa largely mark the 1940s as the period when delinquency became a social problem. In Southern Rhodesia the state recognised juvenile delinquency among Africans as a social problem in the 1940s, coinciding with the increase in African urban presence. In 1944, the state appointed a commission of inquiry into the problem of juvenile delinquency. However, analysing the history of youth behaviour through the lens of 'state discovery' of juvenile delinquency is problematic. It seems manifestly clear that juvenile delinquency among Africans is inadequately analysed if confined to post Second World War urban social changes because African youths became a significant urban social factor earlier than the 1940s.

3.1 Juvenile Delinquency as a Socio-Economic Problem, 1920s -late 1950s

3.1.1 *African Urbanisation, Housing and Social Amenities in Southern Rhodesia, 1920s-1940s*

David Anderson and Richard Rathbone observed that in the Anglophone literature on African urbanisation, urban 'pull factors' vastly outweighed rural 'push factors'.[4] To this effect, Southern Rhodesia presented a different perspective. Beginning in the 1920s pressure on land and resources continued to push Africans into urban areas for wage labour in even larger numbers.[5] The ecological and economic factors referred to in chapter two which included drought, overgrazing, land exhaustion and the effects of the Great Depression undermined profitable land production in the African reserves. In addition, government policies introduced in the wake of the depression aimed at protecting white agriculture further weakened rural livelihoods. For example, the 1934 Maize Control Act ensured that African producers subsidised white farmers and the creation of Marketing Boards in the mid-1930s secured a government monopoly and manipulation of the markets.[6] African movement into urban areas was a product of both the expanding urban economy and inadequacies in quality and quantity

[4] D. M. Anderson and R. Rathbone, 'Urban Africa: Histories in the Making', in David M. Anderson and R. Rathbone (eds.), *Africa's Urban Past*, Oxford: James Currey, 2000, p.10.

[5] Munro, *The Moral Economy of the State; Conservation, Community Development, and State making in Zimbabwe*, pp. 65-70; I recognise that the impact of land alienation was uneven. For example, in Umtali and Nyanga, it was not until after the 1940s that most Africans were removed from areas that had been designated as Alienated Land for settlers. In Marandellas Africans had been moved to the reserves by about 1912; see J. Alexander, J. McGregor and T.O. Ranger, *Violence and Memory. One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland*, Oxford, James Currey, 2000; *Ranger, Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture, and History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe*, Zimbabwe, Baobab, 1999; Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State-making and Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003*, Oxford, James Currey, 2006.

[6] See Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accummulation and Class Struggle*; Davis and Dopcke, 'Survival and Accumulation in Gutu: Class Formation and the Rise of the State in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939'

of the reserves and Native Purchase Areas.[7] Indeed, dwindling opportunities in the rural economy cast the urban area as an alternative place for material advance, acquisition of bride wealth and money for tax obligations. Besides the ecological and extra-market forces, the Southern Rhodesia Juveniles Employment Act of 1926 further facilitated the movement of youths onto the urban labour market. Therefore, attempts to understand African urban experience should factor-in the struggles straddling town and country.

The colonial system treated Africans as transient labourers in white urban areas who had homes in the reserves. This colonial mind-set was informed by the need for racial separation and engendered policy stasis on the provision of urban social amenities to Africans, particularly housing, education and recreational facilities. In the nascent urban centres of Southern Rhodesia in the 1900s, African labourers were housed at their employer's premises. However, urban authorities discontinued this system because sections of the white community found a correlation between African 'inhygiene' and the outbreak of disease.[8] They also blamed the presence of Africans in certain areas as contributing to falling prices in real estate.[9] More importantly, however, white fears of the 'Black Peril' included the disdain of having Africans living in proximity to white communities. Although Africans served as domestic labour some whites felt that there was need to minimise contact. Consequently, the state passed the Native Urban Locations Ordinance (1906) followed by the Private Locations Ordinance (1908).[10] These pieces of legislation empowered Municipal Councils to restrict Africans to designated Native areas or Native Locations.[11] Given the official thinking of the time, the Native Location was planned and built on the premise that the African was not a permanent town-dweller but had a home in the reserve. Consequently, the location was a collection of round huts of mud and thatch.[12] Notwithstanding the makeshift nature of the huts and the cheap material used to build them, municipal councils sought to profit from the location by renting-out the huts.

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[7] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p.230; See also, J. Alexander, *The Unsettled Land. State-making and Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003*, Oxford, James Currey, 2006.

[8] T. Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe. A Social History of Harare before 1925*, Harare, Weaver Press, 2007, p.12. Such views were partly influenced by urban policies in South Africa. M.W Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909,' *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1977, pp. 387-410.

[9] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe. A Social History of Harare before 1925*, p.17.

[10] The Native Urban Locations Ordinance provided for the segregation of races through the creation of areas of African urban residence away from white areas. The Private Locations Ordinance was a labour legislation meant to distribute labour on farms and limiting the number of Africans who could occupy a certain size farm. However, its application in the urban areas also had a segregatory effect.

[11] The African location was the officially segregated African areas of urban residence under the Native Urban Locations Ordinance of 1906 which later became known as African Township.

[12] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe. A Social History of Harare before 1925*, p. 23.

The African location was also designed for the male 'bachelor' with no provisions for family life and welfare services. The Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry of 1910 indicated that even for bachelors there was little home life in the urban locations due to unwholesome living conditions and absence of welfare services.[13] Officials were quick to justify this state of affairs on the basis of the African's ideal past;

> The African population, the majority of whom maintain attachments in one way or another with the Native Reserve where the old conception of interdependence of individuals within the family group still prevail, has not yet reached the state where the organisation of welfare services by Government on a large scale has become necessary.[14]

However, Gray argues that, permanent African urban residence and family life started taking shape in the immediate post-World War One period.[15] By the 1920s and 1930s, therefore, in town locations and large mining areas there were 'thousands of children growing up without experiencing village or tribal life'.[16] Similarly, David Johnson states that in the 1930s there were increasing numbers of women and children in the towns despite colonial government championing urban residence for 'bachelors'.[17] According to Barnes, there was gendered urban life long before the massive influx that accompanied post-Second World War industrialisation in Southern Rhodesia.[18] However, Ranger states that attempts at African family life in Bulawayo dates back to the 1890s where he records that there were 48 men, 67 women and 49 children.[19] In this respect, African family life and the presence of youth in the urban areas was a phenomenon of an earlier period than what official reports of child behaviour and juvenile delinquency present.

Government perpetuation of a policy of denial over the existence of urban family life reflected in infrastructural inadequacies, particularly in housing. For example, overcrowding was a common feature in Southern Rhodesian towns. The Native Affairs Commission of 1930 highlighted the serious accommodation shortages that existed. A white employer of African labour claimed that his 40 employees occupied a 3 roomed house.[20] In addition, the Commission noted cases where up to 4 men and 2 women lived in a small room and sometimes

[13] *Native Affairs Committee Report 1910*, p.12.
[14] Official Year Book of Southern Rhodesia with Statistics mainly up to 1950 No. 4, 1952, p.223.
[15] Gray, *The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and* Nyasaland, p.107.
[16] *Ibid*, p.110.
[17] D. Johnson, *World War Two and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1939-1948*, Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2000, p.46.
[18] Barnes, *We Women Worked So Hard*, p.3.
[19] T. O Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning. The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893-1960*, Sufffolk, James Currey, 2010, p.29.
[20] NAZ ZAN 2/1/1, *Native Affairs Commission Report 1930*, p.14.

single rooms accommodated between 6 and 11 people.[21] These circumstances militated against a basic family life. Africans giving evidence to the Commission highlighted the unacceptable situation where children shared bedrooms with their parents and boys and girls being obliged to sleep in the same room.[22] By the 1940s workers' demands were increasingly influenced by family needs, particularly women and children and housing was one such priority.[23]

The influx of Africans into urban areas continued in the 1930s. Between 1936 and 1941 the figures of male Africans employed in the six largest towns rose from 39,252 to 56,500.[24] Below is a comparative analysis of the population figures for Bulawayo town.

Table 2: Bulawayo population figures, 1936 and 1944.

Year	Men	Women	Children	Total
1936	3,847	1,237	991	6,007
1944	6,816	2,012	2, 178	11,006
Increase since 1936	2,967	775	1, 187	4,929

Source: Percy Ibbotson, 'Urbanisation in Rhodesia', p.74.

A comparative analysis of population in the town of Bulawayo shows that children constituted 20 percent of the urban population in 1944 up from 16 percent in 1936. There was a 120 percent increase in the child population between 1936 and 1944. If the statistical increases for Bulawayo town can be taken to represent trends in other urban centres one can deduce that increases in population, particularly that of children, were not in keeping with the slow pace of infrastructural development in the colony. In the 1930s there were no major housing projects that were instituted by the government or municipalities to accommodate African families. In addition, the above statistics represent those workers and families who were legally resident in Bulawayo. Actual numbers could have been much higher.

[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid*, p.11.
[23] T. Barnes, ''So that a labourer could live with his family': Overlooked factors in Social and Economic strife in urban Colonial Zimbabwe, 1945-1952', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1995, pp.95-113; T. Scarnecchia, 'Poor Women and Nationalist Politics: Alliances and Fissures in the formation of Nationalist Political Movement in Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1950-6', *Journal of African History*, 37, No.2, 1996, pp. 283-310.
[24] P. Ibbotson, 'Urbanization in Southern Africa', *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 16, No.2, April, 1946, p.74.

The African urban problem played out in the national politics of Southern Rhodesia in the 1930s into the 1940s and reflected a sustained policy stasis towards African welfare. Central government oscillated between the imperatives of segregationist policies and the need to adopt a practical social policy for the provision of African social services. In addition, policy debates reflected on the intransigence of urban authorities against assuming what they perceived as government responsibilities towards urban Africans. The electoral victory of Godfrey Huggins in the 1933 election, on a ticket of 'total segregation' gave a new impetus to the debates on African urban residence. A segregationist and champion of the policy of separate development, Huggins represented the white conservative view, which often blamed the African for urban social problems. Although he tacitly acknowledged the inadequacies of African urban residence he was quick to suggest that the blame rested with the urbanised African:

> We ourselves are white people, British people, are essentially law abiding…But when you come to the native you are up against a different problem. He is a person who has been removed from the circumstances he understands. He is placed in a European civilisation which he does not understand. He is, therefore essentially a law breaker, not from desire but because of his circumstances.[25]

Notwithstanding his racial prejudices, Huggins and his CNC, Bullock, were not oblivious of the practical need to plan for and ameliorate the condition of the urban African. In 1934 Bullock considered legislation along the lines of the Native Urban Areas Act (1923) of South Africa[26] but eventually rationalised that the legislation failed to provide for the permanent urban African population.[27] He became a proponent of housing for married Africans and the expansion of African urban housing in general. To this extent, in 1934 Bullock sent a circular to Town Clerks stating that 'native labour is a necessity in every town. Therefore, it is considered that reasonable accommodation should be provided for labourers while seeking employment.'[28] In response, the Salisbury municipality suggested the setting up of labour camps for these 'casual Natives'.[29] However, E.G Howman a former Superintendent of Natives (SoN) for Salisbury

[25] NAZ SRG 3, *Legislative Assembly Debates, 22 July 1934, Column 219.*
[26] The Native (Black) Urban Areas Act No 21 of 1923 divided South Africa into 'prescribed' (urban) and 'non-prescribed' (rural) areas, and strictly controlled the movement of Black males between the two. Each local authority was made responsible for the Blacks in its area and 'Native advisory boards' were set up to regulate the inflow of Black workers and to order the removal of 'surplus' Blacks (i.e. those not in employment). Towns became almost exclusively white and as a result the only Blacks allowed to live in town were domestic workers. The law was superseded by the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945 and was finally repealed by the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986.
[27] NAZ S235/363 CNC, Bullock, to Secretary to the Prime Minister, 25 August 1934.
[28] NAZ S1542/1, Chief Native Commissioner Correspondence –Urban Areas, 1933-1935: CNC to Town Clerks, 10 January 1934.
[29] NAZ S1542/1, Chief Native Commissioner Correspondence –Urban Areas, 1933-1935: Salisbury Town Clerk to CNC, 12 May 1934.

criticised the use of Salisbury location as a compound for bachelors and instead suggested expansion of housing to accommodate African families.[30]

Huggins' election rhetoric for 'total segregation' rendered the adoption of ameliorative policies very difficult. In particular, he could not pressure municipalities to agreeing to fund African housing projects for fear of being regarded as an inconsistent leader by supporting the African cause in white urban areas.[31] The Village Settlement Scheme of 1930 designed to provide accommodation for African families had undermined the popularity of the previous Moffat government with municipalities and the urban white constituency.[32] Under Huggins, the Native Department was unable to institute any meaningful housing project due to the depression of the 1930s.[33] For their part, municipalities did not want to carry the burden of African urban housing and suggested that employers instead shoulder the burden since they benefited from African labour.[34] Conveniently, the economic depression became a pretext where even the municipalities cited the unavailability of cheap loans to undertake housing projects.[35] In fact, municipalities were unwilling to undertake African housing projects.

Municipalities' reluctance to provide for African housing ran contrary to the fact that they benefitted from the financial administration of urban locations. For example, between 1915 and 1939 Bulawayo Municipality rents and sales of African beer amounted to £74, 556 of which £39, 250 was not accounted for.[36] Municipalities were against government initiatives like the Native Village Settlement Scheme because it entailed government interference in urban affairs when urban authorities wanted carte blanche in the use of revenues collected from Africans. For example, although the Bulawayo municipality could not commit to provision on African housing, between 1925 and 1939 it allocated a thousand pounds annually to the pension fund for European Council employees from African revenues.[37] In addition, African revenues subsidised service provision in white sections of the town. Consequently, the issue of revenues, African housing and social welfare was sensitive and had potential political implications so much that Huggins approached it cautiously. He could not force Municipalities to undertake

[30] NAZ S1542/1, Chief Native Commissioner Correspondence –Urban Areas, 1933-1935: E.G Howman to CNC, 16 July 1934.
[31] Devittie, 'Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies, 1929-1939', Honours Dissertation, University of Rhodesia, 1973, p.43.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid, p.37.
[34] NAZ S85, Native Affairs Commission. Evidence of the Salisbury Town Clerk, p. 23-51.
[35] Devittie, 'Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies, 1929-1939', p.37.
[36] NAZ S235/395, Chairman, Native Affairs Commission to the Minister of Native Affairs, 06 January 1931, p.12.
[37] Ibid, p.8.

African housing and antagonise urban whites and his calculated approach only resulted in a deadlock between government and urban authorities on who was to provide social services to the Africans.

Despite the government's reluctant acknowledgement of the 'necessity' of African labour, the commitment to house African workers was still slow. For example, under the 1936 Native Registration Act, municipalities agreed to provide hostel accommodation for Africans seeking employment in towns. Although Bullock considered this as a temporary measure with the hope of convincing municipalities to provide proper housing for Africans in the future, by the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 nothing had changed. The Village Settlement Scheme continued but was under the direct control of municipalities that the government was unable to regulate rents for improved African access to the scheme. When Luveve and Highfields Village Settlements were established in Bulawayo and Salisbury in 1936 respectively, rentals were pegged at 14 Shillings for a two-roomed house which was hardly affordable for the urban-dweller's average earnings of between 20 and 30 Shillings a month.[38] Alternatively, Africans resorted to the cheaper accommodation on Private Locations owned by farmers on the outskirts of the towns. However, a lack of proper planning in these Private Locations and overcrowding resulted in the development of slum conditions. Hyde Park in Bulawayo which belonged to Rhodesia Corporation Limited was inhabited by up to a thousand Africans and had become, in the words of the SoN, 'a 'hot-bed' of crime and immorality'.[39]

The Howman Commission of 1944 summed up the decades long effects of state policy on urban African society.

> Segregation has not only tended to suppress family life, but to place most strenuous obstacles in the way of those who have sought to set up homes in the urban areas, and the consequences ramify into every field of the economic, industrial, moral and social order…the tragedy lies in the failure to appreciate the grave need to provide the fullest possible community facilities, housing and educational machinery that would make possible the growth of a natural family, community and social urban life.[40]

By 1945 the shortage of accommodation had become so acute that in certain private locations on the fringes of towns some three or more married couples were sharing the same room, which

[38] NAZ S1542/2, Chief Native Commissioner Correspondence –Urban Areas, 1936-1939: Acting Superintendent of Natives Bulawayo to CNC, 28 July 1936.
[39] NAZ S1542/2, Chief Native Commissioner Correspondence–Urban Areas,1936-1939: SoN, Bulawayo, to CNC, 30 July 1937; see also, T.M.N. Zhou, 'A History of Private Locations around Bulawayo City, 1930-1957', M.A Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1995.
[40] NAZ ZB1 3/1/1 Report on the Committee to Investigate the Economic, Social and Health Conditions of Africans Employed in Urban Areas (Howman Committee Report), p.23. For wider discussions on housing see B. Mpofu, 'No place for 'Undesirables': The Urban Poor's Struggle for Survival in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 1960-2005', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburg, 2010.

was used as a bedroom and living-room.[41] In addition, sometimes married couples and bachelors were sharing the same room.[42] The *Salisbury Environment Post* of 1945 captured the gravity of the housing situation; 'Some slept in the tin kitchens, other on the verandahs which were covered by hessian sacks, tins and planks. Some slept in buses, lorries and on the open fruit and vegetable market in the location.'[43]

The acute housing shortage contributed to unwholesome urban environment where children were exposed to anti-social behaviours. According to Vambe, '…thousands of children living under these conditions heard or saw their adults making love, gambling, swearing, stealing and reeling from drink.'[44] Accommodation shortages also undermined the ability of family members to stay together. Epstein's study of African urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt revealed that shortage of accommodation transformed kinship ties and altered the structure of family. Children were separated from their parents to live with relatives around the towns or in the rural areas so that they would not witness their parents' sexual activities.[45] In some cases, single parent homes were due to lack of room and this deprived parents of their role to guide their children resulting in perceived strange behaviours and insubordination in children; 'Girls, customarily, were expected to be docile and meek, but now parents frequently found they had lost power to command their daughters' obedience.'[46] In this respect, shortage of housing engendered the development of a disaffected African urban youth.

The lack of education also contributed to development of juvenile delinquency among Africans. The educational requirements of the African were exclusively a prerogative of mission bodies which mainly operated in the rural areas. It was not until 1937 that the Government began to set up schools in the urban and mining areas. By 1938 some 30% of African children between the ages of 5 and 15 years attended the various forms of schools in the colony because the Compulsory Education Act (1930) only applied to whites.[47] In addition, owing to the politics of separate development the Huggins government restricted Africans to elementary education to minimise competition with whites. Throughout the 1930s 'Africans who wished to climb the higher ranks of education ladder could only do so by making their

[41] P. Ibbotson, 'Urbanization in Southern Africa', *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 16, No.2, April, 1946, p.78-79.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Quoted in Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, p.174.
[44] *Ibid*.
[45] A.L. Epistein, *Urbanisation and Kinship. The Domestic Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia, 1950-1956*, London, Academic Press, 1981, p.122.
[46] *Ibid*, p.150.
[47] Gann and Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*, p.136

way to South Africa.'[48] The state was working in alliance with settler capital which preferred unskilled labour and a job colour bar system. Between 1934 and 1938 the SRMC lobbied government for the introduction of secondary education for African and government only acceded in the late 1930s under pressure from a growing international capital more attuned to an educated African workforce which was critical in expanding the local market.

In the urban areas, the issue of African education was as contentious as that of housing. In 1938 the Bulawayo Municipality received letters from the Native Affairs Department (NAD) and from the SRMC requesting that Council erects new school buildings.[49] However, this request was strongly rejected by Council on the grounds that African education was a national concern and therefore a government obligation. The Council would only intervene in matters of African education if the government were prepared to surrender the revenues it received from the taxpayer for educational purposes to the urban authorities.[50] The dangers of a growing body of juveniles who shunned the existing Missionary schools or could not afford education in Salisbury came to the notice of government. In 1937 Huggins proposed a government school and enforced compulsory education for Salisbury but his suggestions were dismissed by CNC, Bullock, on the grounds that such a move would set a precedent where government would be required to do the same for all the major urban centres.[51] The general feeling among municipalities was that the government wanted Municipal authorities to subsidise its functions while it retained national revenues. Consequently, this deadlock with government put pressure on missionaries to provide educational facilities. Percy Ibbotson of the Federation of Southern Rhodesia Native Welfare Society (FNWS) noted that the financial burden of providing adequate educational facilities in the urban areas had outgrown the resources of Missions.[52] Government schools only existed in two Village Settlements in Bulawayo and Salisbury with demand continuing to grow. The rest of the colony's towns did not have any meaningful educational facilities for Africans. In this respect, African education was caught up in the same government and municipal intransigence which affected the implementation of housing projects. This affected the deployment of urban youth socialising agents.

[48] *Ibid*.
[49] Bulawayo Mayor's Minutes, July 1938, p.4.
[50] Ibid, p.4.
[51] NAZ LG191/12/7/5, Welfare Officer for Location, 1937-1939: Minutes of Meeting between Government and Municipal representatives, 17 February 1937, p.6.
[52] P. Ibbotson, 'Urbanisation in Southern Rhodesia', p.80.

In his report of 1944 on Native Affairs, the Salisbury Medical Officer of Health recognised the nexus between education and delinquency.

> Unless in the future the question of native education is tackled energetically, Salisbury will be faced with a serious problem of native juvenile delinquency which will be followed at a later stage by further considerable increase in the number of adult native criminals operating in the city. There can be little doubt that juvenile delinquency is already in evidence in Salisbury and that conditions, which will give rise to results already found on the Rand, have been established and are operating at present in the city.[53]

In light of this fact, the juvenile delinquency report made an urgent call for compulsory education for urban Africans as well as introduction of nursery schools for Africans.[54] However, owing to sustained government neglect of social provision for Africans and the war-time financial stringency the suggestion was predictably ignored.

The African Juvenile Delinquency report of 1944 was the first official government attempt at recognising African juvenile delinquency as a social problem in Southern Rhodesia by documenting its nature and forms while quantifying the problem.[55] Methods of collecting information included visits to prisons for the interrogation of juveniles and the examination of records, the use of questionnaires and interviews with people in direct contact with native conditions, particularly in urban and peri-urban areas.[56] However, the report had its limitations. First, the inquiry was conducted over nine months from March to December 1944 and such a short space of time could not allow the collection of information relating to every juvenile in prison. Second, a total of 78 questionnaires were distributed countrywide; Judiciary officials 17; Native Commissioners 20; Police 13; Prison Officials 9; Probation Officers 2; Missionaries 8 and General 9.[57] Although 96 % of the forms were returned for analysis, the total number of 78 was small for an inquiry of this nature and coverage of the whole colony. In particular, the inquiry made no effort to include employers and school administrators as important constituencies in the survey. These factors may have distorted the statistics data gathered for the period 1936-1944. However, the report highlighted important issues, which are useful for analysing the problem of juvenile delinquency during this period.

The education particulars of the 82 juveniles serving jail sentences and those committed to certified school proved that lack of educational discipline may have contributed to incidence

[53] NAZ LG 161/11/6, Salisbury Medical Officer of Health Report, June 1944, p.8.
[54] Ibbotson, *Report on a Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.31-32. This position was not new. The Federation of Native Welfare Societies lobbied Government on the matter for the greater part of the 1930s.
[55] Ibbotson, *Report on a Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*.
[56] *Ibid*, p.2.
[57] *Ibid*.

of delinquency; 70% had not attended school; 19% had reached sub-standards only; 9% had reached standard I; 2% had reached standard II or over.[58] Of those who had reached sub-standards only, several had only attended school for a few months. These statistics should be examined in light of the fact that by the mid-1940s only 40% of African children of school going age were attending school.[59] The report concluded that the discipline of school life and a school routine would have beneficial results on the actions and behaviours of school children.[60] Consequently the report advocated for an African education with a practical content including sport, recreation and industrial training.[61]

Youth recreational facilities were inadequate and in others cases virtually non-existent. From the 1920s to the 1940s the place for organised urban public recreation was the Beerhall.[62] According to West, the Beerhall subsequently became the single most important element in the development of leisure and social institutions for urban Africans.[63] In view of this fact, there was very little effort at providing the youth with recreational facilities until the development of cinema shows in the 1940s. Besides, the Beerhall became a symbol of urban vice which promoted drunkenness, gambling and prostitution. In addition, it became the quintessential element of early urban recreation. Not only did it create a place where African leisure could be 'contained', it also became an important source of revenue for municipalities through beer sales.[64] The urban Beerhalls operated on the 'Durban System' where urban councils monopolised the production of the African beer and centralised beer drinking outlets.[65] In this regard, forms of early urban entertainment were driven by the municipal profit motives and the need to 'contain' African recreation. However, the state was not omnipotent and Africans

[58] *Ibid*, p.30.
[59] *Ibid*.
[60] *Ibid*, pp.30-31.
[61] *Ibid*, pp.31-32. Delinquency was not purely a criminological issue but one that stepped into the social relations and political economy of the time. "Education" for Africans meant skills training and labour value in the colonial political economy. This partly stemmed from the white racist view that Africans were naturally lazy and education would make them useful labourers.
[62] West, Liquor and Libido.
[63] H.F Wolcott, 'Plastic Mugs for Traditional Brew: Beer Drinking among Rhodesia Urban Africans'. *Pamphlet*, n.d.
[64] R. Parry, 'The Durban System and the Limits of Colonial Power in Salisbury, 1890-1935', in J. Crush and C. Ambler (eds.), *Liquor and Labour in Southern Africa*, Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1992; N. Chimhete, 'The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia c.1945-1980', M.A Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2004; G. Vakayi, 'The State, Alcohol and the African People: The Case of Southern Rhodesia, 1909-1974', BA Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe 2002; D.H Reader and J. May, 'Drinking Patterns in Rhodesia, Highfield African Township', Occasional Paper No. 5, University of Rhodesia Department of Sociology, Salisbury, 1976; J. May, 'Drinking in Rhodesian African Township', Department of Sociology, Occasional Paper No. 8, University of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1973.
[65] A. Mager, *Beer, Sociability and Masculinity in South Africa*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2010; M.W Swanson, ''Durban System': Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', *African Studies*, xxxv, 1976.

resisted 'containment' of their recreation through the operation of *Shebeens* where different sorts of intoxicants were served and various forms of entertainment provided.[66] The *Shebeens* (criminalised leisure) became symbols of defiance against colonial/municipal liquor laws and the beerhalls.

3.1.2 *African Youth and the Urban Economy*

Significant juvenile participation in the social and labour processes of the urban areas began immediately after the First World War. For example, in 1920 Bulawayo had over 300 juveniles in employment (14 years of age) that had neither legal nor contractual power to engage as domestic servants.[67] The NC warned that '…and when it is further considered that there is no reformatory or other institution for juveniles, it is hardly surprising that a promising juvenile criminal class is in the course of formation.'[68] Although the legal age of juvenile labour contract was placed at 14 years in the JEA, employers continued to employ younger juveniles to cut labour costs. Juveniles, broadly, and those under the legal age of contract, in particular, could be manipulated by being given high work targets for low wages. In the early 1930s demand for juvenile labour increased. In 1934 NC for Chilimanzi reported that 'the youth of 12 to 16 finds his services more in demand in towns'.[69]

There was a correlation between effects of the Great Depression and criminality in Southern Rhodesia. In the early 1930s the government was increasingly worried about the issue of unemployed Africans in the urban areas who, in state opinion constituted an 'underclass' with criminal tendencies.[70] Overall crime statistics steadily increased between 1932 and 1934 from 41, 427 in 1932, 42, 882 in 1933 and 43,366 in 1934.[71] Juvenile crime statistics rose from 324 in 1928, 419 in 1929, reached a peak of 522 in 1930 and thereafter remained around 450 for the duration of the depression years.[72] Indeed, Government officials conceded that keeping Africans out of the urban areas was not only very difficult but was also a self-defeating exercise because Africans continued to move into towns in search of employment. The Secretary to the Law Department indicated that 'the question of dealing with unemployed natives in towns is

[66] See M. Chikowero, *African Music, Power, and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2015; Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning.*
[67] NAZ S2076, CNC Annual Report 1920, pp.1-2.
[68] Ibid.
[69] NAZ S1563, NC Chilimanzi Annual Report 1934, p.6.
[70] NAZ S1543, Secretary Law Department to Secretary to the Prime Minister, 06 December, 1932; see also, Burton, 'African Underclass; Urbanisation, Crime, and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam'
[71] NAZ S235/488, Minutes of the Conference of Senior Native Commissioners, Salisbury, March 27-29, 1935, p.79.
[72] NAZ J5/4/2, Juvenile Offenders: Returns 1924-36.

of considerable difficulty, and…, all the laws under which natives can be dealt with have been enforced.'[73] The Native Department was worried about what it saw as a growing problem of 'prostitutes' and gamblers as agents of urban and social disorder with the latter constituting the single largest problem; 'The professional gambler has emerged in native life, and he is breaking down the honesty of the comparatively large section of the native population.'[74] This emergent urban 'underclass' was a product of the burgeoning informal economy that had emerged due to low wage structures, a stringent pass law system, and the dwindling economic opportunities in the face of an increasing African urban presence.

The urbanisation process also reflected the increasing patterns of exploitation and domination of subject races, particularly the Africans through an elaborate system of regulations which limited access to and movement around the towns. Urban control combined government laws and different forms of urban regulations designed to maintain social and urban order. The Native Passes Consolidation Ordinance (1914) was of particular importance. In 1920, A. Drew, a retired NC, observed that 'owing to numerous pass and trespass laws in force in this country, the native who comes to our towns finds it impossible to avoid the many pitfalls made for him and becomes an offender over and over again…'[75] The Native Registration Act, and the Native Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act of 1936 and 1946, respectively, further consolidated the pass system by enforcing the urban African to carry 'in addition to his *situpa* [registration certificate], one of the following: a pass to seek work in the town; a certificate signed by a Native Commissioner to the effect that he was earning a living in the town by lawful means; if employed outside the town, a written permit from his employer; a visiting pass'.[76] The official line was that such measures prevented 'overcrowding and other evils' in white urban areas.[77] In addition, the locations were subjected to inspections and Location Inspectors had the authority to search any hut, house, or habitation within the limits of any Native Location and would usually do so during odd hours, searching for idle or disorderly persons and or intoxicants.[78]

[73] NAZ S1542, Chief Native Commissioner Correspondence–Urban Areas,1930-1932: Secretary, Law Department to the Secretary to the Prime Minister, 06 December, 1932.
[74] NAZ S235/486, Native Affairs Advisory Committee, 10 Aug, 1931, p.147.
[75] Quoted in Mason, *The Birth of A Dilemma. The Conquest and Settlement of Rhodesia*, p.287.
[76] Quoted in Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948. Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, p.202.
[77] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p.163.
[78] J. B. Mnyanda, In *Search of Truth. A Commentary on Certain Aspects of Southern Rhodesia's Native Policy*, Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1954, p.6.

However, the colonial laws were not as effective as the state would have wanted. In an attempt to control the numbers of youths in towns, in keeping with the desire to 'keep the towns white', the JEA prohibited African juveniles under the age of 14 years from seeking employment without the permission of the NC.[79] In practical terms, however, juveniles below 14 years continued to move into towns because employers ignored age restrictions. Many of the juveniles migrated to towns without the authority of their parents, while others were sent by parents to seek employment. Far from being passive victims of the colonial labour process, juveniles under 18 years of age used loopholes in the administration system to acquire adult registration certificates in the hope of earning higher wages.[80] Colonial officials' use of discretion to judge the apparent age of African juveniles gave room for young Africans to misrepresent their ages often by producing a long work history. However, the colonial urban economy offered the youths few economic opportunities.

African juvenile delinquency was, partly, a product of the urban poverty and low wages. The majority of Africans in the towns in the 1930s were unskilled, illiterate labourers and domestic workers whose wages barely sustained them in towns.[81] Domestic servants and gardeners received between £10 and £12 per annum.[82] Juveniles were usually employed as domestic labour and were likely paid far less than adult Africans. The highest paid Africans included police detectives, post office clerks and ministers of religion who earned £72, £60 and £48 per annum respectively but these professions constituted a small fraction of African labour.[83] By 1944 there was very little change concerning the African wage structure; 21.7% (5,744) received cash wages only, 5 % (1,335) received cash wages, accommodation and food; 15.7% were paid less than £1 per month and 5% of these were not receiving food and accommodation.[84] A man and his wife and two children required an average of £4 15*s* per month, a figure that left the majority of larger families outside the bracket of basic survival.[85]

Ironically, the majority of employers preferred stable married men as labour but were quick to defend this wage structure; 'We pay a man for the value of the work he does; we are not concerned with his wife and family.'[86] As a remedy to the apparent shortage of labour in 1949

[79] *Juveniles Employment Act 1926*
[80] Ibbotson, *Report on A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.9.
[81] Devittie, 'Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies, 1929-1939', p. 22.
[82] Ibid.
[83] *Director of Census Report 1936*, p.14.
[84] *The Howman Committee Report*, p.10.
[85] *Ibid*.
[86] *Ibid*, p.11

the Salisbury Council recommended that recruited male labourers bring their wives and children to improve stability and efficiency.[87] However, employers were unwilling to offer wages that sustained families. For many African labourers the chances of escaping this poverty bracket were limited. In addition to their low educational qualifications, the occupational mobility of Africans was undermined by the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 which severely limited African industrial apprenticeship.[88] In this constraining urban environment of low wages and unemployment youths were forced to 'live on their wits and gambling'.[89]

The colonial African wage structure was premised on the 'limited wants thesis' where colonial officials presumed that the Africans did not sustain themselves on wages. Colonial officials believed that since Africans maintained links with the rural economy they supplemented their income with production in the rural economy. In 1933 the CNC claimed that the African entered the labour market for a specific purpose or to get enough money in order to purchase a particular item.[90] This mind-set determined the low wage structure and in turn shaped the development of the urban informal economy. Activities like hawking and gambling, beer brewing and prostitution supplemented African wages and, to a degree, urban authorities turned a blind eye because a crackdown on these activities would inevitably force changes in the urban African wage structures. Robert Davies observed that,

> The operation of this strategy in Rhodesia is demonstrated by the way that the legislative apparatus, which paper restricts the [informal] sector drastically, is administered with varying effectiveness; periods of general laxity are followed by drives to clear slums to remove 'beggars' and vagrants and generally to clamp down on informal activities.[91]

In addition to the low wage structure, informal activities thrived in colonial African urban centres mainly because of the gap between available formal sector jobs and the increase in demand.[92]

Urban controls and economic marginalisation of sections of African society transformed forms of deprivation. Colonial towns created new forms of poverty by marginalising sections of people who could not be accommodated into the mainstream economy. The urban environment

[87] NAZ S2960, An examination into the working of the Inter-Territorial Agreement of African Labour (Tripartite Agreement) between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland-Memorandum on the shortage of labour, City of Salisbury, 11 March 1952.
[88] *Industrial Conciliation Act 1934*.
[89] NAZ ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.11.
[90] NAZ S235/454, Minutes of the Native Affairs Conference held at the Victoria Hotel, 08 June 1933, p.62.
[91] R. J. Davies, 'Notes on Theory of the Informal Sector with Reference to Rhodesia', Department of Economics, University of Rhodesia, 1974, p.9-10.
[92] F. Cooper, *African Since 1940: The Past and the Present*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.121-123.

gave birth to poverty marked by proletarianisation, unemployment, prostitution and delinquency.[93] Indeed, forms of poverty existed in the countryside and did so prior to urbanisation but assumed different forms than those mediated by the towns and the cash economy. Employment was at the centre of urban poverty because some were not employed, some were paid little and could not adequately support their large families and generally wages were especially low.[94] Most of the poor in colonial towns were unskilled labourers who were crowded in slums, suffering hunger and pauperism.[95]

The media was central in highlighting urban social ills and particularly the plight of the African family at a time when there was no clear policy to improve the condition of urban Africans. For example, the *Bantu Mirror*[96] which chronicled African urban social life in the 1930s and 1940s explained the trajectory of youth delinquent behaviour as a direct result of the urbanisation process. Its social commentary explored the struggles in both the towns and countryside and how this affected African social cohesion, particularly the disruption of the family unit, marriage. Among other things the newspaper bemoaned the fact that youths were flocking to urban centres instead of developing the countryside.[97] Consequently, in the late 1930s, the *Bantu Mirror* was running a column for boys and girls dealing with morals and spiritual life in the light of what it perceived as the 'prevalence of youth gambling and extravagance.'[98] In addition, African youth were allegedly patronising beer parties and having illicit sex.[99] In 1940 the *Bantu Mirror* introduced a youth supplement where the 'evils' of youth indulgence in intoxicants were debated under the column titled 'Miss Tea and Mr Skokian'. The title was aptly chosen in the 1940s context characterised by the illegal brewing and consumption of *Skokian* at *Shebeens* which authorities perceived a source of health problems, moral decadence and social disorder.[100] While 'Mr Skokian' represented urban debauchery and moral decadence, in contrast, 'Miss Tea' represented the innocence of youth and proper moral values.

Theft was the most prevalent of juvenile crimes. In 1941 698 juveniles were charged with offences of which 295 (42.2%) were theft offences and in 1942 and 1943 theft charges were

[93] Iliffe, *The African Poor*, p.164.
[94] *Ibid*.
[95] *Ibid*.
[96] The *Bantu Mirror* was the first African Weekly newspaper established in 1931 by the Department of Native Affairs. It chronicled African urban life and captured African opinion on policy issues and social development.
[97] *Bantu Mirror* 23 May 1942.
[98] *Bantu Mirror* 21 January 1938.
[99] *Bantu Mirror* 25 October 1941.
[100] Chimhete, 'The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia c.1945-1980', p.47.

45% and 43% respectively.[101] The prevalence of theft can be attributed to poverty among the urbanised Africans. Theft was an expression of the desire to acquire and obtain either for personal use, consumption or sale to others. The low African wage structure affected juveniles in their capacity as dependent children as well as wage labourers. The 1944 report observed that 'juveniles in employment often receive low wages and are unable to purchase things which they desire and see displayed before them in shops…it is often true that on a mere pittance of wage they can hardly clothe themselves properly...[and] have to pay tax in addition.'[102] Furthermore, there were reports of school children selling boiled eggs in Beerhalls during lunch hour break and at 4pm to supplement family income.[103]

Two fundamental aspects emerge from the discussion above. First, urban juveniles acquired consumer tastes which were part of colonial urban modernity which was, to a degree, an expression of burgeoning youth identity. Indeed, youth acquisition of new commodities added to their expression of an identity as a distinct social category. Burke examines the role played by commodity culture and changing patterns of consumption in colonial Zimbabwe from the 1940s. Men, women and indeed juveniles were drawn into the intersections of colonial commodity culture and race, gender and age.[104] Second, the urban areas, to a degree, may have worked as a safe haven for tax defaulters[105] and this highlights the continued struggles by African youth against the colonial state and the numerous obligations that hindered their economic aspirations. Although some African youths operated under the rudder of colonial authorities, their practical obligation to pay tax and basic survival undermined suggestions that youth migration to towns was 'wander lust' or a result of fascination with the 'bright lights'. Indeed, the urban leisure in the post-Second World War period epitomised by cinema shows, music and competition football[106] was an incentive but should not be taken as the major reason for rural-urban migration even amongst the youths.

[101] Ibbotson, *Report on a Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.37-38.
[102] *Ibid*, p.30.
[103] *African Daily News*, 21 November 1956.
[104] T. Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women*: *Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1996.
[105] Burton, 'Urchins, Loafers and the Cult of the Cowboy: Urbanization and Delinquency in Dar es Salaam, 1919-61', p.208.
[106] Ibid, p.206.

Table 3: African Juvenile Offences, 1941-1943

OFFENCE	1941	1942	1943
Assault, Common	30	25	23
Assault with intent	13	10	2
By-Laws, Municipal and Village management	9	5	4
Criminal Injuria	6	8	6
Cruelty to Animals	16	14	12
Dog Tax	19	22	4
Forest and Herbage Preservation Act	52	53	25
Game and Fish Preservation Act	16	13	7
House breaking and Theft	45	89	59
Masters & Servants' Act	66	42	48
Native Juveniles Employment Act	6	17	1
Native Registration Act	-	-	52
Native Passes Act	20	15	22
Police Offences Act	11	17	7
Roads and Traffic Act	37	27	11
Stock Theft	15	19	17
Theft	295	367	330
Vagrancy	3	2	33

Source: P. Ibbotson, A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia, December 1944, pp.37-38

Above are 18 of the most committed juvenile offences from a total of 57 recorded offences between the years 1941 and 1943.Those offences which are not included in the list had a maximum of 6 recordings per offence over the three-year period given.

Common theft contributed the largest number of juvenile offences followed by house breaking and theft. This could be attributed to the economic deprivations of colonial African urban life. The Masters and Servants Act and Native Passes Act contributed a significant amount of cases signifying that a considerable number of juveniles were in employment.

Evidence to the 1944 African juvenile survey indicated that District Courts almost entirely dealt with first offenders.[107] However, of the 82 juveniles who were serving prison sentences and committed at certified schools in 1944, 30 had previous convictions recorded against

[107] Ibbotson, *A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.4.

them.[108] Although the majority (9 cases) had two previous convictions some had up to five previous convictions (2 cases). This makes the suggestion that most juveniles who were tried at district courts were first offenders questionable. In cases where a juvenile was convicted of more than one count on the same day, it was recorded as one count.[109] Furthermore, interviews of juvenile adults (18-21 years) serving prison sentences revealed that some of them had crime records dating back into their juvenile years (under 18 years).This resulted in juvenile adults being brought up on further charges because of their previous record.[110]

The absence of special juvenile courts resulted in hurried court judgements and distorted juvenile delinquents statistics.[111] Juveniles were supposed to be remanded pending investigations into previous offences but the Police and Native Commissioners dealt with charges 'without delay and not wait for evidence of previous convictions except in serious cases'.[112] However, this approach was problematic because a seemingly trivial offence for which no previous record was sought could be one in a serious of offences. The CID had a repository of information which involved past history, home and environmental influences, but Native Commissioners were compelled to dispense judgement before consulting these records because of the absence of remand homes for African juveniles pending trail. The only alternative was to detain juveniles on remand in prison. However, in Southern Rhodesia special detention facilities for juveniles only existed at the Salisbury Prison which was commissioned in 1933. Even so, these were not remand facilities but facilities for those juveniles serving prison sentences. In this respect, the absence of special courts and juvenile remand homes for Africans affected Southern Rhodesia's juvenile justice system and statistical record.

Beginning in the 1940s, social commentary in African newspapers suggested that youth vices were a result of the influences of bioscope shows which led young people 'into [an imaginary] world of bitterness and confusion, where crime in its entire guise is rampant, and where forces tend to destroy the very edifice of humanity'.[113] At bioscope shows acts of hooliganism and breaking of property were a common occurrence. In 1952 a boy of 17 years was reported to be a member of a gang of delinquents who called themselves 'Cowboys' accused of causing

[108] *Ibid*.
[109] *Ibid*.
[110] Ibid, p.5.
[111] Administration of a punitive form of justice without recourse to finding evidence in dealing with juvenile delinquency can be paralleled with the administration of colonial justice in dealing with the 'Black Peril' scare where an African man accused of rape was almost always convicted whatever the evidence; see McCulloch, *Black Peril White Virtue, Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935*.
[112] Ibbotson, *A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.6.
[113] *Bantu Mirror* 1 January 1943.

trouble, indulging in assault, gambling and theft in Salisbury's Harari Township.[114] It was further reported that the '…gang got away with crime because people were too frightened to report them to the police'.[115] Similarly, in South Africa forerunners of the *tsotsi* gangs were influenced by American movies, particularly the Wild West with its elements of banditry and brigandage.[116] Although Southern Rhodesia did not have a recognisable youth gang culture similar to that which existed in South African urban society, young people sometimes conducted crime and deviant behaviour in groups. In 1959 the Director for African Administration for Salisbury reported of gangs of youths, most of whom were unfit for gainful employment, as responsible for 1,243 cases of knife attacks[117] at *Mahobo* parties.[118] Development of youth gang culture in South Africa was part of youths' social struggle for an identity, recognition and respect in the emasculating urban environment.[119] Southern Rhodesia towns offered no better opportunities for African youths raising the possibility for the development of gangs and other forms of youth expression and youth frustration.

3.1.3 *African Middle Class 'Respectability' and Juvenile Delinquency*

Discussing juvenile delinquency in colonial Kenya, Campbell highlights that racial divisions overshadowed perceptions of class in the construction of delinquency.[120] While this is true, there is need to disaggregate society beyond race to avoid homogenising trends. In Southern Rhodesian the development of an African middle class influenced the construction of deviance and delinquency in the framework of control and management of urban space. As West has demonstrated, the African Middle Class were products of an education which was designed to 'enlighten' and inculcate the virtues of work.[121] This philosophy of the work ethic in African education created a connection between poverty and idleness as opposed to industry and wealth.[122] Poverty gradually assumed both moral and material connotations. The able-bodied

[114] LG 191/12/7/72, A. Langton's Report on the Survey of the incidence of juvenile delinquency among children of Harari residents, February 1952, p.2.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Glaser, *Bo-tsotsi*, p.48.
[117] S/SA 6175, City of Salisbury: (Year by Year Annual Reports by Director of African Administration for the Mayoral Year) Salisbury Director of Native Administration Annual Report 30 June 1959, p.14.
[118] *Mahobo parties* were urban weekend parties where illicit beer was sold. The term *Mahobo* was a Ndebele language derivative to 'mean many people' was indicative of the large crowds they pulled.
[119] Glaser, *Bo tsotsi*; see also, S. Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town*, Oxford, James Currey, 2008.
[120] Campbell, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1939', p.130.
[121] West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965*. Roman Catholic Church Mission schools in Southern Rhodesia used and still use Latin dictums like 'Laborare est orare' (To work is to pray) and 'Abeunt studia in mores' (Education transforms character) as school mottoes.
[122] R. Waller, 'Rebellious Youth in Africa', p.86.

but idle were shunned and their lack of employment was taken as a choice rather than a consequence of urban hardships.[123]

Juvenile delinquency control measures in colonial Africa replicated policies of metropolitan Britain which centred on the regulation of working class families and control of their children. Criminality, vagrancy and juvenile delinquency appeared as part of social debates about urban poverty.[124] These ideas cascaded into the colonies. The technological and economic transformation that occurred in the West in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was comparable to the transformation of colonial towns of the twentieth century and produced almost similar results. The proliferation of colonial socio-cultural and economic links resulted in new criminal behaviours and new tensions developed between 'respectable' and 'unrespectable' sections of African urban society.[125] For example, debates of the social transformation of colonial Tanganyika included societal concerns akin to Victorian anxiety towards the transformation of British society during the Industrial Revolution.[126] The control apparatus of industrial Britain were transplanted into the empire particularly the vagrancy laws targeting the urban poor and regulating and controlling the children of the working class.[127]

In Southern Rhodesia these notions were captured in the 1944 report on African juvenile delinquency.

> There are numbers of unemployed juveniles in the larger urban areas and these can be seen wandering about European areas and often making a *nuisance* of everybody. It is a common thing in Bulawayo and Salisbury to see small *gangs* of juveniles *loafing* about in various parts of the towns, and enquiries have revealed that in the majority of cases these juveniles are *unemployed*.[128] (my emphasis)

The diction in the quotation above suggests the disdain with which officialdom regarded 'idleness'. These perceptions influenced the construction of deviance and demarcation of the boundaries of acceptable social behaviour in the urban space. As Burton notes, the 'negative perceptions of youths as threatening civil order have resulted in their harsh treatment, with

[123] Ibid.
[124] Humphres, *Hooliganism or Rebels?: an oral history of working-class childhood and youth, 1889-1939*; Springhall, *Coming of Age-adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*; Blanch, 'Imperialism, nationalism and organised youth', in Clarke, Critcher, and Johnson (eds.), *Working Class Culture*, London; Meyer, *The Child and the State: the intervention of the state in family life*; Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy and Beggars and Bagging*; Rose, *'Rogues and Vagabonds': Vagrant Underworld in Britain*.
[125] A. Burton, 'Jamii ya wahalifu. The Growth of crime in a colonial African urban centre: Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, 1919-1961', *Crime, Historie & Societes/Crime History & Societies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2004, p.86.
[126] Burton, 'Wahuni' (The Undesirables): African Urbanisation, Crime and Colonial order in Dar es Salaam, 1919-61', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 2000 pp.26-27.
[127] Burton, 'Jamii ya wahalifu', p.96.
[128] Ibbotson, *A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.11.

forcible removal from towns a frequent response and their harassment by municipal authorities common practice.'[129]

In Southern Rhodesia, the development of an African middle class from 1940s strengthened these official attitudes of respectability of work, space and achievement. The development of an African middle class was initially an unintended result of missionary education. However, in the 1950s the state decided to ally this class as a buffer against the growing social and political agitation by the rest of the working class Africans.[130] The middle class became the foundation for 'social advancement and political stability of the African future'.[131] Conveniently, the African bourgeois became an epitome of success attributed to education and hard work. On their part, the class aspired and mimicked their colonial masters in dress, social organisation and forms of leisure.[132] Their demand for separate residential areas was a symbol of both physical separation and ideological differentiation from the rest of the urban Africans. Middle class suburbs of Highfield and Luveve in Salisbury and Bulawayo respectively became havens of 'respectability'. The *African Daily News* condemned unseemly behaviour of 'new' Highfield residents, especially men and boys, who 'molested married women' at night.[133] The elite sought to shield their wives from the stereotypes of 'loose women' associated with urban prostitutes.[134] While the act of molesting women was a moral affront in itself, it was more disturbing that it was happening in a 'respectable' suburb like Highfield. Therefore, such unacceptable behaviour must have been the work of 'newcomers' who were yet to fully understand the values of the Highfield location.

The colonial state used the African bourgeois as a symbol of the ideal stable working class family in its endeavour to stabilise the urban African work force. Within this discourse of stability, and respectability of space developed vagrancy terms such 'waifs' and 'strays', 'vagabonds', 'urchins', among others. The presence of 'aimless' juveniles in the urban area was a nuisance to the public domain reserved for the respectable working families.[135] In

[129] Burton, 'Urchins, Loafers and the Cult of the Cowboy: Urbanization and Delinquency in Dar es Salaam, 1919-61', p.199; ''Wahuni' (The Undesirables): African Urbanisation, Crime and Colonial order in Dar es Salaam, 1919-61', pp.2-4; V. Bamurange, 'Relationships for Survival-young mothers and street youths', in M. Rwebangira and R. Liljestrom (eds.), *Haraha, haraka…Look before you leap: Youth at the crossroads of Custom and Modernity*, Stockholm, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet,1998.
[130] West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965*, p.87.
[131] Government of Southern Rhodesia, *What the Native Land Husbandry Act Means to the Rural and African and to Southern Rhodesia: A Five Year Plan that will Revolutionise African Agriculture*, Salisbury, 1955, p.14.
[132] See West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe 1898-1965*.
[133] *African Daily News* 08 January 1957.
[134] NAZ 235/477, Evidence of Enquiry into Bulawayo Location, 1930, p.182.
[135] Waller, 'Rebellious Youth in Africa', p.84.

addition, the urban unemployed disrupted the concept of urban order.[136] However, these juveniles had always been present but they were now given extra meaning within the emergent spatial metaphors of the towns.

African juvenile delinquency was as much a technical and administrative problem as it was socio-economic. Juvenile delinquency was shaped by vagrancy laws which gave rise to 'vagabondage'. According to St Leger due to the tight control of the urban environment 'the Southern Rhodesia juvenile delinquency rates have been deeply affected by administration of police policy rather than sociological reasons'.[137] In 1945 the Department of Justice noted that a large number of juveniles were brought before the courts for technical offences and vagrancy. In 1942 there were 82 000 convictions under the pass laws countrywide and a percentage of them were juveniles.[138] The presence of unaccompanied juveniles in urban areas and the limited economic opportunities increased the juvenile vagrancy. The Salisbury Director for Native Affairs revealed that,

> There are a number of abandoned or orphaned and completely neglected boys who regularly sleep out under lorries, in derelict conditions, in and around the hostels or with any adult who will take them in. Some of them are very young. They are dressed generally in tatters, collect and sell empty beer bottles and African newspapers, haunt free cinema shows and 'Mabobo' parties and understandably steal. These children also gamble and drink with exiles and truants. These children also avoid contact with any form of authority, especially Welfare Workers whom they associate with loss of freedom and cheerless durance.[139]

There was a correlation between poverty and vagrancy. Poor juveniles, therefore, became an urban nuisance that disturbed the serene urban space; stole and robbed 'respectable' urban dwellers. Notwithstanding the presence of destitute juveniles in urban areas, the Southern Rhodesia government claimed that 'the total absence of juveniles, as of other begging in the colony, is indicative of the absence of [African] child destitution'.[140] This racial and sometimes idealised view of African society was conveniently adopted in order to justify the government's neglect of not only African children's needs but the whole strata of African welfare services in the colony.

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[136] F. Cooper, *On the Waterfront: Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987, p.182; J. Willis, 'Thieves, drunkards and vagrants: Defining crime in colonial Mombasa, 1902-32' in D. Anderson and D. Killingray (eds.), *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority and Control, 1830-1940*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1991, pp.219-235.
[137] Quoted in Devittie, 'Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies, 1929-1939', p.12.
[138] Barnes, '*We Women Worked So Hard'*, p.78.
[139] NAZ S/SA 6175, City of Salisbury: (Year by Year Annual Reports by Director of African Administration for the Mayoral Year) Salisbury Director of Native Administration Annual Report 30 June 1957, p.97.
[140] *Official Year Book of Southern Rhodesia with Statistics mainly up to 1950*, Southern Rhodesia Government No. 4, 1952, p.227.

In Southern Rhodesia, opinion in African newspapers represented an "elite" class of Africans (teachers, civil servants, and clergymen) who were apt to condemn misbehaving youths as 'hooligans', 'loafers', 'menace' and 'ill disciplined'. The elite also described qualities of the ideal African youth. The Reverend, Thompson Samkange wrote,

> I wish to appeal: First-to the youth of our country in urban, Municipal, Peri-urban and rural areas, that we as leaders strongly condemn the growing tendency to hooliganism, lack of moral restraint, indiscipline, insolence, vulgar language and many copied so-called European vices. We urge them to behave themselves as members of our race, to be sober, honest, reliable, truthful, punctual and stable at their work.[141]

Indeed, Samkange was encouraging the African youths to acquire 'sober' habits associated with a 'progressive people' and as represented by the African Middle Class. In response to Samkange's appeal, one Richard Chikosi argued for the formation of 'the African Moral Welfare Association' for the preservation of African youth dignity, morality and marriage.[142] These appeals blended Christian and middle class values of the African educated elite and their idea of a progressive African society. In this regard, the state and the African middle class shared the same concept of urban social order.

Middle class values also upheld importance of the nuclear family and emphasised the role of parenting in guiding children to good character. The ideal 'modern family' was nuclear, educated and culturally westernised with a white wedding as a requirement to claims of middle class status.[143] It also had to be monogamous and guided by Christian values. In addition, the respectable, club going, Christian wife and school going children became the basis of a 'decent family life'.[144] This image of respectability was one which the African middle class acquired and perpetuated.[145] For the colonial state, the middle class suburbs and family values became the ideal model of urban society on which stability and urban order were underpinned. Indeed, the majority of Africans aspired to acquire these values but for many they proved an elusive dream in the circumscribed economic environment. Newspaper commentary criticised society for allowing school teachers to take over the role of controlling and instilling values in

[141] *Bantu Mirror* 16 August 1947.
[142] *Bantu Mirror* 13 September 1947.
[143] J. Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*, Berkeley, California University Press, 1999, p.170.
[144] Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women*, p.56; see also, M. Hinfelaar, *Respectable and Responsible Women: Methodist and Roman Catholic women's organisations in Harare, Zimbabwe (1919-1985)*, Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2001, pp.133-135.
[145] J. Parpart, ''Where is your mother?': Gender, urban marriage and colonial discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945', *International Journal of Historical Studies*', 27, 1994, pp.257-263.

children.[146] The presence of children roaming the streets was perceived as a sign of irresponsible parenting.

3.1.4 *Juvenile Delinquency, Immorality and Gender, 1930s-1950s*

The policy of transient male labour housed in 'bachelor' quarters delayed female migration into urban centres. This resulted in lopsided sex ratios in urban areas up to the advent of female domestic service in the 1930s. Official records indicate that there were 15, 043 men and 69 women in Salisbury, 16, 047 men and 103 women in Bulawayo in 1931.[147] However, there was a minimum of 900 unregistered women in Bulawayo.[148] Blake notes that the locations, inhabited by 'wifeless males' without entertainment, were places of immorality, drink and rowdiness.[149] The urban sex ratios gave rise to a floating population of 'unattached' women engaged in 'prostitution' and hawking. The 'unattached' women were predisposed to operate on the fringes because the nature of the urban economy offered them limited formal economic opportunity.[150] However, suggesting that prostitution was merely a result of limited choices will be missing the point. Luise White argues that for some women arriving in colonial Nairobi, selling sexual services was not simply a last resort, but an opportunity for accumulating capital.[151]

Despite the existence of prostitution in Southern Rhodesian towns, references like 'single', 'unattached' and 'loose' women were generally used to describe unmarried urban women who were perceived to have escaped both the physical and moral clutches of African patriarchal control and these categories of women were sometimes also referred to as prostitutes.[152] Although some of these women were illegal urban residents, they helped subsidise the meagre urban wages through hawking and provided sexual services to 'wifeless men'. Conveniently, the colonial officials deliberately turned a blind eye to prostitution because they believed that it stabilised the work force by providing 'bachelors' with sexual services and guarded against the 'black peril' menace. Records of 1931/32 'prostitutes' round-ups suggested lack of

[146] *Bantu Mirror* 01 July 1942.
[147] *Director of Census Report, 1936*, p.12
[148] Barnes, '*We women Worked So Hard*', p.78.
[149] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p.163.
[150] M. Matanganyidaze, ''The Struggle for Urban Survival': African Women in the Informal Sector in Harare: 1947-1980', BA Honours, University of Zimbabwe, 1994, p.14.
[151] Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990, p.167.
[152] West, 'Liquor and Libido: 'Joint Drinking' and the Politics of Sexual Control in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1920s - 1950s', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 30 No. 3, Spring, 1997, pp.647-650. Barnes, *'We Women Worked So Hard'*; Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939*; Jeater, *Marriage, Pervasion and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia 1894-1930.*

intention on the part of government to rid the towns of these women.[153] Authorities only deported to the reserves recent arrivals while known prostitutes were released to continue with their 'trade'.[154] They were not particularly concerned about curbing prostitution as much as they were in for controlling it.

State and African males perceived the emergence of African women in urban areas as a moral problem. The moral panic associated with the ungoverned movement of young women in the rural areas intensified with the development of female domestic service in urban Southern Rhodesia in the 1930s. The increasing numbers of females also joined the ranks of 'prostitutes' and hawkers. Hawking by females was, to a large degree, associated with the moral pervasion of 'uncontrolled' women and a challenge on male authority. In 1937, the public opinion in the *Bantu Mirror* showed the discomfort that the urban African men had over hawking females; 'The Government's attempts to suppress the hawking of young girls by their elders in town is most desirable step and we are confident the Registration Act (1936) in this respect will prove to be of incalculable benefit'.[155] Similarly, in post-Second World War Lagos, female hawkers were perceived to be in 'moral danger' and were banned in 1942.[156] Writing in the *Bantu Mirror* Samkange noted, *Zezuru*[157] men were averse to female urban presence because 'This to them connotes the disintegration of the tribal system, the existence of a comfortable asylum of morals consequent upon the absence of parental control, the increase in the number of illegitimate children and other such evils'.[158]

Sections of African society saw the presence of women in the urban areas as a direct cause of single parent households, weak parental control and juvenile delinquency. Dambudzo Marechera recounted that, 'there were a lot of homeless kids in [Rusape] township, especially the kids of single mothers. They are the ones who really had a rough time because their mothers could only survive by prostitution'.[159] The state generally believed that single mothers gave a bad moral example to their children and were unable to provide adequate child guidance resulting in juvenile delinquency. Similarly, in colonial Senegal, most of the delinquents were

[153] Barnes, '*We Women Worked So Hard*', p.79.
[154] NAZ S1222 'Immorality by Young Native Females', Report by Detective Sergeant Fitzgerald and Price, May 1935 to May 1936, p. 2.
[155] *Bantu Mirror* 04 September 1937, p.4.
[156] Fouchard, 'Invention of Juvenile Delinquency in Lagos',p.131.
[157] Zezuru is a sub-dialect of the Shona language in Zimbabwe.
[158] *The Bantu Mirror* 27 March 1943.
[159] F. Veit-Wild, *Marechera, Dambudzo Marechera: A Source Book on his Life and Work*, London, Hans Zell, 1992, p.12.

alleged to be illegal residents and children of prostitutes.[160] In the colonial discourse of control, paternal authority was believed to be the countervailing force that sustained family stability and integrity. This thinking was the midwife of colonial patriarchal ideology which manifested itself in laws where women were regarded as legal minors. In this respect, gender meanings were sometimes discursively used as metaphors of governance, domination and subordination in specific historical regimes.[161] In colonial Africa, and Southern Rhodesia in particular, such subordination of females was epitomised by female urban control and laws that curbed 'prostitution'.

There is ample evidence to suggest that prostitution among juveniles did exist or that female juveniles were caught up in the urban intolerance of the presence of women. Statistical data for 'prostitution' in Bulawayo for December 1931 indicated that from the nine hundred or so women in Bulawayo location, eighty one ranging in age from 14 to 22 were rounded up for alleged prostitution.[162] A CID report of November 1932 makes reference to 17 'young Matabele girls whom the NC ordered to leave Bulawayo on suspicion of prostitution.'[163] Police round-ups were a common urban occurrence from the 1930s to the 1950s and they netted thousands of women on suspicion of prostitution.[164] However, female juveniles would, more likely, than any other age group constitute 'single' and 'unattached' categories of women who were targeted by authorities. In addition, African men perceived the urban environment as having a corrupting effect on female youths because 'these location girls are bold and sharp tongued'.[165] In this regard, the location girls defied the ideal African female who was perceived as meek and docile. Even those men who supported the advancement of African females in urban employment qualified the moral conditions, which were to accompany their presence. For example, in 1943 Sigauke of the Public Health Department in Que Que advocated for a ''Daughters of Africa Association' to help in advancing African girls education, employment, the erection of girls hostels in urban areas and fight against immorality, drunkenness and all the evil that follow in their wake'.[166] The moral outrage of colonial urban society was gendered

[160] Konate, 'On Colonial Laws and the Treatment of Female Delinquents in Senegal: The Case of Leonie Gueye,' p.55.
[161] L. Manicom, ''Ruling Relations' Rethinking State and Gender in South African History', *Journal of African History*, Vol.33, No. 3, 1992, pp.441-465.
[162] Barnes, *'We Women Worked So Hard'*, p.78.
[163] NAZ S1222, Detective Sergeant Butler to Chief Superintendent CID Bulawayo, 27 November 1932.
[164] Barnes, *We Women Worked So Hard*, pp. 78-80; J. Alexander, 'Hooligans, Spivs and Loafers?'; The Politics of Vagrancy in 1960s Southern Rhodesia', *The Journal of African History*, Vol.53, No.3, 2012, p.349.
[165] *Bantu Mirror* 21 January 1938, p.11
[166] *Bantu Mirror* 03 April 1943.

and ‘women were the villains whose bad behaviour was to blame for the upheavals in African society’.[167]

If juvenile delinquency was a problem of male youth who loitered and stole, then female delinquents were largely sexually immoral. The 1944 report on African juvenile delinquency only carried statistics for male juvenile delinquents because ‘very few females under eighteen come before the Courts and are sentenced to imprisonment.’ [168] The report, however, acknowledged that the absence of such cases did not mean that there were no female delinquents and included 4 cases of juveniles serving prison sentences at Gwelo Prison.[169] The four represented those who were convicted of more serious crimes. However, this was as much a statistical limitation as it was a social commentary on female juvenile delinquency in urban Southern Rhodesia. It reflected the urban marginality of the female juvenile and reinforced the concepts of the ‘youth’ and ‘juvenile’ as largely male.[170] In addition, the manner in which the 4 juveniles serving sentences were mentioned is revealing; ‘Four females under eighteen years of age serving sentences in the Gwelo Prison were interrogated. Two of these had been convicted of theft.’ The fact that the report took exception to mentioning those convicted of theft may suggest that their crime was outside the “normal” “moral” female crimes. This was a gender stereotype attendant upon female crime.[171]

The gender stereotype of female juveniles was not peculiar to British Africa. Konate analyses the laws and treatment of female delinquents in early twentieth century French Senegal using the case of Leonie Gueye, a thirteen year old girl who was thrice convicted of robbery.[172] The colonial authorities struggled to categorise Leonie because she had behaved outside the moral frame of female behaviour. Indeed, female delinquency outside sexual pervasion was ‘non-existent’ so much that there were no female juvenile facilities. Consequently, Leonie was sent to a male rehabilitation facility creating serious problems for the authorities.[173] Overall, the

[167] Barnes, ‘*We Women Worked So Hard’*, p.131.
[168] Ibbotson, *A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.1.
[169] *Ibid*.
[170] Waller, ‘Rebellious Youth in Africa’, p.82.
[171] Colonial judges' interpretations of violent African female criminality often sought to diminish women's moral responsibility for their crimes and to deny the rational nature of their crimes. Judicial treatment of such accused women was also highly paternalistic and partly based on the offenders' conformity to traditional gender-role stereotypes; see Zimudzi, ‘African Women, Violent Crime and the Criminal Law in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1952’
[172] Konate, ‘On Colonial Laws and the Treatment of Young Female Delinquents in Senegal: The Case of Leonie Gueye’, pp. 48-54. see also, S. Aderinto, ‘‘The Girls in Moral Danger’: Child Prostitution and Sexuality in Colonial Lagos, Nigeria, 1930 to 1950’, p.1.
[173] Konate, ‘On Colonial Laws and the Treatment of Young Female Delinquents in Senegal: The Case of Leonie Gueye’

case exposed the institutional and social inadequacies of colonial Senegal to frame and rehabilitate female delinquents.

Sentiments of youth debauchery expressed by male elders in the reserves in the 1930s were re-echoed in the urban areas.[174] In particular, similar to the rural 'Night dances', authorities perceived *Mahobo* parties as a threat to youth morals and good character because they promoted liquor consumption and racketeering and the 'ungoverned' female sexuality was especially problematic.

> Parties are organised (especially in Harari) where women and young girls perform lewd and indecent dances accompanied by "strip-tease" exhibitions. The "Mahobo" parties could go on from Thursday night until Monday morning…The more responsible element of African public have now become concerned at the deterioration in public morals and is alarmed at the degree to which adolescent children, especially young girls, are being inveigled into taking part in these "parties".[175]

These bohemian forms of entertainment were responsible for the spread of venereal diseases. For example, the Council Medical Officer of Health judged that 10 percent of venereal diseases were contracted at the so called 'tea parties'.[176] By the late 1950s the Director of Native Administration for Salisbury believed that some 150 such parties would take place every weekend.[177]

The establishment of accommodation hostels for young unmarried females in the 1940s and 1950s should, therefore, be viewed as a 'containment' measure against perceived young African female urban 'nuisance'. The concept of hostels was borrowed from South Africa and when female domestic service was debated in the 1930s, Southern Rhodesian ministers of religion proposed the establishment of adequate and secure accommodation.[178] In 1945 the Gertrude McIntyre Native Girls Hostel was established in Bulawayo followed by Carter House in Salisbury in 1950 and the two had a combined accommodation capacity of 298.[179] The hostels were cordoned off by fence, and Matrons watched over the young women and locked the main gates to the premises after a certain prescribed hour.[180] However, this system did little to allay the 'moral fear' and resentment of African men who were vehemently opposed to

[174] Refer to Chapter Two
[175] NAZ S/SA 6175, City of Salisbury: (Year by Year Annual Reports by Director of African Administration for the Mayoral Year) Salisbury Director for Native Administration Annual Report 1959, p.112-113.
[176] NAZ LG 161/11/11, Salisbury Medical Officer of Health Report: Council Medical Officer for Health to Salisbury Director for Native Administration, November 1950
[177] Ibid.
[178] NAZ S94, Evidence on Female Native Labour in Domestic Service: Evidence of Bishop Paget and Rev. Archdeacon Christalowe, 16 September, 1932, p.47.
[179] S/SA 6175, City of Salisbury: (Year by Year Annual Reports by Director of African Administration for the Mayoral Year) Salisbury Director for Native Administration Annual Report 1953, p.77.
[180] Ibid.

female urban presence. The hostel was a symbol of urban gender tension and male intolerance of the presence of young women. In the violence that followed the Salisbury Bus Boycott[181] of September 1956, rioters raped over ten women, stole cash and other belongings at Carter House, alleging that the hostel residents had defied the boycott.[182] Kudakwashe Manganga argues that sexual attacks at Carter House were a result of African male resentment of African women's 'independence' in Salisbury.[183] In addition, it was an expression of a violent, sexist and hegemonic form of masculinity within the burgeoning nationalist movement.[184] In view of this fact, the presence of young unmarried women in male dominated towns created gendered tensions within urban society.

3.2 Juvenile Delinquency as a Socio-Political Problem, 1950s-early 1960s

In the late 1950s and early 1960s the Rhodesian state faced a crisis in its capacity to manage social order because of a number of reasons; there was African agitation regarding the implementation of the NLHA (1951); urban unrest and increased nationalist activities; housing problems and unemployment. In addition, the impending collapse of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1963) and Africans' clamour for political rights against growing white cries for independence compounded the situation.[185] More importantly, African youths became a particular social category which required state attention. State failure to provide jobs and educational facilities to increasing numbers of youths created a body of people whose grievances were capitalised on by nationalists and threatened social stability.

Post-Second World War economic boom and, to a degree, the NLHA pushed thousands of job seeking young Africans, many of them school leavers, to crowd the urban townships and

[181] The Salisbury Bus Boycott of September 1956 was organised by the Salisbury City Youth League (CYL) to protest against bus fare increases by the United Transport Company (UTC). They were calling for a bus fare subsidy to cushion Africans against the rising costs of transport. Although the protest was initially planned as a peaceful reaction by boycotting buses, it degenerated into violent protests involving assault and the destruction of property.

[182] *African Weekly*, 19 September 1956; Daily *News*, 19 September and 4 October 1956; *African Parade*, November 1956

[183] K. Manganga, 'Masculinity (Dodaism), Gender and Nationalism: The Case of the Salisbury Bus Boycott, September 1956', in S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and J. Muzondidya (eds.), *Redemptive or Grotesque Nationalism? Rethinking Contemporary Politics in Zimbabwe*, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2011, p.140; see also, K. Benson and J. Chadya, ''Ukubhinya': Gender and Sexual Violence in Bulawayo Zimbabwe, 1946-1956', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol 31, No. 3, 2005, pp.587-610.

[184] Manganga, 'Masculinity (Dodaism), Gender and Nationalism: The case of the Salisbury Bus Boycott, September 1956', p.134.

[185] Munro, *The Moral Economy of the State: Community Development, and State Making in Zimbabwe*, p.125.

hostels.[186] However, the law failed to generate the jobs which were anticipated and the post war economic momentum fizzled-out so much that the rate of economic growth could not absorb youths in requisite numbers. The *Bantu Mirror* gave a gloomy description of the employment situation in Bulawayo; 'The plight of hundreds of hungry and jobless Africans in and around Bulawayo is pathetic, sickening and unnerving. They have roamed to and from the factories and employment exchanges during the past six months in daily despair and frustration'.[187] It was out of this sense of frustration and despair that various social problems including criminality increased.[188] Commercial interests also pushed urban authorities to curb vagrancy to force Africans onto the labour market. The Annual Congress of the Federation of the Chambers of Commerce in 1952 registered alarm at what it termed the growth of African 'loafers' and juveniles in the urban areas without employment.[189] However, the urban employment problems represented the emergence of increasing numbers of youths, particularly school leavers who demanded skilled and professional jobs as opposed to taking up employment as farm labourers. The post war population surge forced increased colonial state expenditure in education. Between 1939 and 1948 adolescence in schools had increased from 95 000 to 210 000 and continued to rise in the 1950s as the number of schools increased.[190] Consequently, there was an increase in better qualified Africans for formal employment at a time when the job market was gradually shrinking. In this respect, the urban youth crises were a result of structural problems in the Southern Rhodesian economy which coincided with increasing political tensions.

However, the youth unemployment problem was not peculiar to Southern Rhodesia during this period. The problem of 'workless youth' was also salient in East African economies in the

[186] The Native Land Husbandry Act was designed to limit the number of Africans who required land in the African reserves. Those taken off the land were expected to become stabilised labour for the growing economy in the towns. This separation of the agricultural and non-agricultural sections of the African population was expected to remove some of the chief hindrances to good farming and change the character of labour supply for industry. However, the law was not implemented in most parts of the country, and even where it was implemented, in many cases individuals found ways of subverting the attempts a creating a landless class. Overall, it failed to generate jobs in the urban areas or stabilise the rural areas. See Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State-making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1890-2003*, chapter two; see also Phimister, 'Rethinking the Reserves: Southern Rhodesia's Land Husbandry Act Reviewed', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 2, June, 1993, pp. 225-239.

[187] *Bantu Mirror*, 14 June 1960
[188] West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class*, p.177.
[189] NAZ S2960, An Examination of the Working of the Inter-Territorial Agreement of Migrant African Labour (Tripartite Agreement) between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Memorandum on the shortage of Native Labour- City of Salisbury, 11 March 1952, p.2.
[190] West, 'Ndabaningi Sithole, Garfield Todd and the Dadaya school strike of 1947', p.300.

1950s when the first signs of structural unemployment emerged.[191] The reserve army of labour that had, prior to the 1950s, resided in the rural areas was now crowding the urban areas as a result of colonial policies in the rural areas and the short-lived post war economic boom. These developments increased the ranks of a cohort of unemployed youths with an insatiable 'expectation of modernity' and desire for social mobility.[192]

There was a correlation between youth agitation and the emergence of new militant nationalist movements. In addition to unemployment there were shortages of schools in the urban areas. The unemployed and those who could not be enrolled in the few existing schools became the new found adherents of the bourgeoning nationalist political movements in the urban areas. The Salisbury City Youth League (CYL) and the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1956 and 1957 respectively used the economic and educational problems to garner political support.[193] The relationship between educational problems and nationalist politics and the urban social turbulence increased juvenile participation in strikes and protests of the 1950s and 1960s. For examples, youths were among the most active participants of the 1956 Salisbury Bus Boycott. According to Nyagumbo, 'leaders of the Youth League were embarrassed by the unruly youths who attacked the girls at Carter House'.[194] The *Daily News* of 18 September 1956 reported of a growing and agitated crowd of protesters at the boycott largely comprising 'mostly of teenagers'.[195] Various reports of 'stone throwing young men', 'rowdy youths' and 'hooliganism' among school children and the rape of Carter House residents, portrayed delinquency and nationalist politics as male domains.[196] The rise of nationalist politics of the 1950s, therefore, cemented juvenile delinquency as masculine but transformed it into a political problem.

Strikes by school going youths against inadequate educational facilities became inseparable from the nationalist political agendas. In 1957 residents of Highfield represented by the Tenant Board and Ratepayers Association and the ANC staged a protest under the banner '*We Want*

[191] Burton, 'Raw Youth, School Leavers and the Emergence of Structural Unemployment in Late Colonial Urban Tanganyika', in Burton and Charton-Bigot (eds.), *Generations Past*, p. 108.
[192] G. Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite-Bourgeoisie*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980, p.379; see also Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meaning of Urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt*.

[193] The Salisbury Youth League and the African National Congress were led by James Chikerema and Joshua Nkomo respectively. The two became veteran nationalists in Zimbabwe's struggle for independence.
[194] Nyagumbo, *With the People*, p.105.
[195] *Daily News*, 18 September 1956.
[196] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe: Harare and Highfield, 1940-1964*, p.4-5.

Education'.[197] Nationalists interpreted the lack of government initiative to expand educational facilities in urban areas as a deliberate move to create a pool of illiterate cheap African labour. This view was especially prevalent after the 1956 educational reforms which stipulated that all Standard III pupils had to be 14 years and below.[198] Consequently those who did not meet this age requirement were expelled from school to paved way for new students. However, the majority of these youths could not be accommodated in the city council's welfare programmes and ran the risk of being idle.[199] Out of 17 cases of juvenile petty theft and out of parental control recorded in 1957 in Salisbury, 14 of them were not at school.[200] Urban educational problems were a cause and an effect of juvenile delinquency that was inseparable from nationalist politics.

Student participation in the nationalist agenda was not simply spontaneous reactions to strikes and protests but operated on a coordinated leadership system. The history of education and political agitation was well established. During the interwar years the educated African 'elite' formed associations which became antecedents of nationalist movements. In the immediate post-Second World War period, a students' strike at Dadaya Mission School became part of the incipient nationalist agitation which included the 1945 Railway Workers' strike and the 1948 General Workers Strike.[201] In 1957 Didymus Mutasa, then a student at Goromonzi Secondary School, invited the leadership of the CYL to address a meeting of the Makoni Students Association.[202] Similarly, Sydney Sekeramayi joined nationalist politics while at Goromonzi School. In 1961 he was 17 years old and in Form 3 when he was expelled for organising a demonstration against the 1961 Constitution.[203] As it emerged, the demonstration was organised with the assistance of the banned National Democratic Party (NDP).[204] In this respect, individual students and student bodies became very active participants in nationalist activities through well-coordinated structures of cooperation.

[197] NAZ S/SA 6175, City of Salisbury: (Year by Year Annual Reports by Director of African Administration for the Mayoral Year) Salisbury Director for Native Administration Annual Report 1957, p.57.
[198] NAZ S3269/45/86, Native Education Policy, 1955-1963: Five Year Plan for Native Education 1956-1960, p.2.
[199] NAZ S/SA 6175, City of Salisbury: (Year by Year Annual Reports by Director of African Administration for the Mayoral Year) Salisbury Director for Native Administration Annual Report 1957, p.57.
[200] Ibid, p.97.
[201] West, 'Ndabaningi Sithole, Garfield Todd and the Dadaya School strike of 1947', pp.297-299.
[202] D. Mutasa, *Black Behind Bars: Rhodesia 1959-1974*, Harare, Longman, 1983, p.27. Mutasa became a veteran nationalist in Zimbabwe's struggle for independence.
[203] D. Mitchell, African Nationalist Leaders in Zimbabwe: Who's Who, ©D. Mitchell 1980, p.55.
[204] The NDP was formed in 1960 following the banning of the Southern Rhodesia ANC in 1959.

Events in Southern Rhodesia were part of a wider trajectory of the formation of political movements which thrived on the frustration of youth to confront colonialism. In Tanganyika the emergent African nationalist parties harnessed the dissatisfied and potentially violent male youth during the 1940s and 1950s.[205] This period also coincided with a new and militant youth political leadership in South African politics. In particular, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was formed in 1959 and targeted school children and the *tsotsi* gangs of the urban location. The latter were attracted to the PAC's emphasis on "action" and confrontation as opposed to the African National Congress' nonviolent approach.[206] A combination of youth exuberance and genuine grievances was critical in shaping the nature of nationalist politics during this period.

Youth violence became a central element of youth political participation. In 1957 the Salisbury City Council judged that hooliganism, vandalism, and juvenile delinquency were a rising problem threatening the moral fibre of Harari Township's approximately 13, 500 children.[207] In the *Zhii* Riots of 1960, a countrywide protest against the banning of political gatherings and arrest of political leadership, youths were especially active.[208] In 1962 the CID reported 21 disturbances in Salisbury alone carried out by demonstrators who allegedly could not obtain places at school.[209] Youths between the ages of 16 and 19 years of both sexes were implicated in stone throwing and damage to property. In the majority of cases police had to use tear gas to disperse crowds which varied between 30 and 700 from one school to another.[210] The presence of female students in the cohort of trouble makers here is notable because overall the framing of female delinquency was confined to their sexual morality. However, youth violence was not only confined to the larger towns and the political arena. Born in the small town of Rusape in 1952, Dambudzo Marechera recalled how in the late 1950s and early 1960 the Township Hall was a place where youth gathered to "learn cigarettes, beer, sex and of course the use and abuse of violence".[211] In view of this fact, the emergent militant nationalists

[205] J.R Brennan, 'Youth, the TANU Youth League, and Managed Vigilantism in Dar es Salaam, 1925-73,' in Burton and Charton-Bigot (eds.), *Generations Past. Youth in East African History*, p.196-197
[206] Glaser, *Bo-tsotsi*, p.83-85.
[207] *African Daily News* 22 May 1957.
[208] J. Alexander, 'Hooligans, Spivs and Loafers'? The Politics of Vagrancy in 1960s Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of African History*, Vol.53, No.3, 2011, pp.345-366.
[209] NAZ S3269/22/88, Highfields and Harari African Schools: Assistant Commissioner (Crime and Security) CID Headquarters to Secretary to the Prime Minister and Cabinet Office, 17 March 1962.
[210] Ibid
[211] Velt-Wild, *Marechera, Dambudzo Marechera: A Source Book on his Life and Work*, pp.4-5.

The 1950s altered the nature of youth delinquency. Student participation in strikes and protests under the banner of nationalism, to a degree removed the 'innocence' of youth and increased the danger they posed to state security. Southern Rhodesia's socio economic crises reached a tipping point in the late 1950s and transformed the socio-economic urban struggles of the 1930s and 1940s into a socio-political crisis. Urban protests, transformed juvenile delinquency which took the form of violent protests against an intransigent colonial state which was slow in implementing socio-political reform. The rhetoric of racial partnership under the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had failed to satisfy African demands. Violence and the destruction of property became the common denominators in protests. In this respect, the new political culture of violence altered the nature of juvenile delinquency.

The socio-political crises of the late 1950s reflected youth ability to force changes in country's laws and also altered the state's attitude towards them. In 1957 the Immigrant Labour Act was promulgated partly to restrict the employment of foreign labour in the urban centres in order to curb unemployment among the indigenous Africans particularly the youth. Following the 1960 political riots, the state promulgated the Vagrancy Act (1960) designed to discipline and control certain categories of black the urban population. The law sought to achieve 'rehabilitation of hooligans, spivs and 'loafers' into useful citizens of the city' by providing urban unemployed Africans with skills training.[212] The law was a vital cog in state social engineering couched in moralist terminologies which sought to punish African youths for their 'idleness'. The unemployed and 'idle' were forcibly rounded-up and detained in special training facilities where they underwent skills training. It was critical to remove unemployed youths off the streets because they provided currency to the militant nationalist movements. However, through the 1960 law, the United Party acknowledged the existence the problem of unemployment among the youths and that it was state responsibility to intervene as opposed to the diversionist and social interventions in the form of recreation implemented against 'undesirables' which punctuated the 1940s.

3.3 Juvenile Delinquency and State Control of African Youths, 1930s-1945

In Southern Rhodesia African children were not protected under the law. The Children's Act of 1918 amended into the Children's Protection and Adoption Act of 1929 only covered White

[212] Alexander, 'Hooligans, Spivs and Loafers'? The Politics of Vagrancy in 1960s Southern Rhodesia', p.353-255.

children because officials believed that Africans had not yet reached the level of civilisation provided for in the Act. In particular, officials claimed that African society had structures to look after abandoned, orphaned and destitute children. A colonial official suggested that it would take another one hundred years from 1929 to have 'civilised native parents' for Africans to require the type of legislation provided for in the 1929 Act.[213] Consequently, section seventy-one of the Children's Protection and Adoption Act clearly stated that the law could only apply to Africans through proclamation by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia. This legal excision of the African child meant that there was no legal provision to try juvenile cases and there was no entitlement to any form of social protection. In particular, African juveniles were tried under the Criminal Procedure Act just like adult Africans. Ironically, the JEA demanded juveniles' responsibility to provide labour and pay tax. In view of this fact, African childhood and citizenship was characterised by responsibility without rights.

African juveniles were legally treated the same way as adult Africans at the expense of juvenile reformation. Colonial officials did not seek to redress juvenile delinquency by reforming the juvenile offender, but repatriated African juveniles from towns to rural areas. A conference of Senior Native Commissioners in 1935 suggested that juveniles had to be confined to the rural areas where family ties were still holding because the harsh urban environment turned them into vagabonds and rogues.[214] The Commissioners reiterated the importance of family life in the socialisation of African juveniles and suggested that the rural area was the best place for them. However, authorities' zeal to repatriate juveniles to the rural areas was done at the expense of reformation. For example, regarding juveniles rounded up for prostitution; 'only young girls are interrogated and are taken before the Assistant Native Commissioner who interrogates them individually and decides which ones shall be ordered out of town'.[215] Such a system was not only ineffective but promoted the development of child prostitution. Since authorities were more concerned with minimising and not eradicating prostitution, it was possible that some juveniles were allowed to stay and continue with prostitution. This system raises the possibility of the development of a 'state assisted' form of child prostitution where the state was complicit in its development through negligence. For example, in 1956 a young girl who had stabbed her lover with her knife in the shoulder and neck and was ordered 'to quit town'.[216] It was highly likely that authorities chose this course of action because the girl was

[213] NAZ SRG 3, *Legislative Assembly Debate, 23 August 1928, Column 65.*
[214] S235/488 Minutes of the Conference of Senior Native Commissioners, Salisbury, March 27-29, 1935, p.23.
[215] NAZ S1222, 'Immorality by Young Native Females', p.2.
[216] *African Daily News*, 22 January 1956.

under the legal age of prosecution. Bringing her before the courts could have presented serious complication in a country with no juvenile rehabilitation facilities for Africans. Such a political and penal inertia reflected a lack of material and intellectual resources in colonial Africa and was a stumbling block to the establishment of meaningful projects of *grand renfermement.*[217] However, in Southern Rhodesia it was also a reflection of a lack political will to protect and reform the African child based on racial prejudice.

It was almost impossible to effectively deal with the problem of delinquency through repatriation because some of the juveniles were staying with their families in the urban areas. Consequently, the Chief Native Commissioner was forced to exempt from repatriation those juveniles whose guardians were tenants on farms or ranches under the Private Locations Ordinance[218] presumably to ensure a steady labour supply to the employers. This offered temporary reprieve to the African family. The Village Settlements created under the LAA of 1930 sought to minimise overcrowding and disrupted the African family unit by targeting youths for eviction. Residency in Village Settlements was contingent upon one being in employment and African youth were evicted from their homes in settlements upon turning eighteen years of age[219] to force them to look for employment. The Rhodesia Institute of African Affairs, a lobby group on government policy on Africans, stressed that youth evictions disrupted family life and created unnecessary hardships.[220] In response, the Native Land Board, which was also responsible for policy in the urban locations, defended the practice on the basis that it kept overcrowding in check. Given the shortage of African housing in the African Location, overcrowding was a perennial problem. In this respect, African family unit was sacrificed for the provision of labour to capital.

The development of sport was deemed an appropriate vector into which Africans could channel their energies. In 1928 the Mashonaland Native Welfare Society was founded comprising missionaries, government officials and ordinary citizens. In January 1932 the Society organised the first sports gathering on the new Recreational Grounds granted them by the Salisbury Town Council [221] with the organisation of sporting events presumably to provide an alternative to the beerhall. In the 1930s the Native Department, the Municipalities and Federation of Native

[217] F. Bernault (ed.), *A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa*, Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2003, p.26.
[218] CM Chidemo, 'The Rhodesia Institute of African Affairs 1940-1960. Study of a Social Welfare Movement for Africans in Colonial Rhodesia', Unpublished B.A Hours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, p.41.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Ibid.
[221] *Bantu Mirror* 6 April 1932.

Welfare Societies (FNWS) conceived social welfare to mean sport and recreational activities only.[222] Social welfare was narrowly conceived along sport and recreational lines and this reductionist conception was convenient for both government and urban authorities because it was cheap to manage.

The 1930s welfare philosophy was, to a large degree, influenced by racialised perceptions which infantilized the African and was shared by government officials as well as among white 'liberals' involved in African welfare work. For example, in 1935 the Secretary for Native Affairs wrote that 'an unoccupied native-like a European child or youth is liable to get into mischief, and be a danger not only to himself but to others'.[223] In this respect, in 1936 NC for Bulawayo attributed the absence of "tribal riots" in the location to the provision of games and recreation.[224] In 1937 Huggins acknowledged the growing problem of large numbers of children in the location and proposed to the Salisbury Major the appointment of a full-time male African Welfare Officer. His task was to '…organize games, and generally look after the social life of the male Natives in the location and keep them out of mischief.'[225] From the above discussion, it is clear that the nature of the social welfare was decidedly diversionist and was meant to contain Africans within their urban localities.

The capacity for sport to 'keep Africans out of mischief' was limited. Sport was only provided during weekends and attracted large crowds among whom were gamblers and pickpockets.[226] Rivalries at popular sporting activities like football and boxing bred violence and hooliganism.[227] For example, in October 1930 disputes between football teams ended in violence prompting police intervention.[228] By 1936 there were 16 football teams in Bulawayo alone and in 1938 the Bulawayo African Football Association was formed.[229] The failure of sport to bring urban order was partly a result of the limitations of the philosophy of social

[222] T. D Devittie, 'The Underdevelopment of Social Welfare Services for Urban Africans in Rhodesia, 1929-1953, with special reference to Social Security.' Paper presented at the Seventh Annual Congress ASSA, Kwaluseni Swaziland, July 1976, p.11.
[223] NAZ S1542/A6, Federation of Native Welfare Societies, 1935-1942: Secretary for Native Affairs to Mashonaland Welfare Society, 05 November 1935.
[224] NAZ S1562, Native Commissioner Bulawayo Annual Report 1936, p. 8. Reference was being made to the infamous Bulawayo faction fights of December 1929; see also, E. Msindo, 'Ethnicity, not Class? The 1929 Bulawayo Faction Fights Reconsidered', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3, September 2006, pp.429-447.
[225] NAZ LG191/12/7/5, European Welfare Officer for Location, 1937-1939; Minutes of Meeting between Government Representatives and the Salisbury Municipality, 17 February 1937, p.2.
[226] Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, p.100.
[227] *Ibid.*
[228] *Ibid*, pp.103,138.
[229] *Bantu Mirror* 18 May 1936.

welfare of the 1930s and the lack financial support. Overall, Welfare Societies were inadequately equipped to deal with aspects of social welfare such as poverty, relief, neglected children, housing, invalidity, delinquents and grants to the elderly.[230] In 1936 the Federation of Native Welfare Societies was formed to co-ordinate and expand the mandate of the societies into every aspect of African urban life. Regarding juvenile delinquency, in 1937 the Federation stated that 'we feel there is need in this country for the training of African Welfare Officers, who could be employed by Municipalities, mine management or others who need them.'[231] However, government did not take up this advice because it was unwilling to incur expenses on African social welfare programmes. Sport alone could not sufficiently contain the aspirations of youth which included the demand for jobs and social mobility.

In particular, the peri-urban areas where the majority of the private locations were situated required urgent social welfare work.[232] The see locations provided shelter for the majority of those who worked in the towns and could not afford the rental in the urban locations. Officials concluded that the environment in these peri-urban locations contributed to undesirable characteristics such as defiance, insolence, unsatisfactory conduct and a lack of a sense of responsibility among the youth.[233] In this respect, these areas needed to be attended to because a number of these youths committed into the towns to seek wage employment. However, without concerted government support, the work of Welfare Societies was limited by policy environment and resource constraints.

Despite policy stasis and neglect of the African juveniles as expressed through repatriation of juveniles to the reserves, the state was under pressure from voluntary and church organisations including the Roman Catholic Church and the Native Welfare Societies to address the problem of African juvenile delinquency. The state was forced to unofficially recognise and act on the problem of African juvenile delinquency. The 1935 report on white juvenile delinquency in the colony did not provide concrete statistics for Africans but, nonetheless, highlighted that the problem was equally prevalent amongst Africans.[234] Its recommendations became part of a broader lobby group comprising of various organisations to make the government take action.

[230] NAZ ZBT 1/1, Report on the Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Welfare 1946, p.12.
[231] Reverend F. Mussell quoted in *Bantu Mirror* 04 September 1937.
[232] *Ibid*.
[233] Ibbotson, *Report on A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.33.
[234] *Report on Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, Southern Rhodesia Government, December, 1935, p.2.

The juvenile penal system in Southern Rhodesia was equally problematic. Juvenile detention was a central element in dealing with juvenile delinquents. In 1931 the Southern Rhodesia Prisoners' Aid Society (SRPAS) was formed under the Prisons Act of the same year. The Society was tasked by Government to investigate the treatment of crime and existing prison system in Southern Rhodesia as compared to other parts of the British Empire.[235] In particular, the Society set the treatment of 'native' delinquency as a special focus. Adding to the increasing concern by the media and proto-type non-governmental organisations over the problem of crime in the colony, *The Bulawayo Chronicle* emphasised the need for scientific treatment of crime in all races, 'to avoid the 'danger of manufacturing criminals' by committing large numbers of offenders to prisons without recourse to probation.'[236]

During this period, the number of African prosecutions increased form 42,762 in 1930 to 51,715 by 1932 to 59,007 by 1935.[237] In Bulawayo alone, the percentage of those convicted who got prison sentences increased from 64,6 percent in 1932 to 75,95 percent by 1934.[238] In particular, juvenile crime was singled out as being 'so serious that immediate steps should be taken to establish a system of probation…'[239] The report suggested that over 60 percent of Africans were unnecessarily being sent to jail, largely because of a failure to pay fines due to the hardships of the depression period. In light of these concerns, the new Salisbury Prison commissioned in 1933 was constructed with a juvenile detention section. However, the SRPAS judged that having a juvenile section in the prison could not limit contact between juveniles and other offenders and there was need for proper juvenile rehabilitation facilities and feared the possibility of 'manufacturing' criminals in juvenile delinquents through their contact with other convicts in jail.

The state was not committed to the rehabilitation of African juveniles. In 1934 the Department of Justice released the report on the methods and administration of English and Union prisons. Although the report acknowledged the importance of the Borstal methods[240] of rehabilitation, it concluded that 'as at present Borstal methods are not suited to the needs of a country in which the majority of juvenile offenders are natives…'[241] Instead, it recommended the apprenticeship

[235] NAZ S246/269, Juvenile Delinquency: Child Welfare, 1930-1933; *Southern Rhodesia Prisoners' Aid Society Annual Report*, 1932/33, p.7.
[236] *Bulawayo Chronicle* 18 April 1933.
[237] NAZ J5/1/1-8, Department of Justice Annual Reports, 1930-1935.
[238] NAZ J5/2/1-2, Department of Justice – Punishments,1935.
[239] *Bulawayo Chronicle* 14 November 1933, p.7.
[240] The Borstal system emphasised keeping young offenders out of the prison system. It sought to effect their reform through education, trade-training and a full work program rather than by punitive detention.
[241] Southern Rhodesia Prisoners' Aid Society Report on the Methods of Prisoners' Rehabilitation, 1934.

of African juveniles with farmers for a period of 18 months in line with policies in South Africa.[242] In this respect, Southern Rhodesian policies on African juvenile delinquency were influenced by commercial interests of labour supply and an instrumental approach to 'rehabilitation'. In addition, the apprenticeship programme would be cheaper to operate compared to the Borstal system which required building structures and trained personnel. However, the apprenticeship programme was never implemented; the official rejection of the Borstal system was testimony to a disregard for African juvenile rehabilitation purely on grounds of race. In this respect, there was a sustained racial neglect of African juvenile delinquents.

3.3.1 *The Driefontein Certified School for African Delinquents*

In 1935 discussions between departments of Native Affairs and Justice, and Reverend Aston Chichester, Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC), suggested that church institutions could assist in mitigating the problem of African juvenile delinquency. In April of 1936 the Archbishop agreed that Driefontein Mission near Umvuma become an experimental certified institution for African juveniles under the 1929 Children's Protection and Adoption Act.[243] In order to accommodate this experiment, the state used the Premier's oversight of section 71 of the 1929 Act to make the law applicable to Africans. It soon became apparent, however, that the state had been pressured by lobby groups into accepting the idea of a certified institution for African juveniles. Initially, officials from the NAD had suggested the use of Domboshawa and Tjolotjo technical schools, which had been built in the early 1920s as juvenile rehabilitation facilities presumably to avoid the costs associated with establishing a new institution.[244] The NED, however, rejected the idea on the basis that juveniles should have their own institutions. This bickering by officials reflected the lack of commitment to a lasting solution to African juvenile delinquency problem.

Operations at the Driefontein Certified School reflected government's lack of commitment to African juvenile rehabilitation. The school had a maximum capacity of 20 male delinquents and received government support at the rate of £10 per juvenile per annum a much lower figure compared to White juvenile institutions which received £48 per capita.[245] In addition to low

[242] Chisholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa: A Study in Class, Colour and Gender, 1882-1939', p.110.
[243] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; Secretary of Justice to Secretary for Native Affairs, 21 April 1936.
[244] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; Secretary of Justice to Secretary for Native Affairs, 09 December 1935.
[245] Ibid.

funding, Driefontein did not have a special curriculum for the rehabilitation of committed juveniles. Delinquents attended school with ordinary students both for their literacy education and industrial training in building, carpentry and metal work.[246] Although the Driefontein arrangement was not the best for juvenile rehabilitation, the government accepted it because it met the minimum requirements; industrial training for the production of skilled, obedient servants. Consistent with the philosophy which drove Southern Rhodesia to propose for an industrial school in the mid-1930s, industrial education was part of positive rehabilitation of delinquents. Furthermore, it was the only instrument of rehabilitation for the African because the only useful African was one who could sell his labour power. State social engineering designed that Africans learnt trades in order to provide labour to the colonial economy.

Driefontein was not a reformatory but a certified institution and its system of operation highlighted two critical things. First, Driefontein was the only certified institution for African delinquents in the colony; a development which gave the impression that government policy towards the needs of the African child was changing. However, it was a place that offered African juveniles a basic education and industrial training nothing more. Second, the government was not involved in the policy formulation or curriculum design for Driefontein Certified School. While the Government had been reluctant to allow the church run institutions for European delinquents in the case of St Pancras as demonstrated in chapter five, it did not have any objections when it came to Africans.[247] This was consistent with Southern Rhodesian government policy where from the beginning of colonial rule in 1890 the provision of social services for the African, namely education and health services was left to mission bodies. It was not until 1911 that Government started operating African medical units[248] and in the 1920s that technical schools for Africans were established but government funding of African social services remained low.

In addition to Driefontein not having a special curriculum, its relevance was limited by its poor security measures, the ages of delinquents and nature of crimes handled there. In the agreement between government and the RCC, Bishop Chichester stated that the institution would not

[246] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; Secretary for Native Affairs to Secretary Department of Justice, 10 December 1935.
[247] Nhongo, 'Male Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia: A Survey of the Problem from the 1930s-the early 1950s', p.12.
[248] G. Ncube, 'The Making of Rural Healthcare in Colonial Zimbabwe: a history of the Ndanga Medical Unit, Fort Victoria, 1930-1960s,' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2012, p.1.

accept those juveniles convicted of sexual offenses.[249] In order to minimise potential problems, Chichester preferred to house those juveniles of 12 years and not adolescents.[250] Not all delinquents could be accepted at the institution yet Driefontein was the only institution for African juvenile delinquents in the colony. The logic behind Bishop Chichester's decision not to accept sexual offenders lay in the nature of his agreement with the government as well as in the Christian principles of the church. Government support to Driefontein did not involve any provision for personnel so much so that sex offenders could potentially cause problems given that the Driefontein School had female students. In addition, Driefontein as a church institution may have considered sexual offences seriously because church teachings were critical of the 'mortal sin'.[251] Furthermore, the policing of desertion by delinquents was difficult because of limited staff and the certified institution did not have separate building structures for better monitoring of inmates. Authorities simply hoped that juveniles would not abscond.

The maintenance of juvenile delinquents at Driefontein was inadequately financed leaving the Mission to subsidise operations. In 1939 the cost of expenditure at the institution exceeded the projected Government estimates by £50, which was a 100 percent budget overshot.[252] In 1940 there was a £26 deficit and another £15 in the 1942/43 financial year.[253] Whereas white juvenile institutions like St Pancras and St Clare's received grants for juveniles sheltered at institutions on a voluntary basis, the government strictly required claims for juveniles' grants at Driefontein to be accompanied by warrants of committal. The differential treatment of institutions was further expressed by the fact that Driefontein grants were seldom received on time while St Pancras sometimes received its allocation in advance.

The limitations of Driefontein certified institution were reflected in the number of juveniles who were committed there over the first nine years of operation.

[249] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: General Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; Secretary for Native Affairs to Secretary for Justice, 17 September 1935.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Nhongo, 'Male Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia: A Survey of the Problem from the 1930s-the early 1950s', p.13.
[252] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: General Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; Secretary for Native Affairs to Treasury, 11 January 1940.
[253] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: General Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; Secretary for Native Affairs to Treasury, 11 January 1940, 2 February 1942 and 8 July 1943.

Table 4: Number of committals at Driefontein Certified School, 1936-1944.

Year	Number of Committals
1936	1
1937	6
1938	6
1939	0
1940	1
1941	5
1942	4
1943	3
1944 to August	4
Total	**30**

Source: A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia, December 1944, p.23.

There was a large disparity between the number of juveniles cases tried at district courts and those committed at Driefontein Certified School. In 1939 there were 781 cases tried, 698 in 1942, 813 in 1942 and 754 in 1943.[254] This disparity can be explained by a number of factors. Officials may have deliberately kept the number of committed juveniles low owing to financial stringency and lack of commitment to the rehabilitation of the African juveniles. Consequently, corporal punishment was the preferred form of punishment. Between the years 1941 and 1943 the number of juveniles convicted by the District Courts was 2, 129 of which 1,580 (74%) were whipped, followed by those who were fined or imprisoned at 225 (10%).[255] In addition to the 1,580 who were whipped there was an unrecorded number of those who were whipped by NCs for minor offences. Of the 2,129 only 4 cases (0, 1%) were sent to a certified institution and only one case was sent for probation.[256] Until the mid-1940s juvenile probation services were for White juveniles and the state only intervened in isolated cases involving Africans. Alternative to imprisonment, whipping was the corrective measure of choice despite the fact that the method was ineffective.

The absence of probation services was tied to the neglect of psychological examination and treatment of African juvenile delinquents in Southern Rhodesia. This was in spite of the fact that psychological effects on juvenile delinquency were a subject of professional discussion in Britain and elsewhere in the Empire.[257] While such an approach was used for white delinquents in Southern Rhodesia it was not scientific and was a wholesale effort at 'othering' the 'sub-

[254] Ibbotson, *A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.3.
[255] *Ibid.*
[256] *Ibid.*
[257] C. Campbell, *Race and Empire: Eugenics in Colonial Kenya*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007, p.160-161.

normal' juveniles who were perceived as a blemish on white racial superiority. In colonial Kenya African juvenile delinquency became part of the development discourse of progressive social policies and African capacity for development.[258] In 1930, Dr Gordon, one of the leading eugenicist in Kenya, conducted intelligence test on inmates at Kabete Reformatory and concluded that only 2,7 % (6 boys) were 'normal' by European standards.[259] Colonial official presumed that such psychological deficiencies contributed to Africans inability to adapt to urbanisation. Although the Kenyan experiments were racist and pseudo-scientific, in Southern Rhodesia colonial officials seemed to care little about psychological examination and treatment of African delinquency.[260] As already mentioned, Southern Rhodesia was unwilling to commit money to social projects on Africans which did not yield any direct benefit to either the state or to capital. In 1942 the Southern Rhodesia Prisoners Aid Society suggested to Government the need for the employment of a psychiatrist to work with juvenile delinquents.[261] However, this suggestion never received serious government consideration.

Conclusion

The notion of African juvenile delinquency in Southern Rhodesian towns represented an ideology which categorised and judged youths by emphasising social factors as the pre-eminent determinants of their behaviour. In addition, colonial racial prejudice emphasised the innate incapacity of the African for development and urban adaptation as a factor in understanding the phenomenon of delinquency. Colonial urban policies vilified the presence of the African in the towns and the moral undertones of urban poverty among Africans fed into the constructions of juvenile delinquency. However, juvenile delinquency was as much a social-economic issue as it was a technical one. The policing of 'respectability' in urban areas increased the incidence of vagrancy. In the late 1950 and early 1960s, the delinquency problem became a socio-political one which was intertwined with the raise of nationalist movement. Youth violence became a fundamental element of youth political participation which transformed delinquency from individual behaviours to group acts. Beyond race and the social environment, juvenile delinquency among Africans was structured and mediated by gender roles and was distinctly experienced between the sexes. Overall, policy and practice on delinquency strengthened the

[258] *Ibid*
[259] *Ibid*, p.159.
[260] Ibbotson, *A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.22.
[261] NAZ S824/345/4 Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, March 1939 –February 1943, *Southern Rhodesia Prisoners' Aid Society Annual Report, 1942*, p.6.

stereotypes of colonial juvenile delinquency as a male problem and reinforced the marginality of females in urban social processes.

The next chapter examines the character and forms of youth policy changes in light of broader socio-economic transformations in Southern Rhodesia between the 1940s and 1960. It determines the levels to which labour stabilization, adoption of 'liberal' policies and the rhetoric of racial partnership fed into youth policy changes and the attendant shifts in colonial philosophy towards the African youth in light of the 'delinquency problem'.

Chapter Four: 'Towards a New Dispensation?': African Juvenile Policy in Southern Rhodesia, 1940s-c.1960

Introduction

This chapter analyses the nature and forms of youth policy changes in the period 1940s to around 1960 in light of Southern Rhodesia's broader socio-economic transformation; labour stabilization; adoption of liberal policies and the rhetoric of racial partnership under the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It also determines the extent to which the new structures constituted a major shift in the colony's philosophy in dealing with the African youth broadly and the juvenile delinquency problem. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 and its immediate aftermath marked the beginning of considerable changes in the socio-economic organization of Southern Rhodesia. Prior to the war, agriculture and mining formed the mainstay of the economy but in the early 1940s Southern Rhodesia adopted Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) and secondary industry became an important economic sector that rivaled mining as one of the principal industries in Southern Rhodesia, at least until the early 1950s.[1] The increase in urban population warranted policy mechanism in housing and other social amenities to improve the conditions of the Africans. Youth social and penal provisions also changed in response to the changing needs of urban society.

4.1 Socio-Economic Policy Changes

Policy developments in Southern Rhodesia after 1945 should also be viewed in context of the post-Second World War colonial policies designed to reorganize colonies to increase productivity.[2] In particular, there was increased demand for a stabilized African workforce. In Southern Rhodesia, the development of secondary industries engendered significant demographic changes in the urban population. For example, Bulawayo which became the industrial hub of Southern Rhodesia, recorded an increase in the number of Africans from 21,340 in 1941 to 56,000 in 1951.[3] During the same period Salisbury's population increased

[1] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, pp.95-96.
[2] F. Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society: The Labour Question in French and British Africa*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996; Copper, *On the African Water Front: Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa*.
[3] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, p.85; see also, Phimister, *An Economic and Social History. Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*.

from 32,008 to 75,000.[4] In addition, the 1940s witnessed the 'second colonial occupation' in the form of significant post-war white immigration and settlement. White population increased from 65,000 in 1940 to 136,017 in 1951.[5] These demographic changes required a social policy response from government to fill the void which had characterised the 1930s discussed in chapter three.

Consequently, the government adopted an instrumental approach to the social needs and economic realities of the 1940s with the promulgation of the Native Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act (NUAARA) (1946). Under the Act, employers of African labour were required to provide free accommodation to employees within designated municipal areas.[6] Notably, Huggins, hitherto dedicated to separate development, began to acknowledge the limitations of the institutional framework of the 1930s and its incongruity for the economic needs of the 1940s and instead adopted a 'liberal' approach.[7] After the 1948 African General Strike over wage increases, Huggins acknowledged to Parliament that, 'we are witnessing the emergence of a proletariat and in this country it happens to be black.'[8] His acknowledgement of the existence of an African proletariat signified an ideological shift which recognized the needs of a fully urbanized workforce. However, while the NUAARA provided greater access to accommodation, it only did so for those in employment. Huggins remarked: 'If a native is unable to find work…he is told to leave the native residential area and go home.'[9] In light of this statement, therefore, the 1946 Act was also a fundamental instrument for influx control in which pass laws, registration and inspection became more stringent.

The management of the expanding and increasingly settled African labour force also involved regulating their children and youths into useful urban citizens.[10] The stability and efficiency of

[4] *Ibid*.
[5] Mlambo, A history of Zimbabwe, p.83; Brownell, *The Collapse of Rhodesia: Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*.
[6] Native Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act (1946). The NUAARA came in the wake of the Howman Committee Report of 1944 on the economic and social conditions which identified inadequate housing as central to urban problems. Beyond the provision of much needed housing, there was a conscious ideological shift during the post-war period.
[7] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p.238; Gaan and Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*. For a discussion on liberalism see H. Englund, 'Zambia at 50: The Rediscovery of Liberalism', *Africa*, 83,(4), 2013,pp. 670-689; Law, *Gendering the Settler State: White Women, Race, Liberalism and Empire in Colonial Rhodesia, 1950-1980*
[8] Gann and Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*, p. 201; For a more comprehensive discussion of labour issues during this period see also I. Phimister and B. Raftopoulos, ''Kana sora ratswa ngaritswe': African Nationalists and Black Workers-The 1948 General Strike in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.13, No.3 August, 2000, pp.289-324.
[9] G. Huggins, 25 January 1946, Hansard Vol 25, Part II, Column 3375.
[10] Ocobock, ''Joy Rides for Juveniles': vagrant youth in and colonial control in Nairobi, Kenya, 1901-52'; Aderinto, ''The Girls in Moral Danger': Child Prostitution and Sexuality in Colonial Lagos, Nigeria, 1930s to

labour encompassed the provision of incentives such as recreation as well as the wellbeing of the labourers' family.[11] The setting up of the Department of African Affairs and its operations in recreation and other amenities in post war urban areas was perceived by colonial officials as filling the void of the urban location described by the 1944 Howman Commission Report as having an abnormal social structure.[12] In particular, the Southern Rhodesian government policy recognized the necessity of guiding the development of African youths in urban areas. According to Burton, the post 1945 Africa constituted an expanding African population, with youths accounting for significant percentage.[13] In Southern Rhodesia, fears of juvenile delinquency were central to the management of youths in the colony and involved a dual approach from central government and urban authorities in the development of youth socializing agents and the reconfiguration of youth penal provisions.

Capital shared the new vision of labour stabilization and development of social policy initiatives for Africans in urban areas.[14] A delegate to the Industrialist Congress of 1953 remarked that,

> It is our concern to establish the African in the urban areas, principally for our own purpose. Now if we make it possible for him to become thoroughly urbanized and let him own land in the urban areas, he will not want to go back to the reserve. He will be able to build and re-establish something of vital importance to the Colony that is the African family unit. By re-establishing that unit you are going to solve two other major social evils. You are going a long way towards eliminating juvenile delinquency and prostitution.[15]

Renewed concern about influx control in the 1940s and 1950s saw officials policing urban areas against juvenile delinquency and prostitution, social evils which were embedded in urban society from the 1930s. With increased youth urban presence there was an urgent need to streamline the laws to recognise and control this category of the African urban population.

Even though the African delinquent was perceived as a problem, few resources were channeled towards youth socialising agents. Colonial officials failed to agree on a course of action, partly, because of the government's unwillingness to spend money on rehabilitating delinquents. Three suggestions were put forward by government officials on how to deal with delinquency

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1950'; Fouchard, 'Lagos and the invention of juvenile delinquency in Nigeria, 1920-60'; Chisholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa'.

[11] B. Gussman, 'Industrial Efficiency and the urban African. A Study of Conditions in Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol.23, No. 2, April 1953, pp.135-144

[12] P. Kaarsholm, ''Si Ye Pambili-Which Way Forward?': Urban Development, Culture and Politics in Bulawayo', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1995, p.232.

[13] Burton, 'Raw Youth, School Leavers and the Emergence of Structural Unemployment in Late Colonial Urban Tanganyika', p.109.

[14] NAZ S482/166/4, Public Welfare, Memos and Reports 1942-1945.

[15] *African Parade* September 1953.

namely the building a place of safety to house vulnerable children and the appointment of an African Welfare Officer[16]; provision of adequate accommodation[17]; and provision of compulsory education for Africans. The provision of education was a position which was shared between some government officials and the African educated elites.[18] In 1945 the government decided to purchase land to build a reformatory but by 1949 the land offer made by St Mary's Mission (15 miles east of Salisbury) had not been taken up resulting in the withdrawal of the offer.[19] The Native Education Department considered the establishment of a reformatory for Africans as an expensive venture and not urgently needed.[20]

Two things emerge from the above. First, the government's decision to build a reformatory was the cheapest of the proposed options. The provision of adequate housing and making African education compulsory were long term and expensive options which the government was unwilling take. Second, the lack of resolve among officials in the Native Education Department typified difficulties associated with introducing policy changes using personnel who had presided over decades of neglect in African welfare issues. These conservative elements were a hindrance to new policy implementation. For example, Frederick Caley, the Welfare and Probation Officer's vision for an African juveniles' home did not receive serious government consideration.[21]

In addition, the government's position on African social welfare remained ambivalent. While acknowledging the social problems associated with African urbanization (now spanning over 20 years) some colonial officials still argued that the African's attachment to the rural area rendered the organization of welfare services on a larger scale unnecessary. Pertaining to the care and protection of young persons, the government claimed that very few exceptional cases required attention because African customs provided for child adoption for orphans and custody for young children in divorce cases.[22] This was a convenient self-contradiction because in the same period colonial officials highlighted the weakening of the family unit, African

[16] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: General Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; NC Salisbury to Provincial NC, 17 September, 1945.
[17] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: General Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; Director of Native Education to Secretary for Native Affairs, 03 December, 1945.
[18] *Bantu Mirror*, 5 September, 1936. Rev. J.M. Rusike, 'The Post School Child', (Address given at the Salisbury and District African Teachers' Association Conference, Salisbury 16 July 1936)
[19] NAZ ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.15.
[20] NAZ S3512, Native Education, 1947-1953, Director Native Education Department to Secretary for Native Affairs, 17 March, 1949.
[21] NAZ S2583/1685, Chief Native Commissioner: General Correspondence-Juvenile Delinquency, 1934-1945; Chief Probation Officer to Chief Native Commissioner, 07 February, 1944.
[22] *Southern Rhodesia Administrative Machinery. The Social and Welfare Services*, 1951, p.41.

customs, kinship ties and mutual aid structures as attendant problems of urbanization.[23] This half-hearted government commitment to significant child and youth policy changes also reflected in the legal structures.

4.1.1 *The Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1949)*

Southern Rhodesia's racialised child policy was represented in the Children's Act (1918) and the Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1929) which provided for the protection of the rights of white children and could only be applied on African children by special proclamation of the Governor. For three decades, child policy represented an instance of white intransigence towards racial integration. However, the management of urban youths in the post war African urban settlement could not be achieved without legal provisions for the African child. Consequently, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Welfare (1947) not only recommended the formation of a department of social welfare for Europeans, Asians and Coloureds but echoed the sentiments from earlier reports that provision be made for social and child welfare for urbanized Africans.[24] The 1944 report on African juvenile delinquency had warned that delinquency contributed to crime and urban social disorder.[25] In addition to internal realities of juvenile delinquency, the African child legal protection was influenced by global factors. The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 influenced the colonial government to extent the right to childhood to the African as a basic human right.[26] As chapter three has shown, rehabilitation structures for African youths were weak, juveniles were summarily dealt with in ordinary criminal courts; received jail sentences and or corporal punishment. In this regard, although priority was given to whites, a more urgent need for legal protection existed for African youths because statistics indicated that the problem of juvenile delinquency was significantly on the increase.[27]

The Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1949) gave the African child legal recognition but it had its shortcomings. Section 3 of the 1949 Act provided for health services, shelter and the overall protection as children' rights but the section only applied to whites.[28] In addition, it was an offence to employ children or young persons required by the Education Act 1930 (Amended 1938) to attend school. However, African children were not covered under the

[23] Ibid, p.37.
[24] *Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Welfare Report, 1947, p.12.*
[25] Ibbotson, *A Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia,* p.28.
[26] *Ibid*.
[27] *Ibid*, p.40.
[28] *Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1949).*

compulsory education provision which technically left them employable. Covering Africans under the Education Act would not only reduce the flow of labour but would entail significant government expenditure to develop requisite infrastructure in schools. At the 1935 Conference of Senior Native Commissioners, the CNC, Bullock, was not supportive of proposals to streamline the Native Affairs Act of 1927 and the Passes Consolidation Act of 1913 with the Children's Protection and Adoption Act of 1929 to raise the employment age limit from 14 to 16 years.[29] He warned that such a move was futile and would be vetoed by the significant agricultural caucus in parliament.[30] With the 1940s war induced boom in food and cash crop production, official attitude on the employment of African juveniles was unlikely to change. In this respect, the Children's Act alone could not revolutionize the African childhood because colonial social policy was multi-layered and was systematically designed to make the African child available for employment as cheap labour.

The law also provided for juvenile court systems. It stipulated that every Native Commissioner's Court and Magistrate's Court should function as a juvenile court for Africans and non-Africans respectively in areas where a juvenile court did not exist.[31] In addition, the use of ordinary courtrooms for juvenile trials was prohibited unless there was no alternative room. This provision aimed at dissociating juveniles from the stigma or crime associated with the ordinary courts. However, in practice this provision changed very little because there was no requisite building infrastructure especially in out-laying districts so much that African juvenile cases continued to be heard in ordinary court rooms. In addition, the new law stipulated that juvenile courts had to be presided over by Magistrates with at least 10 years' experience on the bench.[32] In contrast, no such legal experience was required of NCs in presiding over African juvenile crimes in the districts. This differential treatment of juveniles represented the long standing racial prejudices and preferential treatment of white children. Overall, while the principle of the law was progressive, the most immediate reality of the function of the courts resembled more continuity than change. There were no trained personnel, no alternative court rooms and NCs continued to hear juvenile cases as before.

The provision for juvenile institutions was one of the critical issues that needed to be addressed. Section 41 of the 1949 Act empowered the Minister of Internal Affairs to establish places of

[29] S235/488 Conference of Senior NCs 1935, p. 228.
[30] Ibid.
[31] *Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1949).*
[32] *Ibid*.

safety and places of detention for children and young persons awaiting trial. In particular, this provision was designed to avoid the use of gaol in cases involving juveniles. Special juvenile detention centres would therefore allow for the investigation of juvenile crimes before they appeared in court. While the infrastructure for African juveniles was almost non-existent, Europeans were better served with a probationary scheme and where necessary, juveniles awaiting trial could be housed in hostels attached to major public schools in Salisbury and Bulawayo.[33] In the second half of the 1940s the situation of African juveniles was precarious because the only institution in the colony at Driefontein was threatened with imminent closer owing to poor government support. The Assistant CNC warned that; 'We are in a state of flux in so far as Native delinquents are concerned and the position is delicate.'[34] By 1950, Southern Rhodesia was facing an increasing infrastructural crisis regarding Africa juvenile delinquents prompting the government to establish the first African juvenile reformatory at Mrewa.

4.2 The African Juvenile Reformatory System in Southern Rhodesia: The Mrewa African Reform School, 1950-1958

In 1950 Mrewa Gaol[35] was declared a temporary reformatory for African juveniles in line with section 41 of the Children's Act of 1949. The Mrewa African Reform School was the first government reformatory in Southern Rhodesia aimed at rehabilitating convicted juvenile delinquents between the ages of 10 and 23 years.[36] It was chosen for two main reasons; colonial officials considered its rural location as ideal for juvenile rehabilitation away from the corrupting influence of the urban areas and land for additional buildings to the reformatory could be cheaply be acquired.[37] The affairs of the Mrewa reformatory were placed under a Management Board whose members included the Chief Welfare Officer for Southern Rhodesia, Caley; W.E Field, Superintendent of Prisons; NC for Mrewa; representative of African Welfare Societies, P. Ibbotson, and Mrs H.B. Goldin (wife of Judge Goldin who was a Social Science Graduate from Cape Town University).[38] However, since the Department of Social Welfare which was formed in 1948 didnt handle African issues, the reformatory at

[33] *Southern Rhodesia Administrative Machinery: The Social and Welfare Services,* 1951 p.28.
[34] NAZ S3264, Native Affairs, 1946-1949; Assistant NC to Treasury 22 November 1948.
[35] I have adopted the term 'Gaol' because it was the one frequently used in reference to colonial prisons during this period. It has no other connotative meaning.
[36] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956; Board Members' Report to the Chairman of the Mrewa Reformatory Board of Management, 03 June 1955, p.3.
[37] NAZ ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.15.
[38] Ibid.

Mrewa Gaol was placed under the Department of Justice and Internal Affairs.[39] Meanwhile, the Department of Social Welfare continued to send white juvenile delinquents to South African reformatories and Industrial schools where there were more established institutions and rehabilitation curriculum.

Apart from the internal pressures, the establishment of Mrewa African Reform School coincided with an international trajectory in the evolution of penal systems. Post-Second World War was a critical period in finding more useful ways to rehabilitate prisoners. The reform agenda was central to the penal system in the 1950s and 1960s driven by 'the rehabilitative ideal'.[40] In 1953 Southern Rhodesia sent a delegation to Dar-es-Salaam for the Africa South of The Sahara Conference on the Treatment of Offenders which attracted delegates from across Africa and the British Empire.[41] In 1956 a conference was held in Kampala Uganda which focused on improving ways of rehabilitating juvenile offenders.[42] However, Southern Rhodesia's reform in penal systems faced internal racial contradictions and other problems as the case of Mrewa Reformatory will demonstrate.

The 'temporary' use of the gaol infrastructure to house juvenile delinquents reflected a situation of many years of neglect in African juvenile policy. The Minister of Justice's response to Chief Probation Officers' request for an African reformatory was casual and he seemed oblivious of the contradictions his statement carried; 'There's a jail at Mrewa which is hardly being used. Would this be of any use to you as a Reformatory?.'[43] The reality of juvenile delinquency among Africans and the new social policy for the management of urban youths exposed the government's unpreparedness at the levels of policy and infrastructural development. When policy changes were eventually introduced, the infrastructural changes lagged behind policy changes. In this respect, Southern Rhodesia is a particularly interesting case because in other parts of colonial Africa like Kenya and Nigeria juvenile delinquency among Africans was legislated into existence and, therefore, policy formulation and its supporting infrastructure developed almost at the same time.[44] However in Southern Rhodesia, the law was amended in 1949 to accommodate African juvenile delinquency which the state had been reluctantly

[39] Ibid.
[40] M. Cavadino and J. Dignan (eds.), *The penal System. An Introduction*, 4th Edition, Los Angeles, Sage Publications, 2007, p.54.
[41] ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.22.
[42] W Clifford, 'Zambia' in A. Milner (ed.), African *Penal Systems*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1969, p.249.
[43] NAZ ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley; Secretary for Justice to Chief Welfare Officer, Caley, 1949, p.15.
[44] Campbell, *Race and Empire: Eugenics in Colonial Kenya*, pp.156-169.

attempting to curb for close to two decades since the 1930s. In addition to a crisis of juvenile facilities, the Mrewa Reformatory represented continuity regarding the concept of 'juvenile delinquent' and treatment thereof. Mrewa Reformatory was established for male delinquents reinforcing the gendered nature of delinquency. In addition, the gaol was, for decades, the only available institution used by the colonial state to deal with African juvenile delinquents.

Mrewa Reformatory and Mrewa Gaol were one and the same. Between 1950 and 1954 the Reformatory operated without a Superintendent and was administered by a Gaoler.[45] The Reverend J.A.C. Shaw was appointed as Superintendent to the Reformatory in 1954 but offered little respite because he 'received no instructions or guidance in running [the] Reformatory from the Department of Justice.'[46] Following the transfer of the Reformatory from the Southern Rhodesia Department of Justice and Internal Affairs to the Federal Prison Services in 1955[47], the Superintendent of the Reformatory became responsible for both the Reform School and Gaol. In addition, in the 1955 regulations the salary scales and qualification requirements for Reformatory staff were classified with those of prison staff. As the Management Board suggested in 1955, Reformatory staff had to be selected as much for the qualities of character as for any other qualification.[48] Earlier, at the Southern Rhodesia Prisoners' Aid Society congress in 1952, Ibbotson had warned that 'we are making a very big mistake if we persist in thinking that everything connected with rehabilitation of people must be associated with prison. Rehabilitation and reformation must not be associated with prison and prison staff.' [49] African penal systems from the late 19th century were manned by military trained men and in the 1960s when African decolonization was gathering pace, the lack of trained prison personnel was an

[45] NAZ ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.15.
[46] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, J.A.C Shaw Superintendent Mrewa African Reform School to Secretary for Home Affairs 27 October 1954. The Reverend had no proven record of juvenile work experience.
[47] The formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 wrought changes in laws of three territories. In 1954 the promulgation of the Territorial Laws Amendment Act facilitated the administration and control of reformatories to fall under the Federal Prison Services established in the same year. The Children's Protection and Adoption Act (Southern Rhodesia), Juveniles Ordinance (Northern Rhodesia) and Children and Young Persons Ordinance (Nyasaland) came under the Federal Prison Services. Mrewa, Katombora and Chilwa Reformatories became a Federal responsibility. The transfer of the Superintendent for Mrewa and his staff to the Federal Public Service was done under the Prisons (Secondment of Persons) Act, 1954 of Southern Rhodesia. However, the care and protection of Minors remained a territorial responsibility but reports and recommendations under the Children's Act and Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act were routed through the Director of Federal Prisons for transmission to the Secretary for Justice Southern Rhodesia. This measure increased the bureaucracy in the operation of reformatories.
[48] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Board Members' Report to the Chairman of the Mrewa Reformatory Board of Management, 03 June 1955, p.2.
[49] NAZ S7274, Notes on the First Congress of the SRPAS, 08 March, 1952, p.6.

obstacle to transformation.[50] In this respect, at the level of infrastructure and administration, Mrewa Reformatory was simply a prison.

In addition to the fact that the Reformatory staff was untrained in juvenile work, they were also insufficient in numbers as the institution operated on skeletal staff. For example, the reformatory Superintendent did not have an assistant and this caused problems each time he went on leave. His supporting staff only performed day time duties and there was no night supervisor.[51] In 1954 there were 7 vacant posts on the Reform School establishment largely because there was no staff accommodation on site.[52] As a result of staff shortages, juveniles were allegedly absconding at night and breaking into whites' residence in surrounding areas and stealing valuables.[53] In this regard, it appears like the temporary arrangement at Mrewa Reformatory was never meant to rehabilitate juveniles and was just a space to 'house' 'delinquents' without little thought.

The use of gaol premises and personnel was an affront to the very concept of juvenile reform and showed the deeply rooted racial attitude of colonial officials. As chapter five will show, colonial officials stopped sending white juveniles to jail in the mid-1930s because that system was ineffective for rehabilitation yet Africa youths were still housed in prisons 20 years on. The Superintendent's report for 1956 revealed that some 56 juveniles at Mrewa Reform School had been treated and employed as convicts for four years prior to his appointment.[54] The Mrewa Management Board had raised issue with the arrangement of having juveniles in the same prison as other convicts because juveniles considered themselves as prison inmates and this precluded the process of rehabilitation. Furthermore, by 1954 juveniles were still made to wear gaol-type clothing supplied through Mrewa Gaol.[55] Summing up the state of affairs at Mrewa, the Board concluded that 'the Reformatory is becoming permeated with a prison atmosphere due to the presence of ununiformed African prison guards and adult prisoners in close association with pupils of the Reformatory'.[56]

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[50] Milner (ed.), *African Penal Systems*, p.10.
[51] Ibid, p.2.
[52] NAZ F220/HAF/46A, Mrewa Reformatory: Minutes of Board Meetings 1954-1958, Board Meeting, 29 July 1954, p.2.
[53] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Board Members' Report to the Chairman of the Mrewa Reformatory Board of Management, 03 Jun 1955, p.3.
[54] NAZ F220/HAF/46 Reformatories – General Policy Vol 2, 1956-1958, Report of the Superintendent of Mrewa Reform School on Male African Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia, February 1956, p.1.
[55] NAZ F220/HAF/46A, Mrewa Reformatory: Minutes of Board Meetings 1954-1958, Board Meeting, 16 August 1955, p.1.
[56] F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Board Members' Report to the Chairman of the Mrewa Reformatory Board of Management, 03 Jun 1955, p.2.

Between 1950 and 1954 'rehabilitation' at Mrewa existed in name only because the institution lacked educational and psychological principles in the rehabilitation curriculum. The coercive and physical confinement of juveniles at Mrewa represented a continuum of the experiences of many African juveniles in jails before the enactment of the Children's Act of 1949. Besides the offer of industrial trades, no other special training was offered at the institution and this resulted in many cases from the institution receding into crime. Normally, institutional treatment of juvenile delinquency in reform schools was founded on psychological and educational principles[57] which were non-existent at Mrewa Reformatory. The Superintendent observed that 'almost all the pupils released before my appointment, and those later released before reformative treatment got under way, have reverted to crime; the time spent in the prison was largely wasted'.[58] In contrast to Southern Rhodesia, juvenile rehabilitation in South Africa entailed the learning of industrial skills, developing social responsibility in children and inculcating the value of being productive and responsible citizens.[59] In addition, juveniles benefitted from age grouping, and being placed in categories according to their response to rehabilitation. Mrewa African Reform School was a place of juvenile confinement and not reformation. Ironically, the 1949 Act was designed to remove the criminal stigma from juvenile offenders but use of Mrewa Gaol to house juveniles without proper rehabilitation structures meant that the provisions of the law were undermined.

In addition, Mrewa did not have policies to grade inmates and deal with internal misdemeanors. When the reformatory opened in 1950 it had twenty three inmates.[60] In 1952 Southern Rhodesia committed a total of 21 juveniles, 18 were Africans and 3 whites.[61] The entire group of African juveniles was committed at Mrewa Reform School while the white juveniles were sent to South African reformatories and Industrial schools. In 1953, 21 cases were committed to make a total of 65, rising to 73 in 1954.[62] These numbers comprised sundry categories of juveniles including first offenders.[63] However, the increase in committals at Mrewa should not be taken as showing an increase in juvenile crime, but may have been an indication of increased

[57] See Chisholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa: A Study in Class, Colour and Gender, 1882-1939' – The juvenile reform system involved the placement of juveniles in grades according to their age and response to rehabilitation.
[58] F220/HAF/46 Reformatories General Policy, Vol 2, 1956 -1958, Report of the Superintendent for Mrewa African Reform School, Southern Rhodesia, 1956 p. 1.
[59] Chisholm, Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa: A Study in Class, Colour and Gender, 1882-1939'.
[60] *Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1951*, p.1-2.
[61] *Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1952*, p.2.
[62] *Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1953*, p.1.
[63] F220/HAF/46A, Mrewa Reformatory: Minutes of Board Meetings 1954-1958, P. Ibbotson, Mrewa African Reform School Management Board Member's report on the optimum size for Reformatory, October 1954, p.1.

use of the new reformatory facility. More importantly, however, it was disturbing to note that 10-year-old boys and juvenile adults between 17 and 23 years were placed together with no recourse to grading. Some of these juvenile had earlier on served prison sentences as adults.[64] Given these circumstances, it came as no surprise that there were allegations of sodomy by the older boys on the younger ones.[65] Furthermore, at this time, there was no regulatory framework for rewarding good behaviour and punishing bad behaviour and cases of alleged sodomy and theft that occurred within the reformatory had to be reported to the police for action. In an effort to curb internal misdemeanors the Board objected to the practice of committing juvenile cases that did not warrant institutional treatment. However, by 1954 there was still no Ministerial direction given to judiciary officers on the matter.[66] Due to poor communication between judiciary officials and the Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs regarding the availability of accommodation at Mrewa the haphazard committal of juveniles continued unabated.[67]

The administration of the Reformatory was particularly chaotic. In April of 1954, the Director of Prisons ordered the transfer of reformatory inmates from the huts to the prison for better control in order to curb cases of absconding and alleged theft.[68] However, the concerned juveniles resented the move of being 'part to prison' and this resulted in a riotous protest.[69] Although some convicts had been removed to make way for the juveniles, certain others remained in the prison raising the possibility of contact between the two groups.[70] The decision to move juveniles to prison caused so much confusion that the Superintendent of the Reformatory requested clarity from the Secretary for Justice on who, between himself and the Gaoler, controlled the juveniles.[71] In response, the Department for Justice revealed that the Superintendent only exercised authority when the juveniles were conducting reformatory work and the Gaoler took over charge within the prison premises.[72] In view of this fact, the structure

[64] NAZ F220/HAF/46A, Mrewa Reformatory: Minutes of Board Meetings 1954-1958, Board Meeting 29 July 1954, p.1.
[65] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Superintendent Mrewa African Reform School to Federal Director of Prisons, 26 February 1956.
[66] NAZ F220/HAF/46A, Mrewa Reformatory: Minutes of Board Meetings 1954-1958, P. Ibbotson, Mrewa African Reform School Management Board Member's report on the optimum size for Reformatory, October 1954, p.1.
[67]NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Superintendent African Reform School to The Secretary for Justice, 26 June, 1954.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956. Board Members' Report to the Chairman of the Mrewa Reformatory Board of Management, 03 Jun 1955, p.3.
[71] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Superintendent Mrewa African Reform School to Secretary for Justice, 10 Sep 1954.
[72] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Secretary for Justice to Superintendent Mrewa African Reform School, 03 November 1954.

of the administration was haphazard and potentially jeopardized any semblance of rehabilitation work at Mrewa.

Confusion regarding the administration of Mrewa Reformatory persisted. Following the 1954 disturbances at Mrewa, the Director of Prison transferred two 19-year-old boys identified as 'ring-leaders' to Salisbury Prison. The transfer of the two boys to Salisbury was done with neither the knowledge nor consent of the Mrewa Reformatory Management Board and in violation of the Children's Act of 1949 because Mrewa was the only Reformatory in the colony. However, it emerged that the Director of Prisons, Native Commissioner and Secretary for Justice and Internal Affairs were running the affairs of the Reformatory without consulting the Management Board.[73] As the Board was later informed, the Secretary for Internal Affairs had established three cells at Salisbury Prison as a satellite Reformatory under the 1949 Act under the responsibility of the Mrewa Reformatory Board.[74] The removal of the two boys to Salisbury prison where there was no semblance of reform meant that confinement became the sole purpose of their incarceration. In addition, officials were comfortable with expanding the use of prison facilities for juvenile 'rehabilitation'. The idea that Mrewa had a Management Board gave a façade of normality in the running of the institution when in actual fact the Board exerted only nominal influence over the organization and running of the institution. In reality, the institution was being run like a prison.

In addition to the administrative problems Mrewa Reformatory was underfunded. Running costs at Mrewa were kept at the barest minimum. The Management Board report of 1955 revealed the extent of government cost cutting measures which affected the rehabilitation of juveniles. The Reformatory was insufficiently provided with kitchen facilities; it did not have refrigeration to keep perishable foods and meat; pupils were only allowed two thin blankets each even in cold temperatures; pupils did not have personal lockers to keep minor personal possessions leading to theft within the School[75] and they were not in receipt of the two pence per day gratuity entitled to them.[76] These shortages existed among numerous others.[77]

[73] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Director of Prisons to Secretary for Home Affairs, 04 August 1955.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Juvenile Kulazo stole from three fellow inmates and absconded. Government was forced to pay up to £1 as compensation for losses suffered. NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Superintendent Mrewa Reform School to Secretary for Justice and Internal Affairs, 22 September 1954.
[76] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Board Members' Report to the Chairman of the Mrewa Reformatory Board of Management, 03 June 1955, p.1.
[77] Mrewa Reformatory was also affected by shortage of accommodation. In 1953 there were 26 huts at Mrewa reformatory as an extension of the gaol buildings. There was further pressure on accommodation because numbers at the reformatory continued to increase with 21 being committed in 1953 to make a total of 65, rising to 73 in

Ironically, in 1954 the Federal Treasury approved continuation of the customary payment of £1 to any person (other than a Government employee) responsible for the recapture of a juvenile who had absconded from the reformatory.[78] Putting a bounty on the recapture of escaped juveniles suggests that government considered them as dangerous elements in society. It appears as though Government was more concerned with keeping them locked up than it was with their rehabilitation.

Mrewa African Reform School operated a deterrence system where juveniles were kept in custody so that they would not commit crime. The system at Mrewa only confined the body and did little to reform the mind. Some of the juveniles required moral reformation and confinement alone could hardly provide this. The coercive nature of prison, pain and stigma associated with it were perhaps meant to act as deterrence to youths from committing crime in future. However, the use of prison incarceration as deterrent to crime had failed in the 1930s and was responsible for the manufacture of criminals among the youths. The establishment of Mrewa Reform School was in itself a positive step but without a rehabilitation programme confinement became the sole purpose of incarceration. As Konate put it, 'the purpose of punishment became the means to cure inmates' anti-social behaviour'.[79] In addition, at Mrewa there was the risk of criminal contamination of juveniles because they shared the prison with adult criminal elements. This presented danger to rehabilitation at two levels. First, there was a possibility of physical interaction. Second, there was a negative psychological effect in juveniles believing that they were in prison. Overall, the deterrence concept did not produce good results.

The system at Mrewa was antithetical to Foucault's concept of discipline and the function of prison. One of Faucault's central arguments was that the state wants to create supplicant subjects and expends significant energy in punishing 'transgressors' not just because they do 'wrong' but because they undermine the fabric of society. For Foucault 'discipline' entailed subjecting bodies through paces until they became amenable to control, bodies that became more skillful, useful and machines that acted and produced the desired effect as designed by their training.[80] The art of the human body was 'a calculated manipulation of its elements, its

1954. Katambora Reformatory established in 1950 in Northern Rhodesia also used huts for juvenile accommodation. In both cases the use of huts was justified as a cost cutting measure because the establishments were supposed to be temporary.

[78] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Secretary for Home Affairs to the Superintendent Mrewa Reform School, 04 December 1954.

[79] Konate, 'On Colonial Laws and the Treatment of Young Female Delinquents in Senegal', p.45.

[80] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York, Vintage Books, 1995, p.135 -139.

gestures, and its behaviour. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it.'[81] Between 1950 and 1955 juvenile inmates at Mrewa Reformatory were provided with no form of training. Through incarceration the juveniles' body became an object and target of power. But contrary to Foucault's notion of discipline, juvenile confinement at Mrewa became an end in itself and not a means to an end.

In light of the limitations of Mrewa Reformatory it is essential to have some idea of its impact on the overall treatment of African juveniles in Southern Rhodesia. Below is a table showing the overall disposal of juvenile delinquency cases for the year 1954.

Table 5: Disposal of African Offenders in 1954

Treatment	**Percentage**
Sent to Prison	15
Corporal Punishment	44
Reformatory	8
Probation	3
Treated Otherwise	25,5

Source: Report of the Secretary for Justice 1954

Figures of African juveniles sent for reformation jumped from zero to 8% between 1950 and 1954. Corporal punishment constituted 67.6% of the total number of cases in 1943[82] and had been significantly reduced to 44% by 1954. However, the Chief Welfare Officer, Caley noted that corporal punishment was more frequently used on Africans (44%) compared to 11% of white juveniles receiving the same treatment and instead advocated for the greater use of probation services.[83] Compared to Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesian rates of caning and use of reformatory for Africans were relatively better. For example, in 1956 Northern Rhodesia administered corporal punishment to 71% of convicted juveniles and only 7% were committed for reform.[84] Overall, however, caning as a reform measure was ineffective and in Southern Rhodesia some juveniles suffered long delays in prison awaiting corporal punishment. For example, if a Medical Officer declared a juvenile unfit for corporal punishment, the concerned juvenile would be incarcerated in prison until such a time when punishment could be administered.[85] Belatedly, in 1958 the government decided that corporal punishment be

[81] *Ibid*, p.138.
[82] Ibbotson, *Survey of Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, p.40.
[83] *Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1954*, p. 3.
[84] Clifford, 'Zambia', p.249.
[85] NAZ F148/Law/15/107 Prison: Detention of Juveniles Sentenced for Caning 1958: Federal Attorney General to Secretary for Law, 10 Dec 1958.

administered at the police station and not in prison in order to avoid the use of prison and preclude delays.[86]

The operation of a probation system and remand homes needed to be expanded if authorities wanted to reduce imprisonment and corporal punishment cases. Chapter three has shown that the need for remand and training facilities for African juveniles in the major cities of Salisbury and Bulawayo had become apparent by the mid-1930s. Probation facilities would limit the number of juveniles committed to Reformatories or those being sent to jail. In 1954 a Remand Home and a Probation Hostel for male juveniles were opened in Highfield African location in Salisbury.[87] The Remand Home was a holding institution for juvenile cases under investigation pending trial. These juveniles were mostly engaged in vegetable production for the sustenance of both the Remand Home and the Probation Hostel in order to inculcate the skills for self-sustenance.[88] Between 1954 and 1961 the Remand Home housed hundreds of young Africans. In 1960 there were 244 juveniles ranging from 10 to 17 years of age held on remand for varying periods.[89]

During this period, the probation Hostel in Highfield was not well utilized. Southern Rhodesia's long history of juvenile incarceration in prison facilities engendered negative perceptions about the function and role of probation and remand facilities among Africans. The concept of jail was attached to all facilities which housed juvenile offenders. Writing to the *African Daily News* in 1957, N. Mharapara, Superintendent of Highfield Probation Hostel deplored public attitude which regarded the hostel as a prison for children.[90] Mharapara was at pains to educate the public that the hostel was a school for character reformation. The negative perceptions about juvenile institutions could have contributed to incidents of absconding among juveniles from the Highfield institution presumably to dissociate themselves from the stigma that juveniles in probation institution carried.

The absence of a Place of Safety for Africans in Southern Rhodesia exposed a multi-layered crisis. In addition to the 244 juveniles accommodated at the Highfield Remand Home in 1960

[86] NAZ F148/AGF/38/2, Juvenile Offenders 1958-1961, Federal Attorney General to Secretary for Law, 14 Dec 1958.
[87] Ibid.
[88] *Report of the Department of Social Welfare*, p.13.
[89] NAZ F148/AGF/38/2, Juvenile Offenders 1958-1961, Probation Hostels, February 1961. The Highfield Probation Hostel was one of three similar Hostels, the Percy Ibbotson Hostel, at the Luveve Township, Bulawayo was established in 1955 and the Blue Hills at Senka Township in Gwelo was completed in 1961. However, one can infer that the limitations at Highfield were as much a problem at the other two institutions.
[90] *African Daily News* 15 June 1957.

there were 77 children, from the age of 7 months to 17 years, who were accepted to be protected in a Place of Safety basis.[91] However, the Highfield Remand Home suffered from the gender prejudices of classifying a juvenile offender as purely male. The accommodation of girls at this institution was an exception rather than the norm and was only done in the most critical of cases. For example, in 1957, Patricia Joseph (African), a female juvenile suffered physical abuse in the form of beatings at the hands of her father.[92] Her situation was so critical that the Social Worker had her removed from home for her own safety. However, there was no Place of Safety to shelter her and special arrangements had to be made for her at the Highfield Remand Home for boys. In this respect, Patricia suffered deprivation at two levels. First, there was no Place of Safety for African juveniles. Second, there was no facility for African female juveniles in the colony.

The probation system for Africans in Southern Rhodesia was also plagued by personnel shortages because the Department of Social Welfare was first and foremost mandated to handle the welfare of the white race with African welfare being a secondary function. Speaking about the early 1960s welfare work, Beecroft revealed that,

> …we were woefully short of trained African-race social workers. Initially, we attempted to recruit from South Africa, who had training schools for social workers-the Jan Hofmeyr School- and from Northern Rhodesia we had the Oppenheimer College in Lusaka, which both had Social Work on their curricula. Initially we recruited possibly seven, eight men there, which was only a token for our needs.[93]

The Probation experiment at Highfield soon ran into difficulties largely owing to limited staff. Beginning in 1955, there was an increasing number of cases of absconding, house breaking and theft among the juveniles at the institution.[94] Although the report of the Secretary for Justice cited unspecified maladministration practices, it was clear that staff shortages were the major problem.[95] These institutional problems were a direct result of underfunding. Beecroft further recalled that the 1950s were a time of slow development and financial stringency 'and through my experience as the years went by, this was always Treasury's approach and reply to any innovation, expansion, extension or attempt at progress'.[96] Consequently in 1959 the Probation Hostel was converted into a Training Home where juveniles were given basic

[91] NAZ ORAL/CA 1 Frederick Sydney Caley, p.16.
[92] NAZ LG 191/12/7/113, Refuge for African Girls from Disputed Homes 1957-1958; Native Administration Department Case report of the African Social Worker, September 1957.
[93] NAZ ORAL/242, Brian Dennis Beecroft, p.13; Beecroft joined the Department of Social Welfare in 1949 as a Welfare Officer stationed at Bulawayo and was transferred to Umtali in 1954. In 1960 he rose to the rank of Controller of Institutions. He remained in the Department until his retirement in 1983.
[94] Ibid.
[95] *Report of the Department of Social Welfare*, 1955, p.24.
[96] NAZ ORAL/242, Brian Dennis Beecroft, p.5.

education and vocational training to 'enable them to be better citizens when they leave'.[97] Those eligible were allowed to go out to the local schools and those without the requisite academic ability were offered Sub-Standard A to Standard V education at the Training Home.[98]

With such dysfunctional alternative systems for handling juvenile delinquents, Mrewa Reformatory was the only other institution available. Consequently, committals at Mrewa between 1950 and 1956 provide essential detail in marking trends in juvenile delinquency in Southern Rhodesia, namely origins of juveniles, age of committals, nature of crimes and educational qualifications.

Table 6: Origins of Pupils committed to the Reformatory, 1950-1956.[99]

Origins	**Number of Pupils**	**Percentage**
Mashonaland	53	36,56
Matabeleland	50	34,48
Basutuland	2	1,38
Bechuanaland	2	1,38
Nyasaland	13	8,96
Northern Rhodesia	7	4,96
Portuguese East Africa	18	12,41
Total	**145**	

Source: Report of the Superintendent of Mrewa African Reform School on Male African Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia, February 1956, p.2.

The number of indigenous juveniles committed is shown against the two regions of Mashonaland and Matabeleland with a total of 71,04% compared to 28, 96% from other countries. The different figures for the two Southern Rhodesian regions cannot be taken as indicating that juvenile crime occurred in the proportions shown because, in large measure, committals followed the practice of individual Magistrates; some were more inclined to committing juveniles than others and were more likely to be consistent in their practice at any station in either region. Portuguese East Africa (P.E.A.) had the largest percentage of juvenile offenders among the non-indigenous group at 12,41%. This may be a reflection of the labour migration trends into Southern Rhodesia during this period. Although Nyasaland had the largest migrant population in Southern Rhodesia there was a sudden upsurge of labour migrants

[97] ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.17.
[98] Ibid, p.18.
[99] This data is based on 145 juvenile cases committed at Mrewa spanning 6 years. The number 145 was not the sum total of committals over this period but represents cases whose histories could be established to allow for a study of this nature. Poor record keeping precluded the capture of some of the cases that passed through the Reform School. As a result, the trends observed from these cases are essential in understanding African juvenile delinquency but are not conclusive.

from P.E.A. in the mid-1950s. For example, juveniles from P.E.A. constituted 59,8%, 55,12% and 55,1% of the total number of juveniles employed in Salisbury in 1957, 1958 and 1959 respectively.[100] This prevalence of labourers from PEA was reflective of the pattern on a national scale and the Bulawayo Director for African Administration recommended that the ban on the employment of Portuguese Africans which applied to the main urban areas under the Foreign Migratory Labour Act 1957 be extended to the whole of Southern Rhodesia.[101]

The nature of crime and the ages of juveniles committed to the Reformatory are critical in understanding the development of juvenile delinquency in the colony and measures to curb it. Overall the juveniles at Mrewa were between the ages of 10 and 23 years. The 10-13 age group constituted 12. 41% (18 cases) of committals, the 14 –17 years constituted 77.25% (112 cases) with 18-23 years constituting 10.34% (15 cases).[102] Juvenile crime therefore peaked at 17 years which had 28.28% (41 cases) of committals.[103] The lowest percentages were found among the 10 and 20 year old juveniles who were both at 0,69% (1 case each).[104] The peak of juvenile crime at 17 years may have coincided with the onset of adolescence and when juveniles left home to seek for wage labour after two or three years' education. As will be illustrated in the section on education and employment below, the number of Africans in school decreased as the educational standard went up.

Statistical data also allow for the categorization of juvenile cases detained at Mrewa. There were four broad categories of crime dealt with at Mrewa Reform School namely homicide, sexual, property and other. Homicide constituted 4.83% (7 cases) and all these cases were committed in the rural areas.[105] Crime against property constituted 83,45% (121 cases) and was largely committed in towns and on the mines, while sexual offences 8.96% (13 cases) and Other 2.76% (4 cases) were relatively evenly distributed between towns, mines and rural areas.[106] The large number of property crimes in towns and on mines can be attributed to the temptation of places of employment because most of juveniles committing 24, 83% (36 cases) were domestic servants and majority of these cases were convicted of theft.[107] Educational

[100] *Report of the Director for Native Administration*, Salisbury, 1959, p.86.
[101] (Unprocessed Archives) Minutes of the Bulawayo Council Meeting on Youth Employment Problems, 14 May 1960, p. 21.
[102] NAZ F220/HAF/46 Reformatories – General Policy Vol 2, 1956-1958, Superintendent's report, February 1956, p.2.
[103] Ibid
[104] Ibid, p.6.
[105] Ibid
[106] Ibid
[107] Ibid, p.7.

background and occupation played a major part in the incidents of delinquency among African juveniles. Of the 145 cases under examination 39.32% (57 cases) had no previous schooling while only 16.55% (24 cases) had gone beyond Standard II.[108] In addition, 40,69% (59 cases) had no previous employment.[109] This further cemented the fact that the lack of education contributed to the development of juvenile delinquency.

4.2.1 *The Reformatory Act of 1956*

The birth of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 wrought changes in prison and reformatory regulations which went some way into improving the reform agenda at Mrewa. The Reformatory Regulations of 1956 standardised dietary issues, classification of inmates, discipline and punishment in the three Federal Reformatories.[110] As mentioned earlier, Mrewa Reformatory had struggled with cases of theft, inmates who absconded and homosexuality but there were no internal provisions to handle such cases. The new regulations introduced punishment for minor and major breaches of discipline, which included extra work, deprivation of privileges and a reduction in grade.[111] However, caning remained a quintessential feature of Reformatory punishment. For minor and major breaches juveniles received a maximum of six and ten strokes with a light cane, respectively.[112] Initially adopted during the early BSAC colonial rule as an instrument of its oppressive and punitive rule, shock therapy remained part of the colonial punishment and discipline structures, albeit in a refined form.

In 1956 Mrewa instituted a programme for juvenile reform, focusing on mental and physical rehabilitation. The system borrowed heavily from that of South African institutions particularly Diepkloof Reformatory. Earlier in 1954 Mrewa had been registered with the Department of Native Education as a school and was open to receiving qualified teachers for academic, industrial and agricultural subjects and was subject to regular inspection by the same Department. [113] When the new system of reform began Mrewa inmates received an education.[114] In addition, in line with the methods used at Diepkloof, academic classes were

[108] Ibid
[109] Ibid, p.9. However, statistics on employment should be viewed with caution because employment history was based on the accounts of the juveniles themselves and there was no way to verify regularity or continuity of employment.
[110] *Reformatory Regulations 1956*
[111] *Ibid*
[112] *Ibid*
[113] NAZ F220 HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956 Superintended Mrewa African Reform School to the Chairman for Mrewa Reformatory Board, 30 April 1954.
[114] NAZ F220/HAF/46 Reformatories – General Policy Vol 2, 1956-1958, Report of the Superintendent, February 1956, p. 8. And without the break of ordinary school holidays some pupils passed through two standards in one year.

confined to two hour night sessions with greater emphasis being placed on instrumental education that attempted to equip inmates with skills in carpentry, simple handicrafts and vegetable gardening.[115] In view of this fact, the rehabilitation agenda aimed at turning the African youth into a productive member of society and (re)assume his place in the colonial system as a provider of labour.

The new curriculum also emphasized the spiritual and recreational elements of rehabilitation.[116] Mrewa's out of school hours activities included football, concerts and camping.[117] Spiritually, there were daily prayers in vernacular at the morning parade and on Sundays, pupils were released to visit local churches of their own denominations and Anglican, Roman Catholic Priests, and Methodist Lay Readers gave regular teachings.[118] In particular, Mrewa identified religion as a critical factor conditioning delinquency as 65 out of 145 cases (44%) mentioned above were classified as pagan.[119] In addition, even among the 56% who claimed allegiance to a denomination, the real knowledge of the religion claimed was extremely small.[120] In view of this fact, the colonial concept of religion was one of Christianity and African traditional religion was regarded as little more than nefarious pagan indecorum replete with superstition.

The new system also made provisions for life after reform, albeit with some limitations. Pupils were released on license after two years and efforts were made to find suitable employment for the rehabilitated juveniles.[121] After release, the employer, parent, guardian or NC would supervise the pupil and produce reports.[122] However, other than the reports from Probation Officers and NCs, employers, parents and guardians could not be relied upon to provide these. Besides the fact that they were not required by law to do so, they lacked the knowledge of what positive progress entailed and exactly what to report on. In addition, the system caused delays in the release of juveniles. Juveniles suffered prolonged delays while awaiting Ministerial approval for their release after their committal date had expired. In 1956, a juvenile named Justen was licensed for release on 10 May but by October he was still at Salisbury Gaol

[115] NAZ F220/HAF/46, Mrewa Reformatory: General, Vol. 1, June 1954 - February 1956, Southern Rhodesia High Commissioner to South Africa to the Secretary for Home Affairs, 28 February 1955.
[116] NAZ F220/HAF/46 Reformatories – General Policy Vol 2, 1956-1958, Report of the Superintendent, February 1956, p.9.
[117] NAZ F220/HAF/46 Reformatories – General Policy Vol 2, 1956-1958, Superintendent's Report 1956, February 1956, p.8.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid, p.5.
[120] Ibid, p.5.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid, p.8.

awaiting release.[123] Loopholes negatively affected the post-reform care because parents and guardians were not mandated to report and consequently some juveniles were simply lost to the system. Consequently, the effectiveness or lack of success in the system could not be measured.

Mrewa Reform School had by 1958 achieved very little in terms of juvenile reform. The 1956 regulations came in late and the intransigent colonial government continued to treat African children as second class citizens notwithstanding the legal provisions of 1949. The Reformatory was poorly funded; ill equipped and was manned by people who had no juvenile work qualifications. Consequently, in 1958 Mrewa Reformatory was closed to pave way for a new institution at Gatooma.

4.3 Gatooma Reformatory, 1958-c.1960

After eight and a half years of operation in July 1958 Mrewa Reformatory was closed down and its inmates and staff were transferred to the newly constructed Reformatory at Gatooma.[124] Haunted by the specter of gaol and a litany of other problems, the Government decided to construct permanent reformatory structures at the Range, some 5 miles from Gatooma town.[125] The new reformatory had a maximum capacity of 120 inmates and catered for those between the ages of 15 and 21 years and became the sole reception centres for juveniles convicted of serious crimes.[126] In particular, Gatooma received those juveniles with crimes for which an adult could be sent to prison for a period exceeding two years such as rape, arson and murder. In this respect, the new reformatory moved away from admitting all sorts of ages and considered the nature of juvenile delinquency. This step enabled the implementation of a specialised reform programme.

Gatooma Reformatory was limited to the 15-21 ages group because of the increasing number of African juvenile institutions. In 1956 Muvonde Training School was established near Driefontein Mission.[127] It was a certified institution under the Children's Act 1949 for

[123] NAZ F220/HAF/46A, Mrewa Reformatory: Minutes of Board Meetings 1954-1958 Mrewa Reformatory: Board Meetings, 31 October, 1956, p.1.
[124] NAZ F220/HAF/46A, Mrewa Reformatory: Minutes of Board Meetings 1954-1958, Board Meeting, 27 July 1958, p.1. Gatooma was chosen because it was geographically central and was well served with a railway line for easy access.
[125] NAZ ORAL/242, Brian Dennis Beecroft, p.14.
[126] Ibid
[127] NAZ S3455/5, Juvenile Delinquency, Provincial Native Commissioners' Office Bulawayo, to All Native Department Stations in Matabeleland, 01 July 1958.

delinquents between the ages of 10 and 14 on admission. The children received normal schooling with occupational training in woodwork, blacksmithing and leatherwork.[128] The institution was designed to give the younger boys a chance to progress academically and prevent the likelihood of boys under 16 years being sent to a Reformatory.[129] Under the new system, authorities chose to commit the younger juveniles to Probation Hostels and Certified Schools and reserved the reformatory for the older juveniles. As Beecroft observed, Gatooma Reformatory 'covered all your problems from arson to rape…'[130] In view of this fact, the increasing number of African juvenile institutions enabled more specialized type institutions and grading of inmates to improve the impact of rehabilitation methods.

Notwithstanding the fixed age categories accepted at Gatooma, the institution inherited from Mrewa the persistent problems of untrained staff and haphazard recruitment. Over and above the transfer of prison staff from Mrewa Reformatory, the new Superintendent at Gatooma, A.J Stevens, had 'by self-teaching and by reading adopted a cottage-type system to grade and rank the inmates'.[131] His system was purely based on cultivating a discipline based on trust among administrators and inmates. Clearly there was a limit to which such a system could incentivize good behaviour. Tangible pecuniary incentives were absent. As Beecroft recalled, Stevens 'got an excellent institution running on minimal resources by using a trusting system'.[132] From Mrewa to Gatooma the Reformatory system lacked a proper incentives structure which, according to contemporary thinking was a critical element of reformation. In addition, reformation was directed by untrained personnel often on an experimental basis. Furthermore, Gatooma Reformatory ended up receiving lunatics and those who had served jail terms and in 1961 a 28 year old man was admitted there.[133] The lack of proper communication between the judiciary and the Reformatory administration persisted. In this respect, the geographical relocation of the Reformatory to Gatooma was not accompanied by any significant administrative and structural changes to juvenile rehabilitation.

To a large degree, the treatment of juveniles at Mrewa and Gatooma represented the realities and obstacles in the achievement of racial partnership under Federation. Juvenile rehabilitation

[128] Ibid.
[129] NAZ S3269/84/8, Children's Institutions: placement for adoption, and training schools for juvenile delinquents, 1959-1963, Muvonde Training School 1958.
[130] NAZ ORAL/24, Brian Dennis Beecroft, p.14.
[131] Ibid
[132] Ibid, p.14.
[133] NAZ F220/LP/617/1 Secretary Gatooma Reformatory Management Board to Secretary for Law, 27 March 1961.

in Southern Rhodesia coincided with the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland whose flagship policy was racial partnership. However, the designation of Mrewa Gaol as a juvenile rehabilitation centre and its operational problems during this period exposed the deep seated racial prejudices that existed. While the 1949 Children's law extended to the African the right to childhood for the first time since 1890, white colonial officials lacked the political will to put it into practice. African juveniles at Mrewa were treated like second class citizens, at best and like criminals at worst. In contrast, white delinquents were sent to South African reformatories where they were exposed to a well-established curriculum and rehabilitation facilities. If anything, the levels of neglect which the Mrewa institution suffered between 1950 and 1958 reflected more continuity than change from the prison incarceration which African juveniles had been subjected to in the 1930s. In this respect, the treatment of juvenile delinquents at Mrewa represented inertia in race relations and was a potent commentary on the failures of racial integration under the Federation. While the state churned the rhetoric of partnership, the structures of Rhodesian colonial society and racial attitudes remained almost the same.

According to Frank Clements, despite the rhetoric of racial partnership white Rhodesians never believed that Federation would endanger their privileges.[134] This was partly reflected in the in Federal Parliamentary representation where only six Africans, two from each territory, represented African interests.[135] Although the state gave small concessions such as the removal of the term 'native' from legislation, allowing Africans access into hotels and restaurants, and the establishment of a multiracial university, whites believed that only Africans who had attained 'white standards' should participate in politics. As chapter five will demonstrate, the meaning of 'white standards' was discursively constructed and was a prerogative of those in power and during Federation it was used to disqualify Africans from political participation. Consequently, racial partnership under Federation was nothing more than 'tea-time partnership'.[136] Economically, Africans remained in the lower echelons of the Federal Civil

[134] F. Clements, *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969, p.109; For broader discussion on Federation see, H. Franklin, *Unholy Wedlock: The Failure of the Central African Federation*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1963; P. Murphy, ''An Intricate and Distasteful Subject': British Planning for the Use of Force Against European Settlers of Central Africa, 1952-1965', *English Historical Review*, CXXI, 492, pp.746-777; Murphy, ''Government by Blackmail': The Origins of the Central African Federation Reconsidered', in M. Lynn (ed.), *Retreat or Revival: The British Empire in the 1950s*, Basingstock, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005; R.R Griswold, 'The British Policy of Partnership in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Syracuse University,1959.
[135] Clements, *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society*, p.114.
[136] *Ibid*, p.115.

Service as drivers, janitors and with the exception of nurses and doctors, the principle of equal pay for equal work was not applied.[137]

However, the British whites in Southern Rhodesia justified their treatment of Africans as providing a balance between political and economic forces. For example in 1956, the newly appointed Federal Prime Minister, Roy Welensky, claimed that the prevailing racial and political relations were far better as compared to the extremes of Apartheid South Africa and African nationalism.[138] To a degree, the Federation's white minority considered racial partnership as a secondary matter to the larger and primary geo-political considerations. Britain supported the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, partly as a counter to the rising Afrikaner influence in post-1948 South Africa and African nationalism.[139] Consequently, the white minority viewed themselves as the Southern African bastion of the British way of life against nationalist South Africa.[140] In this respect, the Federal white minority held imperialist Britain at ransom with the claim that they represented the defense of empire at the expense of African rights and perceived advance of Afrikaner nationalism north of the Limpopo.

These unrelenting white attitudes were confirmed with the 1958 toppling of the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Garfield Todd, in a United Party (UP) palace coup partly because he was considered too 'liberal' by introducing electoral reforms which increased the number African voters to the electorate to about 17 percent.[141] In addition, Todd introduced special franchise qualifications for election to the Southern Rhodesia Assembly with lower qualifications than those required for the Common Roll.[142] Furthermore, in May 1957 Todd advocated for the repeal of the Immorality Suppression Act that prevented sexual relations between African men and white women for the right of humans to interact as they chose. According to Peter Baxter, this marked the beginning of the end to his leadership because his views on this matter represented the views of a minority in parliament and arguably among Rhodesian whites on such a sensitive issue.[143] Although Todd had not achieved much to appease the Africans, his ouster was taken as the pinnacle of white intransigence and

[137] N. Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1965, p.291-298.
[138] Clements, *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society*, p.120-121.
[139] R. Hyam, 'The Geopolitical origins of the Central African Federation: Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa 1948-1953', *The Historical Journal*, Vol 30, No, 1, March 1987, p.145-172.
[140] Clements, *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society*, p.110.
[141] *Ibid*, p.129. Garfield Todd was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1953-1958.
[142] *Ibid*.
[143] P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: The Last Outpost of the British Empire, 1890-1980*, South Africa, Galago Publishers, 2010, pp.263-264.

strengthened the resolve of the African nationalist movements in Southern Rhodesia. His ascension to power had been meet with optimism from both sides of the colour divide as the man who would bring racial partnership whoever it was constructed. In this respect, whites in the Federation lacked the political will that was required for racial partnership. However, as the section on African education below will show, even the most "liberal" whites like Todd were ambivalent about their position on Africans.

4.4 African Education Policy and the limits of Liberal Reforms

The development of African education was designed to ensure the reproduction of the labour force for the needs of capital. By the late 1930s, increasing international capital investment in Southern Rhodesia put pressure on the government to revise its restrictive policies on the expansion and nature of African education. In 1937 Huggins proposed a free Government school and enforced compulsory education in recognition of increased numbers of juveniles in Salisbury.[144] Africans regarded the existing denominational schools with prejudice and as a result school attendance was low.[145] However, CNC, Bullock, refused to take up the idea on the basis that it would set a precedent where the government may be force to provide schools in all larger urban centres.[146] In the 1930s colonial officials were unwilling to undertake capital projects involving urbanized Africans because the provision of social services was in dispute between urban authorities and the government. The post-1945 period brought changes in policy. The Danziger Committee report of 1949 recommended the provision of compulsory education for Africans up to Standard VI in urban areas in order to instill discipline and keep children off the streets.[147] In addition, it recommended that the Government should provide vocational training for self-employment as well as for the needs of capital. Consequently, in the 1940s the provision of primary education became a Government responsibility with the ultimate goal of making African education compulsory.

However, Huggins was not a believer in the expansion of African education and aspirations of the African elite for self-government. According to Clements, London and Salisbury held the view that the African was still unfit for political control but acknowledged the duty of the white

[144] NAZ LG191/12/7/5 Welfare Officer for Location 1937-1939, Minutes of Meeting between Government and Municipal Representatives, 17 February 1937.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] *Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Question of Additional Land for Natives, 1949,* p.54.

man to educate and train the African for a political take over in the future.[148] Because of this attitude, at least until the early 1950s, the education policy retained skilled trades for white workers. The logic of the colonial state failure to respond to increased African demand for education educational facilities, particularly technical education, was captured by Huggins in 1954 when he remarked that,

> We must unhesitatingly accept the doctrine that our superiority rests on technical skills, education, cultural values, civilization and heredity. We must appreciate the fact that we have a paramount monopoly of these qualities and the Natives have been denied them by their primitive culture. The best we can do is to educate only a few in the hope that they will pull the rest of the mire of that primitive culture.

Ironically when Huggins made this statement he had already assumed the Federal Prime Ministership, a position he held until 1956, and it was his office which was entrusted with the implementation of the Federation's flagship policy of 'racial partnership'. With such racial attitudes prevailing in the highest office of the establishment, it is not surprising, therefore, that for the duration of Federation Africans had many grievances and among them was the education issue.

The shortage of schools was a perennial problem in the urban areas from the 1940s to the early 1960s. In January 1950 the *Bantu Mirror* reported a high turn out into Salisbury schools with many others failing to get admittance.[149] In 1952 there were reports of overcrowding at Bulawayo schools so much that church halls were used by schools as classrooms: The *Bantu Mirror* reported: 'Four classes each occupy part of the 4 walls of the church and teachers and their pupils do their work as best as they can under the circumstances.'[150] Out of some 5200 children of school-going age in Salisbury's Harari Township only 2 296 were enrolled in the township schools.[151] The difference was unaccounted for. A sample survey of 1200 children conducted in the same location in 1952 revealed that 10% of the children were not going to school.[152] By 1957/8 students were still being turned away partly because of shortage of teachers after the 1956 Government ban on untrained teachers.[153] The Archdeacon of the Anglican Church Bulawayo, J.N Stopford, criticized the government for not having a policy

[148] Clements, *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society*, p. 114.
[149] *Bantu Mirror* 28 January 1950.
[150] *Bantu Mirror* 23 February 1952.
[151] Makombe, 'A Social History of Town and Country Interactions: A Study on the Changing Social Life and Practices of Rural-Urban Migrants in Colonial Harare and Goromonzi (1946-1979)', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2013, p.108.
[152] NAZ LG191/12/7/72, Survey in the Incidence of Juvenile Delinquency among children of Harari residents, February 1952, p.2.
[153] 'Demand Outstrips Facilities-Gwelo' *African Daily News* 22 January 1958.

on African Education.[154] Although African primary education in the urban areas was the government's responsibility, mission schools still served some urban centres like Salisbury and Bulawayo and were failing to cope. In this respect, the slow development of educational facilities failed to cope with increasing demand and incubated the creation of a category of youths who had nothing to do and were very likely to add to the growing problem of juvenile delinquency.

Ironically, the African Welfare Officer in Salisbury was engaged in the duties of a school attendance officer dealing with cases of absenteeism and truancy.[155] Given the shortage of places in schools the likely source of children on the streets was their inability to enroll in the available schools and not as a result of truancy. Consequently, the Salisbury Council suspended the duties of the School Attendance Officer. Indeed, while it was important to enforce attendance in schools, the situation in the major urban areas rendered his functions useless. There was need to focus more on how to contain the growing numbers of those who could not be absorbed in the school system.

As already mentioned, Todd's reign ushered in some reforms as part of the racial partnership agenda and his tenure in office has become known as the 'liberal experiment'. A missionary who had spent years working with Africans at Dadaya Mission, Todd was regarded by his contemporaries as a multi-racialist and liberal advocate for black advancement.[156] However, his educational policies, a key element to African advancement revealed the extent of his 'liberalism'. Under the Todd government African education was poorly funded resulting in school shortages. While white education was a function of the Federal Government, African Education remained the responsibility of the territorial Government and there were huge disparities in financial allocation. Below is an illustration of the 1955/56 education financial allocations.

[154] 'Hundreds Turned Away at Mission Schools- Bulawayo', *Bulawayo Chronicle* 22 January 1958
[155] NAZ LG191/12/7/121, African Schools Attendance Officer: Harari Township 1958-1963, Salisbury Director of Native Administration to Director of Native Education, 09 June 1958.
[156] Baxter, *Rhodesia: The Last Outpost of the British Empire, 1890-1980*, p.265.

Table 7: Financial Allocations for Education (Africans and Non-Africans), 1955/6 [157]

Region	African	Non-African
Southern Rhodesia	1,544,211	
Northern Rhodesia	1,711,741	
Nyasaland	329,965	
Total	**3,585,917**	**5,252,802**

Source: RJ Zvobgo, *Colonialism and Education in Zimbabwe*, Harare, SAPES Books, 1994, p.43.

There were 56 000 European, Asian and Coloured pupils in Federal Schools being educated at £126 per pupil and the 800 000 Africans in aided schools in the three federal territories were being educated at the rate of £6 per pupil.[158] The financial disparities in educational funding revealed the challenges and limits of racial equality under Federation.

In response to the perennial problem of shortage of schools in 1956 the government introduced new measures aimed at ameliorating the situation. Among them was an age restriction meant to free up space for the increasing numbers of African children. The age limit policy did not solve the problem of school shortages and only worsened the lopsided educational structure. Statistics revealed a consistent trend of student numbers going down as the educational standards went up. Below are the 1956 statistics in African education.

Table 8: Financial Allocations for Education (Africans and Non Africans), 1955/6

Education Level	No. of Students
Sub Standard A	104 000
Sub Standard B	70 000
Standard 1	52 000
Standard 2	34 000
Standard 3	25 000

Source: NAZ S3269/45/86, Native Education Policy 1955-1963, Five Year Plan for Native Education 1956-1960, p.1.

The drop-out rate between Sub A and Standard 3 was 66%. The Government age limit was based on the fact that many students spent up to 5 or 6 years mastering the work of the first

[157] All figures are in (£) pounds.
[158] R.J Zvobgo, *Colonialism and Education in Zimbabwe*, Harare, SAPES Books, 1994, p.43.

three standards with 70% not progressing beyond Standard 1. This created a contingent of youth with only basic literacy who could only be employed in unskilled labour sections. Furthermore in 1954 Sub A to Standard 3 had 286 000 but Standards 4 to 6 had a total of only 23 000 pupils.[159] These colonial educational bottlenecks were a result of a deliberate Government policy which limited the number of Africans demanding skilled jobs. Even under Todd the government continued to use restrictions in education as an instrument of political and economic oppression. If anything, the statistics above re-echoed Huggins' sentiments of the 1930s and 1940s on training a small number of Africans. A closer look at Todd's history proves that he was ambivalent towards African aspirations. As the Headmaster at Dadaya Mission in 1947 Todd violently crushed a protest led by female students at the school and went on to dismiss Ndabaningi Sithole who was a teacher at the school for allegedly conniving with the students.[160]

The age limit of 14 years for Standard 3 reconfigured African childhood. The Government stipulated that an African child should start school at 7 years reaching Standard 3 at 11 years and gave 3 years latitude to 14 years.[161] Unlike in the 1920s -1940s where Africans started school at 10 or much older (see chapter two) the new regulations transformed and fixed the age and expected educational qualification. Subsequently, failure to attain Standard 3 education at 14 years symbolized failure and was considered as 'abnormal' child development. There was a direct link between education and age. According to Waller, Colonial rule altered the definition and meanings of 'youth', constructed in terms of race, age and gender and shaped by evolving notions of what constituted maturity.[162] Maturity and success corresponded directly with a certain age and a particular educational achievement.

The youth education problem also transformed the nature of the urban African education. Urban communities responded to the slow expansion of educational facilities by introducing community schools. Under pressure from nationalist agitation in 1961 the Government agreed that Highfield residents establish a community school as part of its appeasement policy.[163] However, in 1963 the Mabvuku location residents proposal for a community school to serve an approximately 1, 149 students who were unable to commence or continue with their

[159] NAZ S3269/45/86, Native Education Policy 1955-1963, Five Year Plan for Native Education 1956-1960, p.2.
[160] West, 'Ndabaningi Sithole, Garfield Todd and the Dadaya School Strike of 1947'.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Waller, 'Rebellious Youth in Africa', p.81.
[163] NAZ LG191/12/7/121, African School Attendance Officer: Harari Township 1958-1963, Salisbury Director for African Administration to Town Clerk, 27 June 1963.

education was turned down. In explaining this decision, Council highlighted that the Highfield School of 1961 resulted in the influx of illegal child 'residents' who flocked from rural areas causing over-crowding and juvenile delinquency.[164] The rejection of Mabvuku proposal lay in the change of Government. Whereas the previous government was inclined to appeasing Africans and, to a degree, acted in the good will of Federal racial partnership, the coming in of the Rhodesia Front Party (RF) in 1962 and the collapse of Federation in 1963 changed the political land scape of the country. In particular, the RF wanted to revert to the racial policies of the 1930s. In addition, Highfield was established as an African middle class location and the government could have made an exception. The African middle class was an ally of the government and acted as buffer against the aspirations of the working people and the nascent nationalist movements in the 1940s and 1950s.

4.5 'Controlling the idle and rudderless': African Youth and Urban Social Policies, 1940s – 1960

In the 1930s the absence of an institutional frame work allocating responsibility for African urban housing and other amenities made it possible for both central government and local authorities to neglect the welfare of the urban African. The NUAARA required Municipalities and local authorities to provide welfare services within their boundaries, with their own welfare departments and officers who were responsible to their Directors of Native Administration.[165] The new Welfare Departments provided educational and recreational entertainment as well as medical services. These Welfare Departments were financed through profits on the sale of so-called Kaffir Beer in Halls and canteens under urban authorities' control, with the overall direction of the Minister of Native Affairs.[166] The development of urban social welfare departments should also be viewed as an extension of the range of pre-emptive interventions with the aim of preventing criminal activity among the urbanised Africans. Special attention was given to providing urban schools, youth clubs and voluntary bodies to mould youths through organized recreation, varied out-of-school activities and other measures designed to assist the African child to adjust himself to and become a useful citizen in an urban environment.

[164] Ibid.
[165] *Native Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act 1946*.
[166] *Ibid*.

The post-World War II social welfare philosophies were partly a continuation of the 1930s containment system but also accommodated the labour needs of the post war economy. Beyond the provision of sports and recreation there was the rhetoric of the need to 'teach youths to become useful citizens.'[167] Therefore, post-1945 welfare activities were designed to contain the effervescence of youth at two levels; to serve as an outlet for the African youth surplus energy and keep them busy to prevent 'idleness'.[168] In addition, policies were designed to manage the reproduction of the stabilized labour which the post war economy demanded. As part of containment, the marked development of youth clubs and sports activities in the post-1945 period functioned as a social dragnet designed to channel youth energies into 'safer places'. Government officials and urban councils were increasingly acknowledging the harmful effect of urbanization on African kinship ties and its support systems, which made Africans susceptible to what officials perceived as 'random impulses and hooligan self-expression'.[169] Although the quotation is tainted with racial prejudice, it nevertheless expresses the perceived danger of an uncontrolled African. This perception was especially prevalent in the 1950s period characterized African labour and nationalist agitation and a surge in rural urban migration as a result of the effects of the Land Apportionment Act 1941 and Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951.[170]

Welfare Services were also designed with the aim to control urban residence particularly the youth because juvenile delinquency was central to urban social order. The city councils welfare departments took over the organization of sporting activities and provision of sports facilities.[171] In addition to sport, youth entertainment and youth activities included film shows, arts and culture clubs, Scouts, Girl Guides and Wayfarers movements, library services among others.[172] These social dragnets were designed to capture the different age categories of

[167] This phrase was used by government officials in official correspondence to refer to the African's labour value.
[168] B.W Gussman, African Life in an Urban Area, Federation of African Welfare Societies, Bulawayo, 1952, p.6.
[169] E.G. Howman quoted in Devittie, 'The Underdevelopment of Social Welfare Services for Urban Africans in Rhodesia, 1929-1953', p.11.
[170] The Land Apportionment Act of 1941 barred Africans from occupying land reserved for whites and this increased pressure on the already exhausted land in the African Reserves. As a result, many Africans were forced to migrate to towns to look for wage employment.
[171] Salisbury concerted to the 1946 Act and implemented it immediately but Bulawayo agreed only in principle in 1947 and fully adopted the act in 1949. The Bulawayo Council refused to adopt the Private Locations Ordinance of 1906 which gave Government control and rights over urban locations for Africans (right to inspect). In addition, the Council sought independence from Central Government in the control of private locations in its Municipal boundaries, and the use of revenues. They wanted to use Kaffir Beer profits as they saw fit and not as directed by the Minister for Native Affairs. In particular, Bulawayo wanted to subsidise African Housing projects using the beer profits and not welfare services but under law housing had to be financed through revenue collected through rate payments.
[172] The *African Parade* chronicled the youth organisations and forms of youth entertainment.

Africans in the urban areas. For examples, sporting activities like football were a magnet to both participants and thousands of spectators during the weekends.[173] Films shows were popular with children from 7 years to young adults in their 20s.[174] Beyond entertainment, clubs such as Scouts and Guides movements targeted teenagers with teachings aimed at developing good citizenship by molding their character, teaching obedience, loyalty, self-reliance and to become useful to the public.[175]

However, youth programmes got off to a slow start. In particular, Boys' Club movements under the FAWS in Bulawayo struggled to capture the juvenile ranks. In Bulawayo, the City Council took over the running of sports but the African Welfare Society retained the running of youth clubs[176] with a teaching function.[177] In 1947 the Native Welfare Officer for Bulawayo reported that the Boys' Club recorded 374 attendances since its inception in 1946 but had a regular membership of only 36 or (9.6%) of the potential pool.[178] In addition, far from serving the larger community, the Club attracted boys from only one school, Mzilikazi Government School.[179] As a result, Club activities only coincided with the schools term and attendance was low during schools holidays. However, there were many boys of school going age, who were not at school but spent their time on the streets and these were irregular Club attendees and were unwilling to have their names taken down.[180] Potentially, youths were unwilling to register with the clubs given that in the 1930s and early 1940s 'illegal' juveniles were sent back to the African reserves. In this respect, the Bulawayo Boys' Club failed to capture its intended target of youths who were not in school and could potentially become delinquents. After years of vilification and deportation of 'illegal' juveniles to the rural areas it took some time for the juveniles to trust the authorities' intention in the new programmes.

Youth programmes under the Bulawayo City Council and NWS were not well coordinated and ended up overlapping their functions. In 1948 youth clubs and sports events began to compete for members and attendance to the former was affected by the newly formed boxing club for

[173] Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893*-1960 - Chronicles the popularity of football in Bulawayo town.
[174] NAZ LG 191/12/7/72, Juvenile Delinquency among Africans, Survey on the incidence of juvenile delinquency among children of residents of Harari Township, February 1952, p.4.
[175] NAZ LG 191/12/7/31, Native Welfare Workers 1947-1956, Boy Scouts Association of Southern Rhodesia Annual Report 1956, p.2.
[176] NAZ S2584/85, Native Welfare Society Vol III, Minutes of meeting of the Bulawayo African Welfare Society, 27 March 1947, p.7.
[177] FAWS claimed that youth clubs were designed to develop the mental and spiritual wellbeing of the African youth. *Bantu Mirror*, 13 September 1947.
[178] NAZ S2584/85, Native Welfare Society Vol III; Native Welfare Officer's Report, 27 March 1947, p.1.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.

juveniles and music lessons from Bantu Brass Brand.[181] Responding to these developments the Secretary of the AWS wrote 'I welcome both these new activities inasmuch as they are all calculated to curb juvenile delinquency in the community.'[182] To the extent that youth clubs were purported platforms to educate youth to be part of an urban community and character building, the comment was revealing. The agenda of youth sports and youth clubs did not go beyond merely containing the youth so much so that the AWS did not perceive any real difference between a boxing club and a teaching youth club. In this respect, the overarching goal of youth clubs was not so much the value youths acquired from such organizations as for authorities to keep them 'contained'. As a result, clubs were not a means to an end but were an end in themselves.

The development of football clubs epitomized the use of sport as an instrument to divert youth attention and energies. One of the earliest organized sports and arguably the most popular; football took shape under the AWS late 1930s and by 1961 the Bulawayo football Association had up to 45 affiliated clubs and Salisbury had 51 football teams by 1960.[183] Football attracted a wide variety of participants and spectators. Over and beyond developing sporting rivalries between towns and regions, sports like football and boxing became a source of ethnic pride and potential conflict.[184] However, African educated elites criticized the diversion strategy and instead advocated for lasting solutions to the youth problems. One *Bantu Mirror* editorial argued that 'recreation is not the cure because it only keeps the child out of trouble for a little while (weekends). Home and religion are the first bulwarks against juvenile delinquency. The child must obey the laws of God and the country'. [185] The *Bantu Mirror* was the 'voice' of the 'educated' African whose values were influenced by Christianity and the importance of religion in sustaining social harmony.

Urban councils Welfare Departments were short-staffed and this slowed down the development of youth programmes. In 1948 two recent graduates from the John Hofmeyr School of Social Work became some of the first trained African Welfare workers to be employed in Southern Rhodesia. Joshua Nkomo was employed by Rhodesia Railways in Bulawayo[186] and Kenneth

[181] NAZ S2584/85, African Welfare Society Vol III, African Welfare Society Report, June 1948, p.1.
[182] Ibid.
[183] *African Parade* 06 August 1960.
[184] *Bantu Mirror*, 07 June 1951.
[185] *Bantu Mirror*, 04 May 1946.
[186] J. Nkomo, *The Story of My Life*, London, Methuen, 1984, p.40; Joshua Nkomo became a nationalist in Zimbabwe's struggle for independence and served as the country's Vice President.

Dube by the Salisbury City Council.[187] Solomon Dzwittie, another trained Social Welfare Worker was employed by the AWS in Bulawayo having acquired his diploma in 1946.[188] Salisbury had had a white African Welfare Officer since 1937 but due to scarcity of trained personnel and lack of drive to develop African Welfare work only one Officer served the whole city. In addition, the scarcity of Social Welfare skills among Africans meant that the Council had to engage the services of whites that demanded high salaries. Consequently, this became a deterrent to the expansion of welfare services. For example, in 1937 an African Welfare Officer (white) was appointed at £360 per annum while an untrained African part-time Sports Organiser was paid 10/- per month.[189] In 1948 Dube was appointed at a salary of £162 per annum.[190] In 1952 the Salisbury City Council appointed a white female European Welfare Officer at £710 per annum.[191] This huge disparity in salaries accounted little for the difference in training as it did for race difference. Consequently, the lack of adequate trained staff undermined some of the efforts at fostering youth interest in joining clubs.

The slow pace in the development of Social Welfare Departments under urban authorities was partly influenced by government's lack of commitment to African social welfare. Beginning in the 1930s, municipal authorities questioned governmental commitment to the urban African's welfare with education and housing being areas of contention. The promulgation of NUAARA in 1946 provided the legal mandate for urban authorities to provide African welfare but exacerbated their view of government as negligent towards African welfare. Government officials believed that urban authorities were not fully utilizing African Beer profits to develop welfare services. At the same time, whereas the Department of Social Welfare had up to 14 Welfare Officers for whites by 1947, the first African Welfare Officer in government was appointed in 1952.[192] The mutual distrust between government and the municipalities dating back to the 1930s also made collaborative work on social welfare issues almost impossible.[193] In this regard, notwithstanding urban authorities' legal mandate, the government did not have

[187] *African Welfare Bulletin, January 1948*, p.2., NAZ LG 191/12/7/31, Native Welfare Workers 1947-1950, Council Meeting Resolution 24 July 1947, p.4.
[188] NAZ S2584/85, Native Welfare Society Vol III, African Welfare Bulletin, January 1948, p.2.
[189] NAZ LG191/12/7/5, European Welfare Officer for Location, 1937-1939.
[190] NAZ LG 191/12/7/31, Native Welfare Workers 1947-1956, Council Meeting Resolution, 24 July 1947.
[191] NAZ LG191/12/7/72, Juvenile Delinquency among Africans 1952: Minutes of Meeting of Heads of Departments 09 May 1953.
[192] NAZ F242/400/4, Social Welfare General August 1943 - December 1954, Chief Welfare Officer to Secretary for Justice and Internal Affairs, 04 April 1952.
[193] The Salisbury City Council and Government agreement to establish a Place of Safety for vulnerable African children in 1958 fell apart because of suspicion and mistrust. LG191/12/7/131, Place of Safety for African Children in need of Care, 1958. Director of Social Welfare to the Director of Native Administration, Salisbury Municipality, 11 March 1958.

the moral right to demand the speedy development of welfare when it was neglecting the same issues under its own portfolio.

In this period, municipal sport and recreational facilities were largely inadequate. In 1952 some 23 000 Harari residents in Salisbury had one recreational hall at their disposal.[194] The Stodard Hall was home to cinema shows, concerts, cultural activities, indoor youth activities, ballroom dancing, debates and speech training among others.[195] In 1952, the Salisbury Health, Housing and Native Administration Committee reported that the Hall was too small and there were too many users which limited organized juvenile activities.[196] Stanley Hall in Bulawayo served the same function for the 30,250 Bulawayo employees in 1946.[197] The actual number of people who used the hall was far larger given the fact that the Bulawayo figure only captured Africans in employment and did not include wives and dependents. By 1956 the £200 Government grant for Salisbury and Bulawayo welfare work was largely inadequate.[198] In 1957 the Bulawayo Council constructed a new cinema hall at a cost of £30,000 but because of shortage of recreational halls it became a multi-purpose hall.[199] The limited recreational facilities stifled the expansion of recreational activities amongst juveniles.

Welfare work primarily focused on the African males and gradually began to incorporate the needs of women and girls in light of the changing socio-political landscape of Southern Rhodesia. In October of 1939 Salisbury City appointed an African woman as part time Sports Organiser to coach girls in basketball three times a week.[200] In 1953 Salisbury Health, Housing and Native Administration Committee appointed a white African Welfare Officer, Mrs. H Preston, who had a Social Science Degree to organize girls and women welfare programmes.[201] In addition, to improve girls' recreation, six young women employed as Home Demonstrators attended classes under Mrs. Fitz-Patrick to become 'Torchbearers' in in Wayfarer-Guide Movement.[202] In 1961 Bulawayo City Council operated various girls' and women's clubs with

[194] NAZ LG191/12/7/72, Juvenile Delinquency among Africans, 1952: Survey on the Incidence of Juvenile Delinquency among the children of residents of Harari Township, p.4.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] NAZ S169/15/48, Federation of African Welfare Societies, 1948-1950.
[198] LG191/12/7/31 Native Welfare Workers 1947 -1956, Director of Native Education to Salisbury Town Clerk, 05 September 1956.
[199] *African Parade* August 1957.
[200] LG191/12/7/1 Native Welfare at the Location 1939-1939, Resolution of the Health and Social Welfare Committee meeting, 31 October 1939.
[201] LG191/12/7/31 Native Welfare Workers 1947 -1956, Minutes of Meeting of Heads of Departments, 09 May 1953.
[202] LG191/12/7/72, Juvenile Delinquency among Africans, 1952; Survey on the Incidence of Juvenile Delinquency among the children of residents of Harari Township, p.4.

a focus on domestic science for domestic employment.[203] In addition, there were arts and crafts at two centres devoted to pottery, carving and modelling.[204] The most successful of these women's programmes was the Homecraft Movement which focused on teaching hygiene, approaches to homecare and motherhood.[205] There were 121 Homecraft clubs in 1956 and they increased to 1,100 by 1973 and by 1975 the national membership stood at 23,000.[206]

Carolyn Martin Shaw places the development of the Homecraft movement within the context of the changing socio-political context of Southern Rhodesia. In particular, she argues that the white women participated in teaching African women basics of the ideal home to prove that within the policy of Federal 'racial partnership', Africans were 'partners in progress' as well as to counter a measure against African nationalism.[207] From a socio-economic point of view, West suggests that the development of girls and women clubs involved in making crafts (Sewing, Knitting and Jam making) shows that African women had become part of the urban consumer culture of the 1950s and 1960s.[208] However, what is clear from these works is the fact that the position of women in society and their roles in the family were changing. The development of girls and women's clubs under the welfare departments represents a shift in their role in the family. Prior to the 1950s the state moral discourse presented African women as immoral and a source of urban disorder.[209] In the same period, juvenile delinquency was framed as a result of bad motherhood and most of the juvenile delinquents were illegal residents and children of prostitutes.[210] Paternal authority was believed to be the countervailing force that sustained family stability and integrity. Such thinking became the midwife of colonial patriarchal ideology which manifested itself in vagrancy laws targeting women for "prostitution". However, by the 1950s this view was gradually changing. The middle class concept of family; father, mother and children, had reconfigured moral values and placed women as critical to the raising of children and family stability. The man was presented as the

[203] *African Parade*, March 1961.
[204] Ibid.
[205] K. Law, ''Even a labourer is worthy of his hire: how much more a wife?': Gender and the Contested Nature of Domesticity in Colonia Zimbabwe, c.1945-1978', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 63, No. 3, p.465; See also S. Ranchod-Nilsson, ''Educating Eve': The Women's Club Movement and Political Consciousness among Rural African Women in Southern Rhodesia, 1950-1980', in K. Tranberg Hansen (ed.), *African Encounters with Domesticity*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1992.
[206] Ibid.
[207] C. Martin Shaw, 'Sticks and Scones: Black and White Women in the Homecraft Movement of Colonial Zimbabwe', *Race/Ethnicity Multidisciplinary Global Perspectives*,1, 2008, pp.253-278; Law, 'Making Marmalade and Imperial Mentalities: The Case of a Colonial Wife', *African Research and Documentation*, 133, 2010, pp.19-27.
[208] West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class*, p.77.
[209] Barnes, '*We Women Worked So Hard'*; Schmidt, *Peasants Traders and Wives*.
[210] Konate, 'On Colonial Laws and the Treatment of Young Female Delinquents in Senegal', p.55.

breadwinner and the woman as the one who stayed at home to take care of the children. In this respect, the women's clubs were formed with the view to teach women on the proper methods of raising the family and by extension prevent delinquency.

The establishment and development of urban welfare services brought about the differential treatment and control of youth from a state engineered control system manifest through the strengthening of patriarchal and chiefly authority in rural Southern Rhodesia in the 1920s and to the early 1940s.[211] The pre-eminent goal of youth social life in the post-1945 period was youth control through various activities. This created a new youth urban culture synonymous with sport, cinemas and clubs. In the 1950s the *African Parade* carried a section titled 'Our Young People' which ran stories of young people's achievements, youth fashion trends, profiled young Africans in profession and celebrated African beauty.[212] In addition, the section encouraged youth participation in clubs.[213] These quintessential aspects of colonial modernity represented the new socializing agents of the African urban youth and became synonymous with the very concept of youth. Juveniles began to imagine themselves as 'cowboys' from their weekend cinema shows. Sport became a means of youth expression, a source of pride, was associated with good health and became a critical component of youth education. Furthermore, by confining youth achievements to sport in its various forms and education, the new urban youth culture cast young people as amenable to social control. Although problems remained, youths were no longer presented as the "incorrigibles" of the 1930s Southern Rhodesia.

Conclusion

The Second World War transformed the social-economic structure of urban society. The passage of the NUUARA ameliorated the condition of the urbanized Africans and contributed towards labour stability. However, the social policy changes did little to affect juvenile penal systems. Prison was the central institution for juvenile penal treatment and juvenile rehabilitation was nothing more than physical confinement. To a large degree, the treatment of African youth broadly and juvenile delinquency in particular exposed the limits of the post war 'liberal' policies and the racial partnership under Federation. African education was underfunded and youth socialising agents like recreation remained inadequate.

[211] Refer to Chapter Two.
[212] *African Parade*, February & March 1954.
[213] *Ibid.*

The next section, which deals with white juvenile delinquency, opens with a discussion of the emergence and development of the notion white ‘juvenile delinquency’ in chapter five. The chapter examines the construction of labels referring to deviance among white children in the period 1890 to 1930 and how, after 1930, white juvenile delinquency suddenly came to constitute a ‘discovery’ necessitating societal measures to combat it.

Section B

White Juvenile Delinquency

Chapter Five: Juvenile Delinquency and the Politics of White Rule, 1890s-1950s

Introduction

This chapter traces the emergence and development of the notions of the 'juvenile delinquency' amongst whites in Southern Rhodesia. It discusses how white juvenile delinquency was perceived and the concomitant labels that were constructed. Broadly, the chapter is divided into two categories. The period 1890s to 1930 constituted the development of deviance and delinquent labels but there was no socially recognised juvenile delinquency problem in Southern Rhodesia. The post 1930 period witnessed state 'discovery' of juvenile delinquency and the development of measures designed to combat it. A growing white population and the generalised anxiety to protect a range of settler interests necessitated construction and regulation of white juvenile criminality. In particular, the chapter explores the extent to which the notion of juvenile delinquent was tied to how white society perceived itself and the extent to which white expectations and fears shaped the meanings of behaviours. In addition, the chapter demonstrates how 'delinquency' encompassed a lengthy spectrum of youth behaviours from the seemingly harmless to the decidedly harmful. It will be seen how the myth of white superiority hung like a spectre over the whole construction of white youth identities. The demarcation of social boundaries in white youths became inextricably intertwined with broader discourses of white superiority and dominance. Moreover, I discuss the racial and cultural tensions within white society and how these influenced the development of delinquent labels. I also analyse the gender and class dimensions of juvenile delinquency in order to shed light on the specific forms of delinquent behaviour and the meanings attached to them.

In Southern Rhodesia's racially ordered society, social engineering became one of the main instruments for achieving and preserving racial binaries. The self-imposed insularity, some would call it a 'laager mentality', of white community necessitated the regulation of social boundaries and punishment of any violations to these boundaries. Typically, those who transgressed officially sanctioned forms of behaviours were labelled deviant and delinquent. Among other things, colonial white society endeavoured to reproduce white superiority by instilling specific ideals in white children and youth. As shall be illustrated, white youths were brought up to uphold so-called white social values and were imbued with a sense of mission and manifest destiny towards the rightness of white colonialism and attendant civilisation.

5.1 White Poverty and Children's Protection, 1890s to 1930

State 'discovered' juvenile delinquency came in the wake of the economic crises and poverty wrought by the Great Depression of the 1930s. However, neither white poverty nor youth deviance/crime was a phenomenon peculiar to the 1930s. In particular, poverty was present, nearly from Southern Rhodesia's inception. Rife economic speculation and the transient nature of white Rhodesian population during the formative years of colonial settlement combined to erode economic security. Some of the freebooters who were part of the Pioneer Column pursued pleasure and drunkenness such that it was not uncommon for them to fall on hard times.[1] So common was economic penury in early Rhodesian society that Tawse Jollie describes situations where some whites went about barefoot.[2] Ordinance 19 of 1904, for instance, was designed to prevent destitution and provide for the relief of wives and families that had been deserted. In addition, the emergence of proto-civil society organisations involved in charity work such as the Loyal Women's Guilds (LWG) founded in 1907 was testimony to the existence of the needy amongst whites.[3] The LWG was one of the first organisations devoted to the care of children and orphans. Women's charity organisations involved in the care of children corresponded with their Victorian domestic roles as mothers. Victorian domesticity confined women to the physical space of the home because domesticity and motherhood were considered by society at large to be a sufficient emotional fulfilment for females.[4]

Equally, crime was part of white society from the formative years of colonial settlement. Peter Gibbs and Hugh Phillips state that the predominant white crimes in Southern Rhodesia at the turn of the 20th century were fraud, embezzlement, forgery, murder, robbery, theft, incest, illicit gold dealing, keeping of brothels and the supplying liquor to 'natives'.[5] They also describe typical cases of white boys; 'the author of certain obscene writing on the window of the Post Office, was given eight cuts' and one aged 14, 'found guilty of stealing a bicycle, given 15 cuts.'[6] Their trials were held in open court and the boys' names published.[7] Although such

[1] Tawse Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, p.17.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] U. Kufakurinani, 'White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1980', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2015, p.144.
[4] Ibid, p.11.
[5] Gibbs & Phillips, *The History of the British South Africa Police, 1889-1980*, p.134.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

cases were not prevalent they, nevertheless, represented a nascent development of juvenile crime. Juvenile criminal reports which commenced on the colony's crime register in 1910 also indicated the existence of white juvenile crime which included theft, house breaking, and malicious injury to property, attempted rape, assault and forgery.[8]

Archival sources indicate that in Southern Rhodesia juvenile education, employment, poverty and juvenile behaviour were an increasing concern for voluntary organisations from the immediate post World War One. White society was threatened by degeneration and loss of civilisation.[9] The concern with white youth poverty and degeneracy in the 1920s through to the 1930s can be explained by a number of factors. In the wake of the First World War imperial authorities noted with concern the low birth rate and poor health of children.[10] There was a worry in the Empire about efficiency and decline marked by the South African War (1899-1902) and to a degree the ravages of World War One and Spanish influenza. Although degeneracy was not defined in physical terms but in terms of astuteness of character and qualities to sustain imperial control, the ravages of war and disease were a debilitating factor. In colonial India, authorities restricted non-productive men and those who might blemish the image of a healthy and 'vigorous' race.[11] Overall, imperial anxieties found expression through the Eugenics movement.[12] In particular, the white male child was regarded as the defender of colonial establishment and imperial designs. According to Stephanie Olsen, the white boy had upon his shoulders the safeguarding of civilisation and carried the white settler's mission in colonised lands.[13] Male youth deviance, therefore, appeared more noticeable and worrisome to the state and warranted corrective measures. As Campbell notes, juvenile crimes were most suggestive of social disarray.[14]

Ideas about imperial decline were particularly worrying for Southern Rhodesia because the colony was trying to boost its population and to firmly establish a settler colony. In Southern Rhodesia as in other parts of the Empire, child bearing and child health became fundamental

[8] J5/4/2 Juvenile Offenders: Returns, 1910-1923.
[9] D. Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980: 'The Lost Dominion,'' in R. Bickers (ed.) *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.124.
[10] F. Praisley, 'Childhood and Race: Growing Up in The Empire', in P. Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 240-241.
[11] A.L Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, Berkeley, California University Press, 2002, p.35.
[12] Olsen, 'Adolescent Empire: Moral Dangers for Boys in Britain and India, c.1800 to 1914', p.25; see also, Campbell, *Eugenics in Colonial Kenya*.
[13] S. Olsen, 'Adolescent Empire: Moral Dangers for Boys in Britain and India, c.1800 to 1914', p.20.
[14] Campbell, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1939', p.130.

aspects. The first white child born in colonial Rhodesia was 'Cecil John' born to the Tullochs of Umtali in August of 1891 and by the 1923 census the 'second generation' of Rhodesians numbered some 8, 308.[15] The colony's post war birth rate improved from 27, 85 around 1918 to 31, 10 by 1923.[16] In the 1920s, the government appointed the Medical Inspector of Schools for the systematic examination of children to improve child health. The Inspector identified malaria, dental hygiene and eye diseases as constituting a risk to child health.[17] As part of this child health drive, the Medical Inspector of schools suggested the establishment of school clinics and feeding schemes so that there would be no need to hesitate bringing a young family to the country because of health concerns to would be immigrants.[18] In this regard, Southern Rhodesia reacted to imperial fears of racial degeneration and instituted policies to improve the health of its child population.

The interwar years also laid the foundations of the juvenile justice system through the Children's Protection Act of 1918. Its definition of child was exclusively white and it upheld the citizenship and social protection rights of white children. In particular, it was designed for the better protection of white children under the age of 16 by compelling parents to support their children and laid out the penalties for parents who violated their obligations. Punishable offences included the cruelty, neglect and ill treatment of children by a parent or guardian.[19] In addition, the exposure of children to begging and prostitution was prohibited.[20] However, as was the case with a number of Southern Rhodesia pieces of legislation, the 1918 Act was structured along the same lines as the Children's Protection Act 1913 of the Union of South Africa. The South African Act was itself an offshoot of the Prevention of Cruelty to and Protection of Children Act, 1889 (Children's Charter) and the 1908 Children's Act of the United Kingdom.[21] In lobbying for the 1918 Act, the LWG and other charitable organisations were concerned with the conditions of children drawn from Rhodesia's working class. The organisation spent £1800 on white children in 1917 and noted a prevalence of parental neglect of children among this class.[22]

[15] Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, p.229.
[16] *Ibid*
[17] *Ibid*, p. 230.
[18] *Ibid*, p.232.
[19] *Children's Protection Act, 1918*.
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] NAZ SRG 3, *Legislative Council Debates*, 11 August, 1929, Column 25.
[22] NAZ A3/21/9 Comments on Draft Bill on Children's law, Secretary, Department of Administrator, 18 May 1918; *Legislative Council Debates*, 16 May, 1918, Column 295.

The 1918 law was influenced by the imperial focus on protecting white children and growing the white population than it was focused on the local needs in Southern Rhodesia. Presenting arguments in the Legislative Council over the 1918 Children's Act, legislator, Lionel Cripps, praised the law as attesting to Southern Rhodesia becoming a civilised society by protecting its children.[23] In addition, Colonel Heyman argued that there was no evidence of increase in child ill-treatment in the colony, but since the law was necessary in South Africa, it might be just as well to have the Rhodesian law coincide with the law of the Union."[24] In this respect, Southern Rhodesia wanted to maintain its relevance as a potential destination for settlers by enacting legislation in line with trends within the Empire. Heyman's statement also validated the claim that Southern Rhodesia was in a sense a "second South African frontier" because its legal system, civil service and "native" policies drew from the Union's Roman Dutch laws.[25]

The economic and social developments of the 1920s threatened to disrupt the proper maturation of Rhodesian born white youths by predisposing them to poverty and crime. As early as 1922, authorities were worried at the steady increase in Rhodesian born white youths struggling to find employment.[26] In addition, there was a vulnerability of white artisans to African competition for jobs during this period. As a result, in the 1920s the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party proposed a legal job colour bar but colonial need for cheap labour and the lack of unity among white labour unions, and between unions and employers proved an obstacle to such legislation.[27] The emergence of African artisans proved a particular problem because they could be employed at lower wage rates than whites. To a degree, the growth of a class of African artisans signified the inherent contradiction of the colonial educational policy which provided Africans with practical as opposed to literary education. The reconfiguration of African education to focus on more practical and skills based education presided over by Keigwin during the immediate post-First World War period gathered pace in the mid to late 1920s largely because more mission schools were providing practical education and steadily undermined white interests on the job market. In this respect, the 1920s signified the first real concerns about a growing number of unemployed white youths.

[23] NAZ SRG 3, *Legislative Council Debates*, 16 May, 1918, Column 297.
[24] *Ibid*, Column 296.
[25] Kennedy, *Islands of White*, p.11.
[26] NAZ A8/1/8 Report of the Civil Commissioner, Salisbury, 1922, p.6.
[27] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, p.191.

Post war developments set the tone for colonial authorities to reconfigure white education for a more practical skill based system especially for lower class whites who could not afford a tertiary education.[28] For example, Matopos Farming School was established in 1923 for white youths and was designed to foster a 'rural mindedness' (training youths to take up jobs in agriculture on the farms) by teaching Agriculture and handicrafts.[29] The school had a capacity of 90 students but its highest total was 50 in 1925 and the numbers declined to 11 by 1927.[30] Authorities equated the philosophy of a practical education at Matopos with that of African technical institutions at Domboshawa and Tjolotjo. White youths also competed for jobs with skilled and semi-skilled African men. However, the school carried a stigma as an institution for indigent whites and gradually the high hopes that parents had about the school began to fade. As it emerged, Southern Rhodesia was not ready for such a school because parents believed in a liberal education for the advancement of their children. In 1930, Matopos School was forced to close because of ever decreasing numbers of students.[31]

5.2 Youth education and maturity, British chauvinism and the Afrikaner factor

Education was central to values of whiteness and maturity.[32] In Britain, unchecked adolescent development was perceived as threatening not only the nation but imperial demise.[33] Rhodesian colonial officials appreciated the importance of white education and believed that all whites should be educated in order for them to have an advantage over the numerically superior African race. Therefore, the educational policy was couched in segregationist thinking and the perceived white superiority. Rhodesian officials feared that a lack of education, skills training and resources would place whites into competition with Africans, thus disrupting the colonial correlation between white race and superior social roles.[34] In addition, the education policy was linked to Southern Rhodesia's efforts at creating an international image of itself as a colony conducive to family life by providing a competitive system of education comparable

[28] Summers, 'Boys, Brats and Education', pp.136-139; For wider discussions on white education see N.D Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians: A History of Educational Policy in Rhodesia*, London, Longman, 1977.
[29] Summers, 'Boys, Brats and Education', p.146.
[30] Ibid, p.145.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid, p.134-135.
[33] Olsen, 'Towards the Modern Man: Edwardian Boyhood in the Juvenile Periodical Press', pp. 14-17; Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*.
[34] D. Kennedy, *Islands of White*.

to any in the world.[35] In particular, Southern Rhodesia competed to attract settlers with the British dominions of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa.[36]

Colonial education transformed significantly during the first three decades of white settlement. In the 1890s provision of education was the responsibility of religious bodies. The Education Ordinance of 1899 enabled the creation of an Education Department and in 1903 government aided schools were introduced.[37] In 1907 some 50 percent of white children of school going age were receiving some form of education.[38] The Education Committee Report of 1908 indicated that 37,6 percent of the children between the ages of 5 and 14 were in aided schools, 12,4 percent in private schools, 26,3 were educated at home and 23,7 percent were uneducated.[39] Some 435 children were being educated at home.[40] However the committee expressed scepticism at the quality of the education provided for home taught children. In the towns there were 138 children who were not being educated at all and 127 were being educated at home.[41] In rural Rhodesia some 254 children were not receiving any form of education and some 154 were tutored at home. Overall, the committee concluded that some 25 percent of children of school going age (7-15 years) needed to be planned for.[42]

The urban centres were relatively well served with schools but the outlying districts presented a problem given the sparse nature of white settlement and the difficulty of coming up with requisite pupil numbers to start a school. In the farming areas, the distances between homesteads precluded the possibility of getting as many as 7 or 8 children at one post when government policy required 25 to make up a school.[43] This presented a particular problem where the nature of the economy supported a predominantly rural agricultural settlement especially after 1905. In addition, white education was plagued by the different nationalities represented by the children in schools and the difficulty of securing and keeping teachers. For example, in 1914 a Marandellas village school had poor equipment, a wide range of ages in its pupils, inexperienced teachers as well as 9 children who spoke English, Afrikaans and Italian

[35] *Education Committee Report 1908*, p.4.
[36] Clements, *Rhodesia. A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society*, p.98. Compared with the Dominions and the United States, Southern Rhodesia struggled to attract settlers because it was considered to be in the "heart of darkness"; Africa. In addition, its land locked nature made accessibility difficult.
[37] *Education Ordinance 1903*.
[38] NAZ SRG 3, *Legislative Council Debates*, 1907.
[39] *Education Committee Report 1908*, p.5.
[40] *Ibid*, p.5.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] *Ibid*.
[43] *Ibid*, p.7.

among them.[44] However, by the 1920s Southern Rhodesia had a relatively well-structured system of schools involving state-aided, state controlled and denominational schools. In 1923, some 6,000 white pupils were in school at an average attendance of 88, 14 percent.[45] Apart from the provision of schools, Southern Rhodesia considered making white education compulsory for children between the ages of 7 and 15 years to improve accessibility.

The constructions of juvenile deviance were partly based on values of white 'respectability', and maturity (productive masculinity) and were centred on the forms of education which white children received. The dominant norms and values in white society and the colonial narrative were shaped by men of 'gentlemanly background' of the public school system in Britain or 'men-of-the-officer-class'.[46] A lack of education negated white values and increased the likelihood of one being labelled deviant. Although the shortcomings of white education reflected problems associated with nascent colonial white settlement, the cultural differences and racial attitudes in sections of white populations began to identify educational failure with specific groups of whites. For example, whites of British stock blamed the Afrikaners as a particular problem contributing to failure of white youths to reach productive maturity. From around 1900 the BSAC government undertook to pay annually one third of the salaries of the DRC schools teachers in Bulawayo, Melsetter and Enkeldoorn which were the only denominational schools to receive government assistance at the time in order to improve the quality of education.[47] The 1908 Committee report singled out the districts predominantly occupied by Afrikaners as presenting the greatest challenge to white education in Southern Rhodesia because a large proportion of them were 'extremely poor and could not send their children to school'.[48] The report further characterised the Afrikaners in the districts of Enkeldoorn, Melsetter and Bulalima-Mangwe as operating outside the cash economy with their wants being chiefly provided for by their own labourers.[49] In some agricultural districts, male children were taken from school at a very early age to assist their fathers on the farms and or kept at home during the ploughing and reaping seasons.[50]

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[44] Hodder-Williams, *White Farmers in Rhodesia, 1890-1965. A History of the Marandellas District*, p.70.
[45] L.H Gann & M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia: The Man and His Country*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1964, p.136.
[46] W. Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The lives of Kenya's White Insane*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013, p.15; see also, Rich, *'Chains of Empire: English Public Schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom'*
[47] *Education Committee Report 1908*, p. 9.
[48] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[49] *Ibid*, p.7.
[50] *Education Committee Report 1916*, p.4.

In addition, the 1908 Committee further identified apathy as a major problem among Afrikaners. In the Umtali District the children who lacked education were those of 'Dutch parents who have trekked down from Inyanga to Penalonga for purposes of transport riding but have not sent their children to school there'.[51] Despite government subsidies on their children's boarding fees for £2 10*s*, only 18 children who constituted 25 percent of children of school going age (6-15 years) in Melsetter Township attended school.[52] It was alleged that some Afrikaner parents did not send their children to school, ostensibly because their children were made to perform chores in cleaning their rooms in the case of girls and that boys made furniture thus being exposed to 'native' types of work.[53] From the First World War into the 1930s, the state was worried about illiterate whites that posed a danger to white power and were likely to drain the fiscus through relief programmes. Although white poverty, financial insecurity and parental apathy were common features of early Rhodesian colonial society, the uncordial relations between Afrikaners and the British whites contributed to value judgements in official reports against the former who held less political power.

The politically, economically and numerically dominant whites of British stock sustained a latent but aggressive intolerance of other white groups such as Afrikaners, Greeks, Jews and Indians.[54] British racial and ethnic chauvinism was expressed in Southern Rhodesian immigration policy where settlers of the 'right stamp' were preferred. Although the term usually referred to settlers with investment capital, often the colonial officials preferred whites of British origin. For example, the Immigration Ordinance of 1903 restricted the entry of Indians into the colony.[55] In 1921 there were 33, 620 whites of whom 32,203 were British by birth or naturalisation.[56] To a large degree, preferences of settler of British origin contributed to the low numbers of immigrants into Southern Rhodesia.[57] In this regard, notwithstanding the fact that whites were united against the 'African threat', they did not constitute a

[51] Gann & Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*, p.136.
[52] S. Sinclair, *The Story of Melsetter, Salisbury*, M.O Collins, 1971, p.53.
[53] *Ibid*.
[54] A. Mlambo, ''Some are more White than Others': Racial Chauvinism as a Factor of Rhodesian Immigration Policy, 1890-1963', *Zambezia*, Vol. 27, no. 2, pp.139-160.; see also, F. Clements, *Rhodesia: The Course to Collision*, London, Pall Mall Press, 1969; B.M Schutz, 'European population patters, cultural persistence and political change in Rhodesia' *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 7, (i) ,1973, pp.3-26; Kennedy, *Islands of White*; B. Tavuyanago, T. Muguti, J. Hlongwana, 'Victims of the Rhodesian Immigration Policy: Polish Refugees from the Second World War', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol 38, No. 4, December 2012.
[55] M. E Lee, 'Politics and Pressure Groups in Southern Rhodesia 1898-1923', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1974, p.121.
[56] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, p.82. Beyond the 1903 law on Indians there was no policy restricting whites from coming into Rhodesia but individual officials in the immigration office often turned down applications they deemed unfit on the basis of one's origins.
[57] *Ibid*.

homogenous entity. Overall, Rhodesian white groups were suspicious of each other and the whites of British stock considered Afrikaner traditions and culture as inferior to their own and a threat to development of 'white standards'.

Fissures within colonial white society influenced how the British constructed deviant behaviours almost immediately after colonial occupation. The original settlement of Afrikaners in Melsetter was led by Dunbar Moodie in the 1892.[58] Afrikaner settlement was part of Rhodes's policy to allow South African farmers to become agents of his hurried imperial claims against the advance of the Portuguese in South Eastern Rhodesia.[59] However, British whites widely believed that Rhodes' optimism for 'excellent class settlers' did not materialise partly because 'these [Afrikaner] farmers lived in mud huts, bartered food with Africans, lived on the margins of the cash economy and only purchased clothes and certain food items, and were often illiterate and did not see the value of educating their children'.[60] From the onset of colonial occupation, sections of British white society framed Afrikaners as an obstacle to colonial settler designs because they lacked the capacity to sustain superior white values and racial domination.

British whites vilified the Afrikaner way of life and took exception to criticise and label them whenever they found occasion to do so. In 1903, the Inspector of schools in the Melsetter district reported that 'some white people were in the habit of taking letters they received to be read by natives who had been educated at Mission schools.'[61] In 1918 the NC for Melsetter reported that a considerable percentage of mostly Afrikaner children were receiving no education.[62] In the same year in Fort Victoria district the NC reported that Afrikaner children 'are growing up without even the most elementary knowledge.'[63] British whites' revulsion of alleged Afrikaner illiteracy was expressed in strong terms; 'any person with the slightest of pretence to a little learning…, would always be held by them [Afrikaners] only a little lower than angels.'[64] Indeed, the above quote is laden with exaggeration and reveals the prejudicial view of the author towards the Afrikaners in Southern Rhodesia. Although the sustained reference to perceived Afrikaner illiteracy may, partly, have been a product of uncordial social

[58] Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia,' p.173.
[59] Ibid, p.174.
[60] Ibid, p.175-176.
[61] Sinclair, *The Story of Melsetter*, p.53.
[62] NAZ A8/1/8 Native Commissioner, Melsetter District, 1918, p.8.
[63] Ibid; Native Commissioner, Victoria District, 1918, p.12.
[64] Sinclair, *The Story of Melsetter*, p.49.

relations than an expression of reality, more importantly it highlights the fundamentals of an education for whites in a colonial system hinged on racial binaries.

The colonial state officials and parts of society constructed Afrikaners as an epitome of white racial degeneration against which 'respectable' whites had to plan. They perceived Afrikaner indigence as a blemish on white Rhodesian society because almost 25 percent of white births in Rhodesia were to Afrikaner families[65] with the percentage dropping to one sixth of the population by the late 1950s.[66] Poverty and illiteracy were framed as increasing the likelihood of inter-racial contact in violation of racial binaries designed to sustain white racial purity. By the 1920s, stereotypes against Afrikaners as illiterate and indigent were so entrenched among the British community that one advocate for Responsible Government characterised them as 'neither black nor white but really worse than animals, and… mentally deficient.'[67] Politically, those who were against the idea of Southern Rhodesia joining the Union of South Africa found a convenient excuse by equating joining the Union of South Africa with accepting all the negative labels and stereotypes that the British had placed on their local Afrikaner communities. According to Gann, the vote for Responsible Government was partly a reaction against the possibility of attracting poor whites from South Africa who would require land at cheap prices prejudicing the real estate industry.[68] To a degree, the decision whether to join South Africa or attain independence through Responsible Government became a narrow choice between maintaining 'white standards' and accepting 'degeneracy'.

Politically, the antipathy between Afrikaners and the British in Southern Rhodesia was an offshoot of the rivalry that existed between the two groups in South Africa. According to Hodder-Williams, Afrikaner apathy in the Marandellas area was taken by the British as part of Afrikaner cultural nationalism against English as the medium of instruction in schools.[69] In 1914, a Reverend Bandenhorst of the DRC Melsetter 'totally disagreed with the too English

[65] The highest percentage of Afrikaner population in Southern Rhodesia is a subject of debate. Scholarship has put it between 15 and 25 percent of Rhodesian white population between 1890 and 1963. see Mlambo, 'Some are more white than others', p.150.
[66] D. J. Murray, *The Governmental System in Southern Rhodesia*, London, Oxford University Press, 1970, p.15.
[67] Quoted in D. Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980: 'The Lost Dominion,'' p.124.
[68] Gann, *A history of Rhodesia: Early days to 1934*, p. 238.
[69] Hodder-Williams, *White Farmers in Rhodesia, 1890-1965. A History of the Marandellas District,* p.73; see also, Mlambo 'Some are more white than others', p.146. The Jameson Raid and the Anglo-Boer War at the turn of the 20th century dealt irreparable damage to British-Afrikaner relations and sowed the seeds of hostility and mutual suspicion. In addition, some Afrikaners openly supported joining the Union in Southern Rhodesia's 1922 referendum. This increased suspicions among sections of British whites in Southern Rhodesia about Afrikaner intentions.

Spirit at a School.'[70] Whites of British origin regarded Afrikaners with mistrust and considered them a Trojan Horse of Afrikaner nationalism into the northern frontiers of South Africa largely because they kept a distinct language, culture, and religion and identified with South African Afrikaners more than any other section of Southern Rhodesia white society.[71] The language and cultural separation between the British and the Afrikaners became the basis for antipathy and its manifestations engendered the entrenchment of stereotypes of deviance against the latter because they held less political power. British fear of Afrikaner nationalism in Southern Rhodesia may explain why the colonial government was slow at standardising the use of Dutch in Afrikaner schools up to World War One. By the 1950s Afrikaans language was a medium of instruction in a few schools and only until Standard IV.[72] In this respect, the differences between Afrikaners and the British in Southern Rhodesia were an extension of the political and social relations in South Africa. Relations between these two groups added another dimension to Southern Rhodesia as the 'second South African frontier'.

Despite the stereotype of indigence being readily associated with Afrikaners, there were also whites of British origin who lived in squalor settlements, with malnutrition and illiteracy. For example, children of British artisans working on mines and the railways did not receive proper education largely because their parents would frequently move from one mining town to another as and when their jobs demanded.[73] Rhodes' vision of an 'excellent class settlers' and the transfer of an English aristocracy to Southern Rhodesia proved unachievable from the onset of settlement.[74] Even the pioneer column which also comprised freebooters could not sustain the vision. However, the Great Depression changed three things. First, the 1930s threatened to drag a larger proportion of British white society into conditions of abject poverty, the symbol of which the state had always feared and resented in Afrikaners. Second, until the 1930s, poverty did not threaten white social fabric because it existed in the 'other' who was not part of the dominant whites. Third, the depression transformed white poverty and youth crime into an increasing urban problem. In this context, white juvenile delinquency became a state recognised social problem.

The development of deviance and delinquency among whites had a solid economic explanation that found expression in racial, ethnic and cultural prejudices. The Rhodesian colonial system

[70] Sinclair, *The Story of Melsetter*, p.69.
[71] Murray, *The Governmental System in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.14-15.
[72] Hodder-Williams, *White Farmers in Rhodesia, 1890-1965. A History of the Marandellas District*, p.73
[73] *Education Committee Report 1908*, p.6.
[74] Hoddder-Williams, *White Farmers in Rhodesia, 1890-1965: A History of the Marandellas District*, p.15.

lacked the capacity to sustain all whites at the standards it deemed appropriate and state officials conveniently blamed Afrikaners for undermining state efforts at white social welfare and sustaining white superiority. Colonial policy required settlers with investment capital but these did not come in requisite numbers. The position of Afrikaners in Southern Rhodesia was symptomatic of the limitations of state policies on white economic and social welfare. This was particularly true for the Company rule years (1890-1923) where the BSAC had to balance expenditure for state making and the profit motive to satisfy its shareholders. After 1923 the Responsible Government consolidated white economic interests and simultaneously the differences between Afrikaners and British whites became even more entrenched.

5.3 'Spectre of the poor white problem': The Great Depression and state 'discovery' of White Juvenile Delinquency

The Great Depression of the 1930s and the ensuing economic and social shocks transformed Southern Rhodesian society's social fabric. Thousands lost their jobs (black and white) in industry and commerce due to viability crisis, farmers were forced off the land as commodity prices fell, and the national income plummeted. The onset of the depression in 1929 and the fall of commodity prices saw cotton and tobacco farmers moving to maize production to offset losses but between 1930 and 1931 maize prices also dropped from 10 to 4 shillings per bag.[75] However, the production cost remained at 8 shillings per bag.[76] In addition, Southern Rhodesia's national income fell from £13, 9 million to £8, 7 million between 1929 and 1931.[77] In 1933 a conservative estimate placed white male unemployment at 830 of whom 430 were married men.[78] Of the total number of unemployed 130 were Farmers, 92 Clerks and 82 were youths.[79] White male poverty was a source of a strong strain of disillusionment because they had to be breadwinning patriarchs able to provide for their families and uphold white prestige and defend the Empire.

White poverty affected Rhodesian social fabric and family life. As the household income fell, poverty created unwholesome home and social environments characterised by failure of parents to provide for their children's needs and a weakening of parental control. Such an environment

[75] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle* p.172.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid*, p.171.
[78] *Report on the Unemployment and the Relief of Destitution in Southern Rhodesia*, 1934, p.4.
[79] *Ibid*, p.5.

engendered a disaffected youth some of whom were involved in crime in a society whose shifting moral boundaries violated the sustenance of racial binaries and 'respectability' of the white race. Growing unemployment and poverty among Rhodesian whites during the depression years evoked the spectre of the South African poor white problem. In South Africa, the Poor White Problem was a particular pre-occupation for government, policy makers and civil society.[80] In Southern Rhodesia the term 'Poor White' was used in reference to 'men accustomed to and content with a very low standard of living, that appear to be incapable, for various reasons, of keeping employment or maintaining themselves without assistance from the state or charitable organisations'.[81] The onset of the depression, however, enlarged this group and added those who could not find employment.

When the effects of the depression set in, the African threat to white youths in the artisanal professions increased. The economic hardships of the depression resulted in the search for cheaper goods and services and this increased the demand for African trades and other businesses and the number of African service providers increased from 864 to 3545 between 1930 and 1938.[82] Phimister observed that,

> These figures embraced builders, carpenters, painters, plumbers, transport riders, well sinkers, tailors, cobblers, laundrymen and herbalists… Their ranks were further swelled by graduates from mission schools, and later those who benefitted from mission schools, and later those who benefited from the popular demand for education, especially from the mid-1930s onwards.[83]

Increase in African trades threatened white artisans and was directly linked to white unemployment. White youths could not compete for jobs with African men who had a more practical and skills based education. Meanwhile, white population rose from 39,470 in 1926 to 55, 570 in 1936 at a time when white economic interests were under threat from global factors and African competition at home.[84]

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[80] White poverty in South Africa developed in the wake of the economic and social processes wrought by the minerals revolution and became a problem for politicians and social planners for the greater part of the twentieth century; C. Bundy, 'Vagabond Hollanders and Runaway Englishmen: White Poverty in the Cape Before Poor Whiteism', in W. Beinart, P. Delius and S. Trapido (eds), *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa 1850-1930*, Johannesburg, 1986, pp.100-128; R. Morell (ed.), *Poor Whites White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa 1880–1940*, Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992; C. van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886 – 1914*, Volume 2, *New Nineveh*, Johannesburg, 1982.

[81] *Report on the Unemployment and the Relief of Destitution in Southern Rhodesia*, p.24.

[82] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, p.190.

[83] *Ibid*; see also, V. Wild, 'Black Competition or White Resentment? African retailers in Salisbury, 1935-1953', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2007, pp.177-190; Wild, 'An Outline of African Business History in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Zambezia*, Vol. xix, No.1, 1990, pp.19-46.

[84] Gann & Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*, p.110.

Southern Rhodesian officials took the correlation of poverty and deviance as the basis for identifying delinquents and potential delinquents. Children from poor families were viewed as potential delinquents because they lived on the fringes of white society and, therefore, did not conform to the ideals 'whiteness'. In 1931 the Director of Education observed that poverty among whites resulted in parents' failure to provide for their children and such children developed delinquency tendencies with the commonest offence being theft.[85] Other offences included malicious injury to property, assault and housebreaking.[86] In particular, delinquency labels were attached on children from large poor families who were in receipt of government rations and considered likely to indulge in delinquent behaviours.[87] In 1932 representatives from the CID, Department of Education and Department of Justice submitted to the government a document on the incidence of juvenile delinquency.[88] However, the report did not provide any statistical data but the common denominator in the identified cases was poverty and lax parental control.[89] In this respect, juvenile delinquency was framed as a lower class white problem. Common childhood mischief among children from poor families was likely magnified as a harbinger of delinquency. Therefore, officials took poverty and deviance as two sides of the same coin.

Poverty was framed as the harbinger of racial contamination between Africans and Whites. Through the influences of social Darwinism, inferior races were believed to have a contaminating effect on superior ones and, in particular, poor whites had to be rescued to preserve the purity and superiority of the white race.[90] In Southern Rhodesia in 1931 the CID at Que Que recommended that Douglas (13) and Ronald (9) be considered for the proposed Industrial School largely because, 'it is well known that these children mix with natives in play, and are not cared for as they might be by their parents who are in receipt of government rations and are in a very poor way (sic)'.[91] In a similar report from Bulawayo, juveniles Peter and James Quinn were deemed 'out of control'. However, what worried the authorities most was that "they frequent native compounds and return with 'Bicycles Cigarettes' [An African brand]

[85] NAZ S824/345/1, Education: European, Asian and Coloured Division: Industrial Schools, 1931-1934, Director of Education to all Magistrates, Circular. 03 July 1931.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] *Report on Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia, December 1935*, p.1.
[89] NAZ S824/345/1, Education: European, Asian and Coloured Division: Industrial Schools, July 20, 1931-01 February, 1934; Inspector of Schools, Bulawayo, to Director of Education 17 March 1932.
[90] S. Dubow, 'Race, Civilisation and Culture: The Elaboration of Segregation Discourse in the Inter-War Years', African Studies Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986, pp.5-8.
[91] NAZ S824/345/1, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, July 20 1931-February 01 1934, CID Detective Sergeant, Que Que to Assistant Magistrate, Que Que, 01 October 1931.

and other articles'.[92] In addition, 'they beg or steal these from natives as they have no money to buy them'.[93] Similarly, the 1960s triggered a 'moral panic' in sections of South African white society because some white youths fraternised across colour lines at the peak of youth popular culture in violation of ideals of apartheid.[94] In this respect, in Southern poverty increased racial contamination and the Rhodesian state had to protect white youths. In contrast, however, South African concerns about white racial contamination arose at a time when there was an economic boom and the expansion of youth popular culture that transcended colour lines and increased interaction.

From the foregoing, while theft constituted a crime, authorities regarded stealing from Africans as sacrilegious in a colonial context where perceived white 'superiority' was sometimes synonymous with infallibility. Stealing from Africans by a member of a superior white race, therefore, had a double meaning; it broke the law and embarrassed the white race. Similarly, juvenile delinquency in wartime Germany presented similar problems. During the First World War if a juvenile stole from a prisoner of war, judges regarded this behaviour 'anti-German' and likely 'damage the respect for our nation'.[95] German society regarded itself as superior to all else and acts of theft were morally base especially when committed on an 'inferior'.[96] In Southern Rhodesia, if a white juvenile stole from an African they transgressed racial, cultural and legal boundaries of colonial society.

White poverty among youths justified state paternalism rationalised to perform the function of guardian in place of 'failed parents'. In 1928 legislator Tawse Jollie charged; 'we cannot rely on parents of this country to do their duty invariably in regard to these children'.[97] The Southern Rhodesia Children's Protection and Adoption Act of 1929 empowered government to take over or transfer legal guardianship to protect white children and the white race. The case of the Van der Zandt family is a typical example of state paternalism. This family of seven children was declared 'poor white' by authorities because they were in receipt of government relief and were squatting on a piece of alienated land allocated by the Lands Department.[98]

[92] NAZ S824/345/1, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, July 20 1931-February 01 1934, Sergeant, Bulawayo Police Station to Chief Superintendent CID, 16 October 1933.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Grundlingh, ''Are We Afrikaners Getting too Rich?', p.155-156.
[95] S. Barnhorst, ''Bad Boys?': Juvenile Delinquency during the First World War in Wilhelmine Germany', in Ellis (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency and the Limits of Western Influence, 1850-2000*, p.133.
[96] Ibid
[97] Quoted in Summers, 'Boy, Brats and Education', p.137.
[98] NAZ S824/345/1, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, July 20 1931-February 01 1934, Assistant Magistrate Chipinga to the Director of Education, Salisbury, 28 July 1932.

Officials ruled that '…in their interest [Johanna, 15 and Aletta, 13] and the interests of the state' the girls ought to be sent to an established institution away from their parents to protect them from a poor home environment.[99] Practically, the state had assumed total control over these children because it judged the parents unable to bring them up in a proper way that upheld 'white standards'. Similarly in South Africa the state intervened on the part of weaker family members in order to protect vulnerable children.[100] In view of this fact, real or perceived white poverty was used by the state to determine the future of children from lower class families.

Southern Rhodesia's definition of juvenile delinquency was largely socially constructed and this caused problems for policy planners. In line with section 45 of the 1929 Children Protection and Adoption Act, juvenile candidates to the proposed Industrial School were supposed to be committed by the authority of the Magistrate. However, identification and recommendation for committal was done by Inspectors of Schools, even though the task was legally outside their ambit. Statistical data on indigent children and those deemed to be under evil home influences was gathered in preparation for the establishment of an Industrial School.[101] In 1932 Bulawayo Inspector of Schools recommended 36 cases of white children for certification to the proposed school only six of whom showed delinquent tendencies.[102] Given the nature of investigations into delinquency, school heads and Schools Inspectors, and not the courts, played a leading role. Such a situation persisted because there were no functional juvenile courts, notwithstanding provisions of the 1929 Act, and the majority of cases identified did not involve pure juvenile crime which the courts would handle but involved indigence, truancy and other forms of school based misdemeanours. The majority of delinquency cases involved socially constructed meanings of deviance and not necessarily the legal and technical definitions as enshrined in law. This extra-judicial imposition of labels rendered legal recourse ineffective. Consequently, in 1932 officials from the Education Department in consultation with the Department of Justice indefinitely shelved the idea of establishing an Industrial School because legally there were not enough candidates for the school.

Practically, conflating delinquency and indecency served the Southern Rhodesian authorities well in so far as they did not have to establish two different institutions for delinquents and the

[99] Ibid.
[100] Chilholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa: A Study in Class, Colour and Gender, 1882-1939', p.77.
[101] Evil home influences referred to homes where the parents were poor or were either drunkards and/ involved in prostitution.
[102] NAZ S824/345/1, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, July 20 1931-February 01 1934, Inspector of Schools Bulawayo to Director of Education, 01 May 1932.

indigent as was the case in South Africa. In Southern Rhodesia, juvenile delinquency was associated with lower class white male youths who were perceived to be gravitating towards indigence and were at risk of falling into delinquent behaviours. There was an assumption among Rhodesian authorities that an Industrial School was panacea to all social ills associated with poor childhoods which found remedy in skills training for the cultivation of a productive masculinity. This philosophy was part of a growing acknowledgement among administrators that the attainment of a white aristocracy and training all white youths for white colour jobs was impractical. This realisation was a continuation from the 1920s and influenced Huggins' educational reforms of the 1930s which sought to produce a more grounded and technical cast mind in children and not bookworms which the country's economy could not absorb.[103] In addition, this philosophy was driven by the capitalist labour needs of Southern Rhodesia and government policy to expand the class of white artisans and the lower ranks of white society provided the ideal candidates.

The Brady Committee of 1935 on white juvenile delinquency presented the continued tensions between a socio-economic and legal definition of juvenile delinquency. Initially, the Committee was an initiative of Bulawayo residents who felt that government was not doing enough to curb the growing incidence of juvenile delinquency before government took over.[104] Government officials and voluntary organisations were agreed on the existence of white juvenile delinquency but were increasingly at variance regarding its magnitude. For example in 1934 the Chief Superintendent of the CID vehemently refuted claims by the Rhodesia Lads Hostels Committee, a charity organisation for white youths, that juvenile delinquency was increasing alarmingly.[105] While the former measured delinquency from a legal perspective, the latter looked at it from a general socio-cultural angle. The increase in youth poverty was a source of panic for sections of white society and voluntary organisations who viewed it as a sign of white degeneracy. To a degree, the government planned against juvenile delinquency using the legal definitions while white society was in panic mode over the perforation of the fabric of white society due to poverty.

Despite societal panic and concern over juvenile delinquency in the 1930s, Southern Rhodesia's lack of interest in establishing a reformatory may suggest that white society was

[103] Gann and Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*, p.137.
[104] *Rhodesia Herald*, 6 December 1935.
[105] NAZ S824/345/2, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, March 1934-1937; Chief Superintendent, CID to Police Staff Officer, 17 September 1934.

more pre-occupied with the idea of juvenile delinquency and indigence rather than a real problem of delinquency itself. What was clear, however, was the fear of white poverty as it existed in South Africa. Government officials and voluntary organisations constantly made reference to the prevention of the development of a poor white class. The predominance of socio-economic considerations in defining delinquency and the use of schools to identify delinquents and potential delinquents also explains why the 1935 committee recommended that any planned machinery to deal with the problem had to be under the Department of Education because most of the problems emanated from the schools and some of these problems required social teaching and not reformatories.[106]

Evidence to the 1935 committee was obtained by means of requiring judiciary officers to provide incidences of male juvenile delinquency in its various phases throughout the colony. Although the Committee found it difficult to secure reliable statistics on the magnitude of juvenile delinquency in the colony for the period 1929-1935[107] it recommended the following; Government to appoint full-time probationer officers for Mashonaland and Matabeleland; that residential hostels be built for delinquents and that the education department should be responsible for probationer officers and juvenile homes.[108] In addition, juvenile delinquency had to be categorised into the three broad categories namely (a) delinquents needing control by commitment to an approved 'hostel' or 'home'(b) delinquents who required the supervision of a probationer officer and (c) delinquents whose criminal tendencies necessitate commitment to some reformative institution.[109]

Delinquents falling into the third category represented the most extreme misfits that Southern Rhodesia was institutionally and politically unprepared to handle. The 1935 report suggested that the more severe type of delinquent who failed to respond to probation and hostel treatment be committed to reformatory institutions in South Africa until such a time when the numbers requiring such action justified the introduction of the Borstal in Southern Rhodesia.[110] Arrangements to send delinquents to South Africa were in place beginning in the early 1920s through a bilateral agreement.[111] The cost of rail passage and maintenance of a delinquent in South African reformatories was between £50 and £60 but South Africa only accepted

[106] *Report on Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia*, December 1935, p.2.
[107] Ibid, p.1.
[108] Ibid, p.2.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid, p.3.
[111] Ibid.

delinquents from Southern Rhodesia based on the availability space in their institutions.[112] Although the exact number of Rhodesia juveniles in South African reformatories from the 1920 into 1930s could be ascertained, extreme cases were uncommon and sometimes the authorities rationalised by giving prison sentences to juveniles in the event that a place was not immediately available in a South African rehabilitation institution. In this respect, Southern Rhodesia was ill equipped to handle its juvenile delinquents.

Beyond its socio-economic and legal definition, colonial authorities in Southern Rhodesia associated white juvenile delinquency with mental degeneration in certain cases. The 1935 report highlighted that some juvenile delinquents were of low mental capacity and required special treatment. The Umvuma Public School was the case in point where 50 percent of the children attending the school were described as being below average intelligence and 35 percent were under nourished and poorly clothed.[113] However, authorities attributed the 'exceptional prevalence of dullness' in some of the children to a number of factors chief among them being heredity.[114] Although poor home environment and insufficient parental control were mentioned these were included only as adjuncts of genetically acquired incapacity.[115] The Committee recommended that pupils whose intelligence was 'on the borderline' were the responsibility of the Medical Inspector of Schools in co-operation with the Medical Superintendent of Mental Asylum. Consequently, Ingutsheni Mental Asylum was earmarked for the committal of the 'definitely imbecile juveniles'.[116] Indeed, the report was at pains to state that such pupils were not necessarily delinquent in the proper sense of the term. In this respect, delinquency was framed as a mental defect.

The association of juvenile delinquency with mental defects represented Southern Rhodesia white society's fear of social misfits. This fear bordered on resentment as expressed through the desire to 'classify' and 'put away' groups of people which were considered to be a blemish on white racial purity and superiority. In 1939 the Medical Director, Dr A.P Martin echoed the sentiment of the 1935 report that 'the delinquent was usually a dull and backward child, falling

[112] NAZ S824/345/2 Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1934-1937.
[113] NAZ S824/345/2 Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1934-1937, Welfare Officer, J.H Andrews to Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 12 July 1935; Attachment to the Report on Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia, December 1935, p.1.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

below the intelligence quotient', was 'sub-normal' and required special schools.[117] However, some officials charged that delinquency was a result of a 'bad' environment rather than a moral defect in the boys. Magistrate W.C Robertson of Bulawayo, for instance, mentioned that 99 percent of the children who went before the courts did not have inherent delinquent tendencies but were swayed by their environment'.[118] The Southern Rhodesian case reflects Gerald O'Brien's argument that the pseudo-scientific framing of feeble-mindedness was designed to justify stigma and state social control measures against the 'sufferers'.[119] Such framing also reinforced power relations and were an affirmation of dominant ideals and normative values. In the case of Southern Rhodesia images of delinquency and feeblemindedness were applied on those operating on the fringes of white society as a way of 'purifying' the dominant race.

Below is a table that shows how juvenile delinquency cases were handled between the years 1929 and 1935.

Table 9: Nature of White Juvenile Delinquency cases and their disposal, 1929 to 1935

	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Sentenced to detention in Union Reformatories	2	0	2
Sentenced in Juvenile Courts (exclude (a) above)	25	1	26
Dealt with by Police/Education authorities (exclude (a) & (b)	23	1	24
Lacking essential parental control and habitual truants (exclude all above)	26	0	26
Evil Home influences (exclude all above)	7	28	35
Total No. of cases	83	30	113

Source: NAZ S824/345/2, Inspector of Schools, Bulawayo, 21 March 1935.

[117] NAZ S824/345/3 Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1937-1939; Report of proceedings of Conference convened to discuss the Treatment of Delinquent Children in Southern Rhodesia, 06 June 1939, p.14; see also, Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The lives of Kenya's White Insane* p.94.
[118] NAZ S824/345/3 Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1937-1939; Report of proceedings of Conference convened to discuss the Treatment of Delinquent Children in Southern Rhodesia, 06 June 1939, p.15.
[119] G.V. O'Brien, *Framing the Moron: The Social Construction of feeble-mindedness in the American Eugenic era*, Manchester, University of Manchester Press, 2013, p.21.

As the table indicates, male juvenile delinquency was much higher than female delinquency. Those sentenced to reformatories constituted 7% of the total number of juveniles brought before the courts. This, perhaps, was a result of the cost involved in sending delinquents to South Africa and the availably of places in South African reformatories. The statistics above also justified the 1930s construction of juvenile delinquency as a white male problem. Cases that were dealt with by the police and Education authorities only were almost equal to those handled by the courts which may explain the predominantly socio-economic definition of juvenile delinquency. In addition, during the period 1935 to 1938 theft accounted for 157 cases, Fraud 8, assault and rape/Indecency with 7 cases each, Culpable homicide 2 cases, Forgery and malicious damage to property 4 cases each and other offences at 25 cases.[120] The prevalence of theft underpinned the association of juvenile delinquency with poverty especially among the lower class whites in light of the economic hardships of the depression and its aftermath.

The table below gives statistics of case disposals for the period 1935 to 1938 and the glaring trend of authorities' unwillingness to commit juveniles in reformatories.

Table 10: White juvenile delinquency case disposals, 1935-1938

Year	Police Caution	Magistrate's Action	Cuts	Fine	Prison	Suspended Sentence	Probation	Disposed of otherwise	Total
1935	23	5	9	-	7	1	-	1	46
1936	28	8	11	12	2	10	-	1	72
1937	22	-	5	2	3	4	3	6	45
1938	21	1	5	3	3	5	2	10	50

Source: NAZ S824/345/3, Report of the Probation Officer 1938, p. 3.

Over the four-year period, there were 30 cases of corporal punishment. This followed the government amendment of section 296 of Act 19 of 1926 (Criminal Procedure Act) that raised

[120] S824/345/3 Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1937-1939; Offences committed by European Juveniles and Juvenile Adults (1935-1938).

the age of juvenile delinquents from 16-18 years of age to enable corporal punishment to be administered to older boys as an alternative to commitment to approved hostels. Administration of corporal punishment, authorities believed, minimised 'unnecessary' prison sentences for those above 16 years. The use of gaol was a feature of juvenile reform in the 1930s. As the table above shows, 15 cases were sent to jail. However, juveniles who exhibited intermediate delinquency proved to be a particular problem for the colony. These juveniles were committed at Umtali Gaol along with the extreme cases waiting for passage to South Africa. Although special facilities were provided at the Umtali Gaol for separation of juveniles from older convicts, the former could not escape the stigma of criminality associated with gaol.

The tables above illustrate that the total numbers of white juveniles tried and or convicted of juvenile delinquency were low. However, in Southern Rhodesia juvenile delinquency was worrisome to white society not so much because of the numbers involved but because of what it represented in a racial colonial context. The edifice of white racial superiority and infallibility had to be preserved in order to sustain white dominance in politics, economy and society. Cases that were dealt with by police action only between 1935 and 1938, amounted to 94 over the four-year period which further suggests that white society panicked over social aspects of juvenile delinquency in the colony and not necessarily its criminal and legal elements.

5.4 State Response to White Juvenile Delinquency, 1920s-1939

A number of reforms made in the 1930s were part of new policy developments that began during the post 1923 period designed to secure white economic interests. In the 1920s, white settler society recognised and appreciated the growing needs of its child and youth population, many of whom were Rhodesian born. This concern led to the promulgation of the Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1929). However, the promulgation of children's laws was largely at the behest of proto-civil society organisations such as the LWG and other child welfare organisations. In particular, the 1929 Act was broader and comprehensive than the 1918 Act and provided for white children's rights, juvenile courts and juvenile certification, and social protection by establishing procedures for orphanages and places of safety.[121] However, just like the 1918 Act, the Southern Rhodesian legislators did not feel the pressing need for such legislation. W.M Laggate introduced the bill as seeking to provide for abuses that had not

[121] *Children's Protection and Adoption Act 1929.*

occurred in the colony but were likely to given the colony's rapid population growth.[122] In this respect, although the colony's legislation on children was in keeping with global trends, official attitude largely kept it in abeyance.

In 1930 two important pieces of legislation were promulgated namely the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) and the Compulsory Education Act. The LAA divided the colony into White and African areas and secured Whites' access to the most productive land in the colony. In addition, Southern Rhodesia promulgated the Compulsory Education Act (1930) which was a product of educational reform beginning in the immediate post-World War One period. Economic and social developments of the 1920s characterised by the development of a class of skilled Africans who threatened white interests on the job market made such legislation urgent. It enforced compulsory education for white children between 6 and 15 years.[123] This law set white youths at an advantage against their African counterparts by making their education free. The Education Act widened the social protection measures available to white children. In addition, it epitomised state paternalism by stipulating legal penalties for parents who did not avail their children for education.

The state instituted responsive measures against the ravages of depression on white Rhodesian society and categorising juvenile delinquency was central to managing the emergent social problem of poverty. The conception and management of juvenile criminality, therefore, also assimilated to broader state attempts to transform the moral and social order of colonial society. As the effects of the depression started to bite, the Moffat administration and more decisively under the Huggins government after 1933, the state widened social engineering programmes, extending government control and the regulation of Rhodesian society through legislation such as the ICA. The ICA removed the Africans from its definition of employee and disqualified them from labour process such as conciliation, arbitration and the right to go on strike.[124] More importantly, however, the ICA preserved industrial apprenticeship for whites. Effectively, Africans could not compete for jobs with whites because they did not have access to top industrial skills training. The ICA dovetailed with the Compulsory Education Act to secure the well-paying jobs for white youths. The 1930s, therefore, witnessed some of the most radical legislation aimed at securing white economic interest by legally setting whites at an advantage against economic African competition. The separate development of the black and white races

[122] NAZ SRG 3, *Legislative Council Debates*, 16 May 1918, Column 296.
[123] *Compulsory Education Act 1930*.
[124] *Industrial Conciliation Act 1934*.

or ‘two pyramid policy’ as Huggins had articulated in 1931 became the centrepiece of government policy in the 1930s. The identification and treatment of juvenile delinquency became part of the grand scheme to plot the shifting moral centres of white society where increasing numbers of whites were making the poverty bracket and failing to uphold ‘white standards’.

Huggins’ government had to deal with post-school unemployment at a time when white unemployment was at its peak. Between 1934 and 1938 the colony implemented educational reform which had a bias for skills training to accommodate the needs of industry and agriculture.[125] The Fox Commission (1936) on education upheld the new educational thrust which Huggins characterised as an education for ‘a finer training for life’.[126] Huggins stirred educational reforms away from the philosophy of producing civil servants which was the education linchpin at least until the late 1920s. Increase in white population by the 1930s meant that the economy could only accommodate a few in the white collar class of jobs. As part of this policy, Allan Wilson School began to cater largely for artisan classes.[127] At tertiary level, the Southern Rhodesia government introduced new technical and commercial courses at the Bulawayo, Salisbury and Que Que Technical Colleges.[128] In this respect, educational reforms of the 1930s were geared towards meeting the needs of the Rhodesian economy by equipping the majority of white youth with industrial skills for blue collar jobs.

Security of white economic interests also involved exclusion of certain groups and classes of whites from migrating to Southern Rhodesia. The legacy of Afrikaner indigence endured, thus hardening the ethnic divide with the English speaking whites and influenced policy. The government label of Afrikaners as ‘poor whites’ became the focal point of white fear and an ample justification to secure white economic interests and exclude Afrikaners from the future of Southern Rhodesia. Huggins adopted a more candid approach in denouncing white poverty. He remarked that the ‘the good Dutchman is as good as anybody else in the world, but it is the poor whites…that we do not want’.[129] As a result, by the late 1930s a new immigration policy stipulated that competency in reading and writing English was a pre-requisite for would be immigrants to Southern Rhodesia. This policy was designed to eliminate non-English speakers, particularly Afrikaners. Prior to the 1930s immigration policy favoured whites of British origin

[125] Zvobgo, *Colonialism and Education in Zimbabwe,* p.30-31.
[126] *Ibid*.
[127] Lowry, ‘‘Rhodesia 1890-1980: ‘The Lost Dominion’, p.140.
[128] Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians,* p.80-82.
[129] Quoted in Gann and Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*: *The Man and His Country*, p.136.

but this was not written down. The 1930s, therefore, represented a radical shift in immigration policy. For the state, the image of the indigent white Afrikaner drew heavy criticism and condemnation even within the judiciary system. Brian D. Beecroft recollected a case where an 'unsympathetic magistrate' sentenced a Dutch boy, a recent migrant, to six cuts with a cane for stealing a maize cob which judgement Beecroft deemed 'a miscarriage of justice…carried out in the spirit rather than the letter.'[130] Official perception naturalised indigence and delinquency as a normal Afrikaner state of being. However, poverty among whites of British stock evoked empathy, panic and the need to protect their economic and social status in relation to other races.

Southern Rhodesia's approach to white poverty was different compared to Kenya and to some degree India. The colony implemented measures to protect white society from African competition and poverty to enhance white economic security. By contrast, colonial Kenya and, to a degree colonial India, operated a blatant twin policy of preventing 'undesirables' from entering the colonies and also deported those who fell on hard times. According to Jackson, in Kenya those whose behaviour challenged the integrity of the European by leading a life of poverty were removed from society.[131] Similarly, Ann Stoler argues that in early colonial India the insane and aged were sent back to Britain and in the nineteenth century, British authorities institutionalised the 'unseemly' into orphanages, mental asylums, work houses and the old people's homes.[132] Southern Rhodesia deported white prostitutes who provided sexual services to Africans in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[133] However, deportation of whites on grounds of poverty was never part of Southern Rhodesian policy.

5.5 Establishment and Pedagogy of St Pancras Home, 1936 – 1939

Following the abortive attempt at a juvenile Industrial School in 1932 government officials turned to finding an alternative solution for juvenile delinquents. As a result, St Pancras Home, the first certified institution in Southern Rhodesia for white male juvenile delinquents was opened in July of 1936, seven months after the recommendations of the 1935 Committee

[130] NAZ ORAL/242, Brian Dennis Beecroft, p.4. Beecroft joined the Southern Rhodesia Social Welfare Department in 1949.
[131] W. Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The lives of Kenya's White Insane*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013, p.1.
[132] A.L Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power; Race and the intimate in Colonial Rule*, Berkley, University of California Press, 2002, p.35.
[133] Kufakurinani, 'White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1980', p.227.

Report. The institution was built on a 6,000-acre farm donated by the Anglican Church. The Southern Rhodesia government reluctantly collaborated with the Anglican Church who offered a farm and buildings at West Acre junction near Figtree as a home for male juvenile delinquents.[134] The offer was particularly attractive because it considerably cut the cost of establishing a juvenile institution from £5000 to £1750.[135] St Pancras became the first government white juvenile institution in Southern Rhodesia. Although the institution was established by the Anglican Church, it was run on a non-denominational basis with an initial enrolment of 12 males of between 11 and 17 years.[136] For its part, the government provided a classroom, workshop and farm training while the spiritual and recreational elements were the responsibility of the Home Committee and staff. The Education Department paid salaries of the administrators and gave an annual grant of £50 per child.[137] The institution was non-denominational in the sense that Government owned the facility, and the Superintendent and School Master were civil servants.[138] However the farm and buildings remained the property of the church.[139] Indeed, the establishment of the colony's first government controlled juvenile institution held ample promise in juvenile rehabilitation in the colony and marked a complete departure from the government policy which allowed the Roman Catholic Church to run the Driefontein Certified School for Africans. A government-controlled institution offered the state leverage to influence the curriculum and control finances.

The Director of Education also suggested that a country environment of the institution was most suitable for the institutions to ensure effective control and rehabilitation of delinquents as opposed to an urban one was. The urban environment and the working class culture were believed to have a morally corrupting influence on children and country environment was

[134] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Department of Internal Affairs, Minute dated 31 March 1936. Events in South African indicated that Juvenile Institutions run by churches were not very successful in achieving government set goals. The South African government alleged that church run institutions ended up operating on denominational lines much to the detriment of the juvenile reform process. By the mid-1930s the South African government had taken over seven of the nine denominational institutions. The two remaining were Langlaate Orphanage Industrial School, Witwatersrand (Dutch Reformed Church) and the Silesian Institute, Cape Town, (Roman Catholic). The argument was that church run institutions lacked adequate resources to provide for qualified staff and had a tendency to carry out work likely to be self-supporting rather than to equip the children for a life in society.
[135] Ibid.
[136] NAZ ORAL/CA 1 Frederick Sydney Caley, p.5.
[137] NAZ S824/345/2, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1934-1937; Secretary of the Treasury to Director of Education, 25 July 1936.
[138] NAZ S824/345/2, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, March 1934-1937; Secretary Department of Internal Affairs to Secretary of the Treasury, 25 November 1936, pp.1-3.
[139] NAZ ORAL/CA 1 Frederick Sydney Caley, p.5.

envisioned as the most ideal in the process of rehabilitating the delinquent.[140] In the case of Britain, Steadman Johns argues that years of exposure to the decaying urban environment gave rise to a degenerate populace unfit to reach maturity and reproduce its kind.[141] Indeed, images of social pathology, poverty and deviance in the Empire were linked with theories of urban degeneracy. In this respect, the rural location of the new institution was believed to have a therapeutic effect for juvenile rehabilitation.

The inception of juvenile rehabilitation institutions in Southern Rhodesia was influenced by events in South Africa. In 1932 the Salvation Army had proposed to partner government in running a juvenile institution at Fort Usher in the Bulalima-Mangwe District.[142] The proposal was rejected by the government for two reasons. Southern Rhodesian officials did not feel ready for such an institution partly owing to the costs involved. In addition, since South Africa was taking in the colony's extreme juvenile misfits, there was no pressing need for a juvenile institution. However, by 1935 pressure was mounting on the Southern Rhodesia government to act on delinquency partly because Southern Rhodesia had temporarily stopped sending delinquents to the South African reformatories following concerns over the control of the reformatories by the Prisons Department. At any rate, the transfer of delinquents resumed in the late 1930s when control of South Africa's reformatories moved to Education Department.[143] The Salvation Army proposal was rejected for the second time in 1935 on the advice of South Africa. Eventually, government agreed to the Anglican Church's proposal for St Pancras because the church provided the farm and buildings and was willing to let government control the institution.

However, St Pancras struggled to justify its relevance and remained a financial liability to government during its four-year existence. When the institution was opened in July 1936, there were no inmates until January 1937 yet there were some 13 juvenile boys in prison receiving 'special treatment'.[144] According to Sydney Caley, the first Probation and Schools Attendance Officer for Southern Rhodesia from 1936, 'there were never more than eight or nine at a

[140] Chisholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa: A Study in Class, Colour and Gender, 1882-1939', p.92.
[141] G. S Johns, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1971, p.285.
[142] Nhongo, 'Male Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia: A survey of the problem from the 1930s to the early 1950s', p.5.
[143] ORAL/CA 1 Frederick Sydney Caley, p.5.
[144] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Probation and Schools Attendance Officer, Caley, to Chief Education Officer, 05 May 1939, p.1.

time.'[145] During an Inspection in 1938, there were only five inmates on the books of whom two were absent at the time of inspection.[146] Caley recalled one occasion at a meeting with Bishop Paget of the Anglican Church and the St Pancras Home Committee when 'one member who was very peeved asked why I hadn't supplied St Pancras Home with the necessary inmates'.[147] In June of 1939 the Minister of Justice suggested that the history of St Pancras was not particularly pleasing maybe because it was established at a time when there were no sufficient numbers of delinquents available.[148] For its own part, St Pancras earned the reputation of being extravagant and for demanding too much money from the government. Certainly, suspicions were raised regarding what the money was being used for. In its four-year history, St Pancras had several of its financial requests turned down by government. For example, in the 1936/37 financial year its claims for additional catering funds were out rightly rejected by Treasury.[149] The Home had been allocated £600 for twelve delinquents at fifty pounds each, yet its full enrolment for that year would not exceed eight.[150] Furthermore, the per capita financial requirements of St Pancras were higher than all other European Boarding hostels in the colony.[151]

The situation at St Pancras was surprising because white society was worried by what it perceived as alarmingly increasing numbers of juvenile delinquents yet the institution could hardly achieve a full complement of 12 inmates at any given time. However, the problems at St Pancras could, partly, be explained by internal wrangling within the Anglican Church and financial mismanagement. There was competition between St Pancras and St Josephs' Home in Salisbury. St Josephs' Home was started in 1936 by Dean OWL Skey of the Salisbury Cathedral in his own home in Union Avenue for 'children in need of care' such as boys out of control, the homeless and destitute.[152] It was instituted to prevent children from becoming

[145] In 1936 F.S. Caley was appointed as Southern Rhodesia's first Probation and Schools Attendance Officer in the Education Department with an initial salary of £500-£600 per annum with £50 marriage allowance. Caley's appointment signalled the antecedence of what would become the Department of Social Welfare in the 1940s. Prior to his appointment Caley worked in England as Probation Officer at New-le-Willows, Lancashire, and in 1929 he was appointed Probation Officer at Stratford Police Court in London.
[146] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Notes by Supervisor of School Boarding Houses on St Pancras, 03 January 1938.
[147] NAZ ORAL/CA 1 Frederick Sydney Caley, p.5.
[148] NAZ S824/345/4, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1940-1947; St Josephs' Report of Proceedings of Conference on the Treatment of Delinquent Children in Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 06 June 1939.
[149] Ibid.
[150] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents,1937-1939; Secretary of the Treasury to Director of Education, 25 July 1937.
[151] Ibid.
[152] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents,1937-1939; St Joseph's House Annual Report 1938, p.4.

delinquents. Consequently, St Pancras and St Josephs' became rival institutions which competed for inmates although the two institutions were technically serving different functions. A number of boys who might otherwise have gone to St Pancras went to St Joseph. In this respect, St Pancras suffered from the internal politics of the Anglican Church.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the pedagogy of St Pancras reflected the dominant thinking of the 1930s. The institution reflected the broader state programmes of social engineering in the wake of the great depression. Its curriculum was designed to instil a sense of responsibility and a work ethic in its inmates. Since officials strongly believed in the correlation between delinquency and poverty, the philosophy of rehabilitation was designed to instil a productive maturity in children from poor backgrounds and enable them to become 'breadwinning patriarchs' as was expected of white males.[153] Inmates were expected to clean their own rooms in order to nurture personal discipline and hygiene, and various trades were taught which included gardening, elementary engineering, woodwork and stock rearing.[154]

Practical subjects were a particular focus at St Pancras because the boys proved backward in the three 'Rs', expressed a loathing for school and they required much patience in teaching.[155] In 1938, the Institution purchased 14 cows and 1 bull at the cost of £111 and pig runs were constructed with a view to teaching animal husbandry.[156] Inmates were also engaged in chicken projects and a dozen animal books were purchased for the library.[157] In addition, some 25 acres of land were put under the plough for the production of maize, potatoes, beans, corn, cowpeas and sweet potatoes. When TW Stead from Natal was appointed as School Master in 1938, the Superintended of St Pancras wrote, 'He is enthusiastic and reliable and the right man for the job. With his influence, there will be an added emphasis on physical fitness and the practical side of Agriculture.'[158] In addition, St Pancras did not offer any form of secondary education. In this respect, the state fostered a 'rural mindedness' in white youths in juvenile rehabilitation

[153] See Summers, ''Boys, Brats and Education': Reproducing White Maturity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1915-1935," p.132.
[154] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents,1937-1939; Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, 06 June 1939, p.12.
[155] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; St Pancras Superintendent report for the period 01 July 1936 to 31 September 1937, p.3.
[156]NAZ S824/345/, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Minutes of Meeting of the St Pancras Home Committee Held at Southern Life Offices, 07 October 1938, p.1.
[157] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; St. Pancras Superintendent, PC Sykes report to the St Pancras Home Committee, 19 May 1938, p.1.
[158]NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents,1937-1939; St. Pancras Superintendent's report to the St Pancras Home Committee, 18 May 1938, p.1.

centres. However, ordinarily white youths were averse to taking agricultural jobs and rehabilitation institutions afforded the state the room to engineer the kind of youth they wanted.

Two things can be deducted from the above. First, the government appreciated that not all white children could be developed for white-collar jobs through a secondary education. As a result, lower class whites were being prepared for trades and generic blue-collar jobs. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 consolidated white workers' interests by disqualifying Africans from the definition of worker and safe guarded white privilege to apprenticeship in trades. As Huggins put it, the artisans formed the first line of defence to white civilisation and rule and had to be safeguarded from the threat of African competition.[159] Second, there was a deliberate effort at nurturing a 'rural mindedness' in lower class whites. The 1927 Education Inspectorate Conference and the 1929 Education Committee emphasised the need to cultivate a rural mindedness in certain classes of whites but highlighted that the presence of the 'native' and the attitude of 'poor whites' caused many to look on digging as 'Kaffir work.[160] Further, the 1929 Commission was concerned with inefficiency and suitability of the education system in meeting the needs of those entering the professions, industries, commerce, agriculture and mining.[161]

St Pancras was used as a de facto channel in driving state social engineering. The failure of Matopos Farm School in the 1920s showed that parents were generally averse to having their children pursue farming and looked upon Matric as the goal of a liberal education.[162] The pedagogy of Pancras was, therefore, a drive towards the practical needs of white youths who could not be accommodated in white-collar professions. White unemployment and competition from skilled Africans during the depression years necessitated educational policy changes and juvenile rehabilitation centres became a primary target for policy implementation. St Pancras became one of the many facets of social engineering in the Southern Rhodesia. Like in South Africa, Compulsory and Industrial Schools were a long-term strategy for the capture of children of white working class and unskilled lower classes respectively.[163] However, the impact of St

[159] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, p.192.
[160] NAZ S824/43, Juvenile Affairs Boards 1928-1947: Copy of evidence to the 1929 Education Committee, HD Sutherns, pp.1-2.
[161] Ibid.
[162] For the Matopos Farm School experiment see Summers, 'Boys, Brats and Education'
[163] Chisholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa: A Study in Class, Colour and Gender, 1882-1939', p.55.

Pancras as a social engineering measure was severely limited by the small number of inmates it could carry.

Skills training for a white productive masculinity were pursued at the expense of other facets of juvenile delinquency reform. Character reform through disciplinary action, for instance, was absent. Although St Pancras was not a reformatory in the strict sense of the term its pedagogy was closer to one for an industrial school than that of a juvenile delinquent's home. Consequently, difficult delinquency cases found little remedy at St Pancras. For example in 1938, one boy, William Laurent (17), became troublesome and authorities at the institution labelled him an 'evil influence' and danger to others only a year into his four year committal period at St Pancras.[164] 'Willie' was found in possession of stolen goods including an automatic firearm.[165] In addition, he had sold stolen clothes to Africans on the school and attempted to poison the Superintendent with cattle dip.[166] He also bullied and cheated other inmates at games. At their wits' end, the St Pancras Committee and administration sent the boy home to be supervised by his parents until such a time when the Ministry of Internal Affairs found an alternative for him.[167] Although this was one isolated case in the institution's four-year history, to a degree it proves that, overall, the institution was not fully equipped for juvenile character reform.

St Pancras' failures were partly a reflection of the lack of trained personnel in juvenile rehabilitation within its administrative structures. For example, Mr Donkin, the first Superintendent at the institution, was seconded from the Post Office Engineering Branch albeit on a short-term basis.[168] His work experience was not in any way related to his new job at St Pancras. In 1938, the Department of education advertised for the post of Superintendent and of the applications, eight were short-listed for interviews. All the candidates had some teaching qualification and experience, and some had youth organisation experience on an informal basis. However, from the total number of candidates only three candidates had either attended a juvenile court or visited a prison, but none had a qualification in juvenile rehabilitation.[169] As a last-ditch measure, in 1939 Government appointed Major A.I Rice from St George Home,

[164] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; St Pancras Superintendent, PC Sykes report to the St Pancras Home Committee, 18 May 1938, p.1.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents,1937-1939; Superintendent of St Pancras to Minister of Internal Affairs, 29 May 1938.
[168] Ibid.
[169] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Government of Southern Rhodesia, Educational Appointment: Superintendent, St Pancras Juvenile Delinquency School, 1937.

Johannesburg to take over St Pancras as Principal.[170] However, at this stage the fate of the institution was virtually sealed. Financial mismanagement and increasing allegations that the institutional was becoming denominational with aspects of the Anglican Church doctrine being forced on inmates left government with little choice but to close the institution.[171]

In addition, contrary to official views about the therapeutic effects of a country location, St Pancras' location undermined rehabilitation efforts. The majority of the inmates were taken from urban centres into an isolated institution located in the rural location and the removal of children from their home environments negatively impacted on character reform and societal reintegration. Discipline sometimes requires confinement 'a specification of a place… closed upon itself… a protected place of disciplinary monotony'.[172] However, the implementation of this form of discipline had problems because juveniles were robbed of their sense of community which was a fundamental element of their rehabilitation in a place where numbers hardly exceeded half a dozen at any given time. In addition, by 1939 there were growing negative reports about the failures of St Pancras engendering a lack of confidence within the Department of Justice and Magistrates became increasingly reluctant to commit juveniles at the institution.[173] This development kept the numbers at the institution very low. The isolated location of St Pancras and its inability to provide a sense of community for the inmates undermined effective rehabilitation of inmates.

When the decision to close St Pancras came in 1939, St Joseph provided refuge for the stranded juveniles. In 1938 St Josephs' had 15 boys and the numbers increased to 28 by the end of 1939. The maximum capacity was pegged at 30.[174] Of the 28, 17 were new admissions, six by private arrangement and eleven were committed on grounds of destitution.[175] According to government regulations those convicted of delinquency would receive £50 per head per annum, £48 for those committed on grounds of destitution and only £24 for those committed on private arrangements.[176] However, the administration at St Joseph questioned the efficacy of the government grant scale arguing that they lost out on the first scale. For example, in 1940 the institution had no case of a convicted delinquent, two committed for destitution and 12

[170] NAZ ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.6.
[171] Ibid.
[172] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York, Vintage Books, 1995, p.141.
[173] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents,1937-1939; Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, 06 June 1939, p.8.
[174] Ibid.
[175] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; St Joseph Annual Report, 1939, p.3.
[176] NAZ S824/345/4, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1940-1947; The Secretary to the Treasury to Secretary for Education Committee, 08 February 1940.

committed through private arrangements. In 1939 the centre had 16 convicted cases at £800 and in 1940 its 14 juveniles only raked in £384 because there were no convicted cases.[177] Of the 14 cases for 1940 there was one special case of a juvenile from Chipinga Hostel who was guilty of sexual offences. Surprisingly, this juvenile was neither charged nor convicted.[178] As a result St. Joseph got £24 for him, instead of the mandatory £50. St. Joseph's lost out on government grants scales because it had more cases of destitution than convicted delinquents. However, they felt entitled to more government support because they were providing an essential service. Society believed that destitution led to delinquency and the institution was preventing juvenile delinquency in white youths.

The pedagogy and eventual closure of St Pancras highlighted the fundamental element that in Southern Rhodesia legally defined juvenile delinquency constituted a small portion of what society constructed as delinquent behaviour. To this extent, the institution failed to have a full complement of 12 inmates in its four-year history. Given the social alarm and moral panic of the 1930s over the growing problem of delinquency it is surprising how St Pancras, the only institution of its kind for delinquents in the colony, could have been such a colossal failure. Rehabilitation methods at St Pancras reflected the colonial state's mind in achieving a society where whites were the dominant group while at the same time maintaining a stratified white society.

5.6 Delinquency, Racialism and Politics: The Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry (1945)

In the early 1940s, less attention was paid to the problem of juvenile delinquency. Upon the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 most juveniles and juvenile delinquents from the age of 18 were conscripted into the military and this temporarily solved the problem of post-school employment which the Huggins government had struggled with in the 1930s.[179] However, in December 1944 a bullying incident at Enkeldoorn Public School had considerable

[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
[179] NAZ S482/174/41, Vocational and Education Defence Training Scheme (V.E.D.T.S) Call-Up of 18 Year Olds, 1940 -1945; see also, Mada, 'Interventionism versus Resistance: The Militarisation of White Youth in Southern Rhodesia, c.1926-1980'; There is are no concrete statistics on juvenile conscription in the archival records but correspondence from the office of the Chief Probation Officer constantly made reference to the war having helped with regards to unemployment through juveniles being absorbed into the army. The military advertised the salary scales offered to youths and this had a positive impact in attracting young men. However, military conscription system was viewed by some youths as a stumbling especially those who wanted further their education in South African universities.

ramifications prompting the government to appoint a commission of enquiry into the operations of the colony' publics schools and the conduct of pupils and teachers. The incident linked the local, national and international dimensions of Afrikaner-British relations revealing the thoroughgoing differences and the changing nature of those differences. It revealed a complex of racial and behavioural issues and how local relations were influenced by events beyond Southern Rhodesia's borders. Also important was the fact that the nature of Afrikaner-British relations (re)emerged at the time of 'Second Colonial Occupation' with renewed imperial efforts at growing the number British whites in the colonies. The thesis discusses the impact of the events at Enkeldoorn School on Rhodesian society and government policy making.

On the 4th December 1944 Ivan Thomas Thompson (15) was taken to hospital in a serious condition after receiving a blow to the head by Schalk Willen Heyns (15) in an alleged bullying incident.[180] Thompson, later, died in hospital from internal injuries. In an unrelated incident, but on the same day, Christian Venter smacked and injured Peter Palmer.[181] The police investigation and Commission of Enquiry of 1945 that ensued unearthed an undercurrent of racial ill-feeling between the Afrikaner and British children at the school which presumably involved the teaching staff. Government expanded the enquiry beyond Enkeldoorn School to include other public schools across the colony. The commission had to investigate the existence of bullying at Enkeldoorn; existence of racialism at Enkeldoorn; nature of the supervision exercised by teachers in boarding houses; existence of elements subversive to the British Colony among staff and pupils and complains made by parents at any school in the Colony.[182] In total the commission visited 12 public boarding schools.[183]

Authorities judged that the Heyns–Thompson incident was part of a series of outbursts of racial feeling, accompanied by bullying that had characterised the Enkeldoorn School.[184] The commission's report acknowledged the existence of a serious culture of bullying at Enkeldoorn. In addition, the investigation pointed to the existence of a 'gang' of Afrikaner boys who showed animosity towards English boys or those who were loyal to British views.[185] The 1945

[180] NAZ S2089, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Minutes of Evidence (Courts), 16 January 1945.
[181] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Memorandum on the Death of Victor Thompson at Enkeldoorn School, 08 December 1944, p.1.
[182] *Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry Report 1945*, Southern Rhodesia Government, p.1.
[183] *Ibid.*
[184] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry, 1945: Statement by David Livingstone, Acting Headmaster at Enkeldoorn, 12 January 1945, p.6.
[185] NAZ S2089, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Minutes of Evidence (Courts), 16 January 1945.

Commission of Enquiry also concluded that the racial animosity among the children was a result of influences from their homes particularly what authorities suspected to be Afrikaner German war propaganda. Alleged Afrikaner sympathies for the Nazis were judged to be central to animosity, rivalry and bullying at the school.[186] The commission also concluded the existence of varying magnitudes of racial feeling between Afrikaners and the English in the various schools. However, the commission could not find any evidence of political subversion around the colony's public schools.

The situation at Enkeldoorn School was complicated by its history. The population in the immediate environs of the school was predominantly English but the district was inhabited by Afrikaners who were, by far in the majority. At the time of the Heyns-Thompson incident there were only eight English boys at the school. Socially these two groups did not mix and there seemed to be no common ground except at school functions.[187] In addition, the school had a history of difficult children and assisted with the Southern Rhodesia probation system. Between 1943 and 1944, some 26 boys and 15 girls at Enkeldoorn School were on the probation register.[188] This represented 30 percent of all cases sent to school by the Probation Officer.[189] These included children with behavioural problems, those from difficult homes and delinquents. In this respect, the racial and social composition of the Enkeldoorn School and its function as a destination for probation cases increased the potential for delinquent behaviours. Although none of the cases highlighted in the 1945 commission report involved those on the probation list, their influence on the general behavioural trends at the school could not be discounted.

The white community were united in condemning the unfortunate incident at Enkeldoorn with religious organisations and association leaders urging peaceful co-existence. However, the incident also opened old wounds and caused an outpouring of grievances by the Afrikaners in explaining the likely causes of alleged racial ill feeling within the public schools. Central to these grievances was the use of English as the medium of instruction in most schools and the prohibition of Afrikaans language in school grounds or at sports fields. Giving evidence to the commission, the Headmaster at Kingsley Fairbridge School in Gwelo admitted that English

[186] *Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry Report 1945*, p.2.
[187] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Statement by DKV Hall to the Public Services Board at their enquiry into the alleged lack of supervision in Huggins House, Enkeldoorn School; racial feeling and its treatment at the school, p.2.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.

was the only language allowed at the school despite Afrikaner children constituting between 25-30 percent of total enrolment.[190] Reverend Botha of the DRC and a self-confessed 'agitator' for Afrikaner rights was a fiery advocate for bilingualism.[191] He and others believed that the use of English in examinations contributed to the Afrikaner children scoring low in IQ tests because they did no fully comprehend the English language when answering questions.[192] Although the educational policy of Southern Rhodesia allowed the use of the Afrikaans language based on the pupil composition of the school, Daisyfield was the only school in Southern Rhodesia that exclusively used Afrikaans and had developed an Afrikaner culture and traditions.[193] Yet the government was suspicious of Daisyfield because they viewed it was a magnet for all sorts of Afrikaner organisations emanating from South Africa.[194]

The Second World War influenced incidence of juvenile delinquency in schools. The Headmaster at Chaplin High School highlighted that there was no racialism at the school before the war but noted that in the days of the war when the progress of war was not favourable to the Allied powers there was a tendency on the part of 'certain elements to belittle the efforts of the Allies'.[195] At Fairbridge Schools, fights and bullying outside the school grounds often began with remarks about race and there was an upturn in the number of racial clashes after the D-Day landing of Allied armies at Normandy.[196] The school head 'found that a swastika had been drawn on one of the walls with a remark in what [he] presumed to be Afrikaans'.[197] Sections of the British community accused the Afrikaners of Nazism and peddling anti-British sentiments among other underground operations. Authorities concluded that these sympathies for Nazi cause were diffusing from home and influenced by Afrikaans German propaganda. At Enkeldoorn, it was alleged that English children had been forced to pray for Hitler.[198] One of the pupils identified as part of a "gang" of boys accused of bullying English boys, Joshua Kirton, was brother to one of the soldiers dismissed from the army for insubordination.[199] In

[190] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Evidence given by F.J Farmer, Headmaster of Kingsley Fairbridge School, 14 January 1945, p1.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
[193] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Secretary for Education to the Commission, 11 January 1945, p.3.
[194] Ibid.
[195] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Statement by the Headmaster Chaplin School, 14 January 1945, p.2.
[196] Ibid.
[197] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Statement by the Headmaster Fairbridge School, p.1.
[198] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Statement by David Livingstone, Acting Headmaster Enkeldoorn School, p.13.
[199] Ibid.

addition, Kirton had transferred to Enkeldoorn School from Daisyfield, which authorities perceived as a bastion of Afrikanerdom in Southern Rhodesia.[200]

The Enkeldoorn incident was also linked to the Second World War and raised the question of white loyalty to the Empire. It followed the dismissal of 41 soldiers after they were Court Martialled for refusing to obey orders.[201] The majority of these soldiers were Afrikaners and when they returned home 'many of the Enkeldoorn School children took pride in this and on occasion ….a number of the children went around singing 'suikerbossie.'[202] In addition, it was reported that at Enkeldoorn School one girl made a Royal Air Force (RAF) badge from paper and pinned it on herself. To rival this gesture the other girls put up a badge purported to be the 'Labour Corps' badge and as one girl put it, 'suikerbossie-Ossewabrandwag'.[203] In an interesting remark from one of the School Prefects, Blignaut, bullying was an Afrikaner-British matter, and he 'did not come into it because he was Irish'.[204] Events at Enkeldoorn were politically charged and critical to the national security of Southern Rhodesia. In addition, it is interesting how the conduct of juveniles at an outlying school in the colony could have serious consequences on the perceptions about loyalty to Empire.

The above discussion reveals an interesting gender dimension. The participation of girls in the politically conscious youth misdemeanour at Enkeldoorn School highlights that female juvenile delinquency existed outside the sexual frame in which it was predominantly cast. Just like in the case of the Dadaya Student Strike of 1947 where girls led the protest, girls at Enkeldoorn School were no less politically conscious than their male counterparts.[205] While the overall perceptions of female juvenile delinquency confined to "moral" aspects but they operated outside this frame.

The question of loyalty to the country and Empire could not have come at a better time than the mid to late 1940s. The post-Second World War white immigration or what has been termed

[200] NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Memorandum on the Death of Victor Thompson at Enkeldoorn School, 08 December 1944, p.2.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid, p.3. *Suikerbossie* was an Afrikaner folk song. In Southern Rhodesia the name was came to be used to refer to those who had refused to serve in the war.
[203]Ibid. *Ossewabrandwag* (OB) was an anti-British and pro-German organisation in South Africa during World War Two, which opposed South African participation in the war. It was formed in Bloemfontein on 4 February 1939 by pro-German Afrikaners. Members of the OB refused to enlist into the South African armed forces, and sometimes harassed servicemen in uniform.
[204]NAZ ZBM 2/2/1, Enkeldoorn and Schools Commission of Enquiry: Memorandum on the Death of Victor Thompson at Enkeldoorn School, 08 December 1944, p.3.
[205] Refer to Chapter Four.

'Second Colonial Occupation' reignited ideas about advancing the Empire and increasing the number of whites in Africa particularly those of 'solid British stock'.[206] In 1945 the white population of Southern Rhodesia was 80, 500 but by 1951 it had increased by 53,000 which was the fastest rate of white population increase in the history of the colony.[207] However, between 1940 and 1951 some 53, 500 whites left the colony.[208] In addition, the white population increased from 135, 000 to 223,000 between 1951 and 1960.[209] Indeed, Brownell argues that the war of numbers occupied the mind of the state. As part of post war migration, the Fairbridge Memorial College for children was established in Bulawayo in 1946. This imperial childhood migration scheme received white children 'of solid British stock', educated them to occupy higher professions and elite positions.[210] Between 1946 and 1962 the school received 276 children between the ages of 5 and 13 who remained wards of the state until the age of 21 and their jobs included farming apprenticeship, banking and civil service positions.[211] In this regard, children's behaviour was closely linked to loyalty to Empire and the ideals of the Fairbridge Memorial College were a counter against values that had been expressed at Enkeldoorn.

Events at Enkeldoorn were antithetical to the post war ideals of increasing white population and it strengthened Southern Rhodesia's resolve to bring in 'pure [British] blood' to reinvigorate European civilisation in the colony. The Alien Act (1946) was promulgated to bar the entry of perceived 'Nazi sympathisers and Polish Fascists.'[212] While children at Enkeldoorn School were caught up in politics were interpreted as glorifying Nazism, Southern Rhodesia authorities and Christian organisations taught Christian moral education and discipline as a counter to Nazi brutality. In particular, the Boys Brigade regarded voluntary discipline as an asset to Southern Rhodesia and promoted obedience, reverence and self-respect achieved through sport, camps and wayfaring.[213] In the 1948 election, Huggins' supporters jumped on the rumour bandwagon that suggested that the Southern Rhodesia Liberal Party wanted to

[206] Uusihakala, 'Rescuing children, reforming the Empire: British child migration to colonial Southern Rhodesia', p.273.
[207] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p.273.
[208] *Ibid*. 274.
[209] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, p.81; see also, Brownell, *The Collapse of Rhodesia*
[210] Uusihakala, 'Rescuing children, reforming the Empire: British child migration to colonial Southern Africa', p.276.
[211] Ibid, p.278.
[212] For discussion on the Southern Rhodesia immigration policy on the Polish people see, Tavuyanago, Muguti and Hlongwana, 'Victims of the Rhodesian Immigration Policy: Polish Refugees from the Second World War'
[213] NAZ F204/GG9/6, J.A Anderson, Boy Brigade Honorary Colony Organiser to Governor General, 01 December 1953.

introduce bilingualism in Southern Rhodesia in the event of an election victory.[214] In addition, the Nationalist Party's electoral victory in 1948 in South Africa caused anxiety among the British element in Southern Rhodesia and vindicated their 1922 decision for Responsible Government.[215] These fears partly influenced policy on permanent residency for children. The 1954 Immigration (Selection) Regulations did not grant residence permits to children who were not the natural offspring, step or adopted children of parents resident in the Federation.[216] In this respect, events of juvenile delinquency at Enkeldoorn School became entangled in national political matters and the country's security issues as well as race and ethnic relations.

Conclusion

The racial and cultural differences between white of British stock and the rest of Rhodesian white society became the foundations that influenced what constituted deviant and delinquent behaviours. The enforcement of white values and standards was an intra-racial as it was an inter-racial issue. In addition, class stratification also played a factor with juvenile delinquency increasingly being associated with poor and lower class whites. In particular, the economic crisis and social strife of the 1930s threatened the preservation of white norms and values. White poverty undermined dominant white masculinities, exposed whites to racial 'contamination' by Africans and raised the possibility of miscegenation. Although delinquency was not defined only in economic terms, the social reverberations of economic shocks during the depression entrenched white fears and exposed white Rhodesian society to the wide ranging behaviours and social conditions which either reflected white social implosion or degeneracy. The history of white juvenile delinquency demonstrates the metamorphosing anxieties of white society over what it meant to be white. The moral compass of white society was shifting and along with it emerged more elaborate state programmes of social engineering in Southern Rhodesia. The symbolic, social, cultural and political implications of poverty amongst whites frightened ordinary members of white society, administrators and politicians because of the potential of poverty to erode the foundations of the racial order. Rehabilitation of white

[214] Clements, *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society*, p.85. There is no evidence to suggest that this was part of Huggins electoral policies. The leader of the Liberal Party at that that time, Smit, was of Afrikaner origin.
[215] Ibid, p.86.
[216] NAZ F122/L/301/95, Attorney General 1959; Acceptance of Dependent Children as permanent residents, British Immigration Section Board to Attorney General, 20 February 1959; An application by PW le Tannoux von Saint Paul, the German Consulate- General in Southern Rhodesia for his son to get permanent residency was rejected under the *Citizens of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and British Nationality Act 1957*. Although the office of the Prime Minister tried to intervene the application was not a success.

juveniles became part of a wider scheme of state social engineering designed to sustain whites as the dominant race.

The next chapter examines how the concept of ‘child in need of care’ was designed to address challenges of white juvenile delinquency from the 1930s, and how it epitomised state paternalism and racial prejudice regarding the place of white children in colonial society. The chapter discusses the foundations of the ‘child in need of care’ and the welfare ideal, its institutionalisation and how it came to be operationalised in Southern Rhodesian between the 1930s and 1960.

Chapter Six: Constructing and managing the 'Child in Need of Care': Policy and Practice, 1930s–c.1960

Introduction

The preceding chapter conceptualised the white 'juvenile delinquent'. The emergence of the notion of delinquency arose largely from the socio-economic processes of the 1930s particularly white poverty and its implications on the sustenance of 'white standards'. The pervasiveness and significance of economic insecurity worried white society and the state about the nexus between poverty, crime, idleness and moral decadence in youths. This chapter traces the notion of the 'child in need of care' and its operationalization in Southern Rhodesia. The conceptualisation and operation of 'child in need of care' from the 1930s to around 1960 epitomised how the Southern Rhodesian state operated a racially differential social welfare policy. State interventions were paternalistic and patriarchal and effectively allowed the state to assume parental roles over children of working class families. This chapter will focus on aspects of the legal construction of childhood, structure and operation of social welfare for white youth, education and training, and the institution of Juvenile Affairs Boards. These elements formed the social safety net for white children on which the concept of child in need of care was based. In addition, the 'child in need of care' category went beyond race and class meanings and assumed gender and moral undertones which epitomised white society's fear and anxiety over female degeneracy. While the concept of juvenile delinquent applied to white male youths from the 1930s to the 1950s their female counterparts were consistently presented in official correspondence as victims of societal ills and vulnerable to abuse and, therefore, in need of care and protection.

6.1 The Socio-legal foundations of 'Child in need of Care'

The concept of 'the child in need of care' emerged from the theories of urbanisation and degeneracy of late nineteenth century Britain; from the overcrowding and poverty of the urban slums emerged 'the child in need of care'.[1] Although Southern Rhodesia did not have poverty akin to the slums of industrial Britain, white children from the working class exhibited

[1] G. S. Johns, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between classes in Victorian Society*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1971, p.117.

'degeneration' which authorities detested under colonial rule. Working class families' failure to meet 'white standards' warranted state intervention. Legislator, Lionel Cripps affirmed; 'The white men were the aristocrats of this country and it behoved them to keep that position for themselves'.[2] Southern Rhodesia's child welfare philosophy was a product of metropolitan ideas transmuted into a colonial setting. Welfare societies such as the Bulawayo and Salisbury Child Protection Societies, LWG and the Federation of Women's Institutes of Southern Rhodesia (FWISR) advanced the racialised concepts of childhood acquired from Britain and the Empire. Some of these organisations were local branches of Empire-wide organisations and associations. The mobility of ideas and practices between metropolitan Britain and the colonies was central to the formation of imperial identities and sometimes blurred the boundaries of domestic sphere between that of Britain and the colonies.[3] Imperial ideals of childhood and social welfare, therefore, shaped the kinds of the Rhodesian state intervention in child social welfare.

Southern Rhodesia sustained a racialised child policy. From the beginning of the twentieth century, Southern Rhodesian voluntary organisations were involved in child protection and welfare of white children only. This dominant social and racial construction of a child was reflected in the framing of legislation and was central to making the colony a 'white man's country'.[4] The excision of Africans and the so-called Coloureds and Asiatics from the first children's law of 1918 was part of state attempts at side-lining and 'othering' sections of colonial society. In addition, the 1918 law was an offshoot of the South African Children's Act of 1913 and was influenced by the 1908 Children's Charter of Britain. In this regard, metropolitan laws were cascading into the Empire. The invisibility of the 'lessor' races, particularly the Africans, who were in the majority, was part of a wider colonial processes that kept them on the fringes of colonial policy issues except in matters pertaining to land and labour. To a degree, the removal of Africans from law was also part effort to develop common interests among Rhodesian whites and possibly forge a common white "Rhodesian" identity.

State exclusion of other races from law limited their participation in civil structures and reflected their lack of social rights. For example, the MSA and the JEA obliged African

[2] NAZ SRG 3, *Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates*, 09 August 1915, Column 198.
[3] Uusihakala, 'Rescuing children, reforming the Empire: British child migration to colonial Southern Rhodesia', p.274.
[4] The colonial project was exclusively envisioned to benefit the white race and policies were designed to make white interests paramount; see A.S Mlambo, 'Becoming Zimbabwe or Becoming Zimbabwean: Identity, Nationalism and State-building', *Africa Spectrum*, 48, 1, 2013, pp. 47-70

children to provide labour to the state. In addition, African youths were often treated as adults and were subject to prosecution under various colonial laws. Therefore, the citizenship of African children was characterised by obligation without rights. The Africans did not have the right to childhood because they were often tried in courts of laws under the same laws which applied to adult Africans. Southern Rhodesia's conceptualisation of childhood for social welfare was part racial and part economic. By conferring full child rights to whites only, the state limited the scope of mandatory intervention in child welfare in order to minimise the costs of administering the system.

Southern Rhodesia's racially selective application of children's laws violated international conventions. In 1927 it failed to meet the League of Nations requirements for juvenile courts and child support structures.[5] Authorities did not feel a genuine need for such laws because there was insufficient white juvenile crime in the colony to warrant the establishment of juvenile courts.[6] Consequently, the promulgation of the Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1929) was partly influenced by the need to satisfy International Children's law. However, the definition of child in the 1929 law still excluded Africans. In this respect, Southern Rhodesia failed to meet its international obligation in the protection of African children.

Significantly, however, the 1929 Act included the Coloureds in its definition of child. In 1931 there were 49 910 Europeans, 2 402 Coloureds, 1700 Asians and one million Africans and by 1941 figures had risen to 68 954, 3974, 2547 and I, 5 million respectively.[7] In this respect, the inclusion of the Coloured child in the legal definition of child, although positive, was a deceptive move aimed at giving an impression of positive gradual integration of all races within the framework of social rights. The Africans constituted the majority but remained outside the scope of law. It was not until 1949 when the state was pressured by realities of the post-war political economy and increased African urbanisation that it legally recognised the African child.

The concept of childhood centred on their presumed vulnerability. Probation and Schools Attendance Officer, F.S Caley, remarked that 'the juvenile should be dealt with as a child in

[5] NAZ S246/269, Child Welfare, Juvenile Courts and Erring Minors, 1927-1931; Questions addressed to Governments preliminary to the proposed study of the different Auxiliary Services of Juvenile, 06 July 1927.
[6] NAZ S246/269, Child Welfare, Juvenile Courts and Erring Minors, 1927-1931; Office of the Attorney General, Salisbury, to Colonial Secretary, 30 November 1929.
[7] I. Mandaza, *Race, Colour and Class in Southern Africa. A study of the Coloured Question in the Context of an analysis of the Colonial and White settler racial ideology, and African Nationalism in Twentieth Century Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi*, Harare, SAPES Books, 1997, p.145.

need of care rather than an offender' because the causes of delinquency in the colony, in his opinion, were largely;

> Lack of parental control; broken homes; indigence; too easy credit; lack of family life; inability to face the responsibility of life, preferring to take what appears to be the easiest course but which is in fact not so.[8]

By implication, Caley presented Rhodesian white youths as victims of poor parenting which was a common feature of the 1930s socio-economic crises. Children, therefore, required the care and protection of the state. This view reflected state paternalism that was also enshrined in law. The nature of state management over 'deviant youths' attacked patriarchal power by intervening on the side of weaker family members and assuming parental duties.[9] Drawing on the work of Erica Burman, approaches to children and youth issues are premised on their assumed innocence and need for protection from harm to enhance their development.[10] State formulation of youth policy and its implementation is often part of social texturing which identifies youth as 'belonging' and 'becoming' in the dominant group.[11] In Southern Rhodesia, the socio-legal status of white children conferred citizenship rights and nurtured them for the future perpetuation of white racial dominance.[12] One youth pledge captured both the 'belonging' and 'becoming' status of white youths under colonialism.

> Land of our birth, we pledge to thee
> *Our love and toil in the years to be*
> *When we are grown and take our place*
> *As men and women with our race*[13] (emphasis added)

However, protection and citizenship rights in white youth were elements contingent upon one (re)embracing of a prescribed social identity. As the previous chapter has shown, being poor and living on the fringes of white society could compromise one's citizenship rights and 'belonging' to the dominant race. However, the sense of belonging among whites went beyond racial solidarity and preservation of common interests. According to McDermott Hughes, whites in Southern Rhodesia developed a sense of entitlement and possession of the land and

[8] NAZ S824/208, Child Welfare: 1938-42, Report of the Probation officer, F.S Caley to Acting Chief Education Officer, 05 June 1939.
[9] L. Chisholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa: A Study in Class, Colour and Gender, 1882-1939', p.77.
[10] E. Burman, *Developments: Child, Image, Nation*, London and New York: Routledge, 2008, p.33.
[11] A.O Putman, 'Being, Becoming and Belonging', A Paper Presented to The Twentieth Annual Conference of the Society for Descriptive Psychology September 24-27, Estes Park, Colorado,1998, pp.15.
[12] I. Mhike, 'State Social Engineering, Youth Citizenship and Social Protection in Zimbabwe; 1929-2013', (CODESRIA Forthcoming)
[13] NAZ S824/345/4, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1940-1947; First verse of the hymn *Land of Our Birth*, adopted from the National Youth Council of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury Area), 07 December 1947, p.3.

its resources.[14] They believed that the land and its resources were part of their concept of 'whiteness'.

The 1929 law provided for the protection of children by establishment of a probation system, formation of juvenile courts, places of safety, government Industrial Schools and other certified institutions for the broad category of children in need of care particularly those with no homes and not under proper parental control or subject to immoral influence. Such children had to be sent to certified institutions until they were 18 years of age.[15] In addition, it consolidated state control over white children by giving the courts the power to remove a child from the custody of its parents where certain offences were committed and passing the parental rights either to a relative or to the state.[16] Furthermore, the law sought to minimise the plight of illegitimate white children by providing a mechanism where their status could be legitimised in relation to their parents in line with British law.[17] In this respect, the law consolidated state paternalism.

The Southern Rhodesia Education Department was one of the many arms of government which reflected state paternalism. Beginning in 1936 Southern Rhodesia's Education Department operated machinery for dealing with the neglected and delinquent children. This comprised several orphanages, boarding houses (with facilities for clothing indigents and boarding them during holidays), working boys and girls hostels, and a moral welfare home for the senior girls (St. Clare's) and a home for delinquent boys (St Pancras).[18] These institutions accepted white youths under the age of 16. In addition to St. Clare's by 1939 government certified institutions for destitute and maladjusted white children included St. Joseph's (after the closer of St Pancras), Daisyfield Orphanage (predominantly Afrikaner) and Rhodesia Children's Home Orphanage. In addition, there were uncertified institutions which received government grants namely St. Gabriel's Orphanage, Emerald Hill Orphanage and the Child Welfare Crèche, Bulawayo.[19] These institutions were not mandated to receive committed children but were part the wider voluntary committal process. Geographically, these institutions were clustered

[14] D. McDermott Hughes, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape and the problem of Belonging*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
[15] *Children's Protection and Adoption Act 1929*.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] NAZ S824/346/1, Destitute European and Coloured Children Maintained at Institutions; Memorandum on the Protection of Children date 06 July 1936.
[19] Ibid. Child protection and care through education was a right extended also to handicapped children. Over and beyond sending 'problem' juveniles to South African Reformatories and Industrial Schools, Southern Rhodesia sent children to special schools such as Hope Home in Johannesburg for the physically handicapped and St. Vincent School for the Deaf in Cape Town.

around the big urban centres, largely because youth social problems, particularly juvenile delinquency, were conceptualised as an urban problem. Coloured children were provided for at Embakwe Mission Hostel, St. John's Orphanage and Empandeni Mission Station.[20]

However, the Southern Rhodesia juvenile justice and welfare system had a limitation in so far as it was designed for those under the age of 16 years. There were no facilities for the juvenile adult between 17 and 21 years. Consequently, the Probation Office lamented the lack of aftercare. Below is a table showing juvenile crime and age distribution.

Table 11: Age Distribution in White Juvenile Delinquents, 1935-1938[21]

	Age	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**19**	**20**	
Year														**Total**
1935		2	4	4	9	2	7	3	4	5	1	1	-	42
1936		2	6	5	3	3	6	9	10	9	4	5	7	69
1937		-	-	3	3	3	5	10	6	7	1	2	4	44
1938		1	1	4	5	3	2	2	10	10	3	1	3	45
														200

Source: NAZ S824/345/3, Report of the Probation Officer 1938.

In the given period, white juvenile delinquency peaked at 16 years. This was particularly worrisome to the authorities because at this age the majority of youths were leaving school under the Compulsory Education Act and entering the job market. The lack of employment for post school youth, therefore, had potential dangers of nurturing an idle and potentially criminal class. Overall the 15-17 years had the highest numbers of offenders and post school care was needed.

Caley's overall assessment of the problem of juvenile delinquency in the colony between 1936 and 1939 was that the figure of just over 200 delinquency cases over four years was not excessive and that as a percentage of the child population in the colony, the figure was at par with delinquency in England and Wales.[22] In addition, he quickly allayed fears by stating that although juvenile crime was statistically worrisome, the cases were not of a serious nature as elsewhere in South Africa and Britain. To a degree, this reflected Caley's limited appreciation of his new colonial environment and its imperatives for racial binaries. While his comparison

[20] Ibid.
[21] The statistics are a sample of juvenile crimes and do not capture all the age groups included in the overall juvenile crime register during this period.
[22] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Report of the Probation officer to Acting Chief Education Officer, 05 June 1939, p.2.

of Southern Rhodesia with England and Wales was logical, it was insufficient consolation to a society in which white supremacist ideas flourished and where white domination partly thrived on impressions of white 'infallibility'. Although the numbers were small, they were sufficient to portray the white race in a negative light.

The table below shows the nature of juvenile crime over a four-year period.

Table 12: Offences committed by Juveniles and Juvenile Adults (Whites), 1935-1938

Year	Theft	Malicious Damage to Property	Assault	Rape & Indecency	Culpable Homicide	Fraud	Forgery	Other Offences	Total Number of Offences
1935	42	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	46
1936	39	2	4	3	2	4	-	18	72
1937	34	-	1	2	-	-	2	6	45
1938	42	2	2	1	-	1	1	1	50

Source: NAZ S824/345/3 Probation Officer Report, 1938.

Theft offences were in the majority and these, largely, involved petty theft of small amounts of money or articles.[23] White juvenile crime was comparable to those of African juveniles. Common theft among African juveniles constituted over 50 percent of the total crimes committed.[24] Assault and culpable homicide cases usually involved Africans as the victims and presumably reflected on race relations.[25] There was a sharp rise in the number of cases in 1936 which can be attributed to renewed impetus for more effective juvenile crime record keeping in light of the appointment of the Probation and School Attendance officer.

The implementation of child welfare suffered from institutional overlap. Caley was employed by the Education Department but he also reported to the Secretary of Internal affairs and Department of Justice.[26] He worked with Magistrates and the C.I.D. and upon his arrival Colonel A.S. Hickman who was then Staffing Officer of the B.S.A.P. issued a directive to all police units in the colony that juvenile cases (White and Coloured) be referred to the newly

[23] Ibid.
[24] Refer to Chapter Three
[25] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Report of the Probation officer to Acting Chief Education Officer, 05 June 1939, p.2.
[26] ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.7.

established office.[27] In his capacity as Schools Attendance Officer, Caley also kept track of school children through the schools record card system and received information on all school transfers for the whole country which 'was a fairly heavy task for my Secretary'.[28] The Probation and School Attendance Officer monitored student transfers with a view to identifying and limiting cases of absconding in light of the Compulsory Education Act and the growing problem of delinquency. In this respect, state social welfare for white children became formalised as a response to the growing needs of white youths but Caley reported to too many arms of government which overburdened his small office.

The formalisation of social welfare was slow owing to personnel shortages and poor coordination among departments. The overlapping institutions between departments of Education, Internal Affairs and Justice in dealing with the emergent problem of juvenile delinquency, to a degree, indicated the need for collaborative effort by various government departments to tackle delinquency. Inversely, it highlighted the colony's structural weaknesses regarding the general welfare services and, in particularly, child social protection measures. Co-operation between departments entailed too much paper work and the Probation Office had a herculean task during the formative years because of low staff levels and limited capacity. Operating from a single room in the Old Post Office Building in Manica Road in Salisbury with 'an ancient PWD desk, 3 chairs, which had come up with the pioneers…A second hand typewriter …',and Caley was left 'to make [his] own arrangements to find [his] own way…'[29]

The structure of co-operation between the departments dealing with juvenile delinquency soon proved problematic. Following Hickman's directive to police units to utilise the new Probation Officer in juvenile cases, the police gradually became reluctant, on grounds of sympathy, to bring juveniles before a Magistrate when they felt that a conviction could be achieved.[30] As a result of this trend, some juvenile delinquency cases never reached the courts because they were referred to the Probation Officer as a 'preventive measure'. However, a number of these

[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid, p.6-7. The Southern Rhodesia probation system also facilitated boarding school places for children from broken homes and for 'difficult children'. Caley's "chickens", as one school Head called them, were accommodated at Alan Wilson, Enkeldoorn, Umtali, and Plumtree Schools among others. Among other reasons, Alan Wilson School was chosen because it offered technical skills essential for equipping juveniles for the blue collar job market. Caley perceived that this system was effective in rehabilitation and development because juveniles operated in a normal boarding environment for nine months of the year compared to those housed in certified institutions. In schools, some Headmasters took individual interest in particular juveniles to ensure their positive development.
[29] NAZ ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.6.
[30] Ibid, p.3.

cases in which the police were sympathetic towards the young offenders would otherwise be in the best interests of the child if a conviction and certification to a rehabilitation institution was recommended.

The administrative chaos and shortages of personnel in the formative years of the development of child welfare also resulted in non-custodial sentences being given to juvenile offenders. In the post 1936 period, gaol became increasingly unpopular as a place to send white juveniles and St. Pancras had gained notoriety as an inefficient institution resulting in Police and Magistrates increasingly sending away delinquency cases with cautions and warnings largely because they felt that a conviction would damage a child's future.[31] The alternative was a probation system based on home visits by the Probation Officer. Nonetheless, this system was not very effective given the fact that there was only one officer for the whole colony who also handled adult cases dealt with by the courts, including those involving women and older girls.[32] It was not until 1942 that a female probation officer was appointed to the department, largely, to handle female cases. The Probation Officer was also mandated to attend court sessions involving minors upon the request of the Magistrate.[33] The probation system provided alternatives to certification but its limited capacity and the lack of trust in existing institutions rendered the identification and rehabilitation of delinquents a cumbersome and inefficient exercise. Between 1935 and 1938 suspended juvenile sentences and those dealt with by police action constituted 57% of the total number of juvenile cases while certified cases stood at 2,5 percent.[34]

Southern Rhodesia's concept of childhood was also shaped by its sources of recruitment for government officials. Despite Southern Rhodesia's close co-operation with South Africa regarding juvenile rehabilitation, the decision to recruit Caley from England was informed by the fact that the Education Directorate required someone with experience and training in child welfare inspection, a qualification which was not offered in the South Africa.[35] Adverts for the post were posted in South African newspapers but Caley was seconded by the Imperial Office to the Southern Rhodesia government.[36] To a degree, Southern Rhodesia always looked to

[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid, p.7.
[33] Ibid.
[34] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Probation Officer Report, 1938, p.5.
[35] NAZ S824/ 345/, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1934-1937; Director of Education to Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 24 January 1936, p.1.
[36] NAZ S824/345/2, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1934-1937; Acting Director of Education to the Controller Printing and Stationery, 27 March 1936.

Britain as the best place to recruit for skills including teachers and nurses up until the 1940s.[37] Caley went on to influence the structure and operations of Southern Rhodesia's child welfare for many years.

The Probation and Schools Attendance Officer took particular interest in probationary services and influenced the structuring of the social welfare in Southern Rhodesia. Despite the Probation office's limited capacity to deal with juvenile delinquency, Caley championed child rehabilitation through the probation system as opposed to institutionalisation. He stressed the importance of juvenile rehabilitation where the child was left to live with his family and the administration of rehabilitation by supervision. However, he tacitly acknowledged the human resources constraint within Southern Rhodesia's probation system. Consequently, Caley perceived the hostels system as the middle ground between institutionalisation and the provision of a family environment under the probation system.[38] In particular, he considered the institutionalisation of Rhodesian Juveniles in South African Reformatories as a measure which officials could resort to when it had been proven that an environment where facilities for education, freedom and reform have failed to transform the child.[39]

> It is very desirable that every endeavour should be made to deal with our problem children as far as possible within the Colony and only as a last resort should they be sent to an institution outside of the Colony, particularly to a reformatory where they are likely to mix with hardened cases from all over the Union.[40]

Caley's scepticism about institutionalising Rhodesian juveniles in South Africa emanated not from a lack of confidence in the South African system but the possibility of exposing Rhodesian juveniles to more serious forms of delinquency through contact with other inmates.[41] Katie Mooney's study of white delinquency in South Africa indicates that delinquency was punctuated by gang culture with violence and pugnacity being expressions of masculinity.[42]

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[37] I. Mhike, ''Case of Perennial Shortage': State Registered Nurse Training and Recruitment in Southern Rhodesia Government Hospitals, 1939-1963', MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007, p.47.
[38] Ibid.
[39] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1937-1939; Report of the Probation Officer to Acting Chief Education Officer, 05 June 1939.
[40] NAZ S824/392, Probation and Schools Attendance Officer, Caley, quoted in Report of the Chief Education Officer to the Department of Internal Affairs, 08 March 1946.
[41] NAZ ORAL/CA 1, Frederick Sydney Caley, p.1-3. He was born in 1901 and educated at Anfield Road School, Liverpool. Upon the death of his father in 1915 Caley started work as an office boy and then as junior clerk. In 1917 he became an apprentice as a marine engineer at Cammell Lairds. In 1926 he joined the Church of England Society as a Police Court missionary and also worked with Boys' Brigades. Caley's difficult childhood and Missionary background may have shaped the value he placed on family and his subsequent lack of belief in institutionalisation.
[42] Mooney, ''Ducktails, Flick-Knives and Pugnacity': Subcultural and Hegemonic Masculinities in South Africa, 1948-1960'. For a reading of youths and gang culture in South Africa, see Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi*; Glaser, 'Swines, Hazels and the Dirty Dozen: Masculinity, Territoriality and the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1960-1976'; 'The Mark

Such radicalised forms of juvenile delinquency were not common in Southern Rhodesia and there was a possibility that those who spent time in South African institutions could bring such influences back to Southern Rhodesia.

In addition, Caley's views were influenced by the global debates of the 1930s centred on the need for rehabilitation as opposed to punishment. During this period, the SRPAS spearheaded the prison reform agenda and the treatment of juvenile offenders. Among other things, they warned that Southern Rhodesia risked manufacturing criminals through sending juveniles to jail.[43] Caley proposed the placement of children in foster homes because the home environment was critical to positive rehabilitation. However, one can conclude that the Probation Officer's lack of belief in the system of juvenile institutionalisation may have undermined the whole process of juvenile certification in the Colony and could, partly, explain why institutions like St. Pancras Home for delinquents didn't live up to expectation.

Southern Rhodesia voluntary organisations which were involved with childcare shared Caley's philosophy on the importance of the family in child development. The majority of these organisations under the amalgam Federation of Women's Institutes of Southern Rhodesia (FWISR) have been described by Kufakurinani as an extension of female domestic roles into the public sphere.[44] In the wake of the depression and the emergence of the juvenile delinquency problem debates in the colony began to centre on the ideal forms of motherhood and the ways of raising children. White women were mothers of the imperial race in the colonies and it was their duty to raise children for the perpetuation of white domination and provide other social services and white female sexuality was an imperial policy issue.[45] Issues arising from the FWISR included the claim that delinquency was partly a result of working mothers who did not spend enough time with their children.[46] There was a judgement among the patriarchal element of Rhodesian society that married women who took up jobs did so as a 'luxury' and the family budget did not need the 'pin' money to survive.[47] Caught in-between the pursuit of their careers and motherhood, in 1936 the FWISR lobbied government for provision of Nursery Schools to provide training to white children and as a measure against the

of Zorro: Sexuality and Gender Relations in the Tsotsi Subculture on the Witwatersrand'; P. la Hausse ''The Cows of Nongoloza': Youth, Crime and Amalaita Gangs in Durban, 1900- 1936'.

[43] NAZ S824/345/1, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1931-1934; Destitute European and Coloured Children Maintained at Institutions; Southern Rhodesia Prisoners Aid Society Annual Report, 1932-1933.

[44] Kufakurinani, 'White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1980', p.162.

[45] P. Levine, 'Sexuality, Gender and Empire', p.136.

[46] Kufakurinani, 'White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1980', p.162.

[47] Kufakurinani, ''While a Career is vital for a man it is optional for a woman': White women in the Public Service of Southern Rhodesia, 1909-1963' MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007, p.52.

influence African care givers.[48] Privately run crèches already existed and the 1936 proposition by the FWISR was an attempt at expanding the service and making it more affordable to all classes of working mothers. As a response, Government instituted subsidies for teaching material for existing crèches beginning in 1936 and in 1946 it undertook to provide nursery schools in urban centres.[49]

The 1946 Government policy shift can be explained by two reasons. First, Government recognised the growing number of children whose mothers contributed to the war effort by taking formal jobs left by men who were moving to the front. In addition, the expansion of the Rhodesian economy during the post war period did little to alleviate the labour shortages triggered by war. Second, the 1946 policy was a culmination of a decade long lobbying by the FWISR for cheaper public crèches that would act as a social safety net for white children and minimise possibility of idleness and delinquency. However, it must be noted that the FWISR was ambivalent on the real reasons behind their lobby. They claimed that the drive for crèches was not necessarily in support of working women but that they lobbied against a backdrop of what they viewed as a collapse of the traditional family structure where the husband worked while the wife stayed at home and raised children.[50] Under the circumstances, as women's organisations they felt duty bound to try and alleviate the deteriorating situation which was exacerbated by war.

6.2 White Female Juveniles and the concept of 'Child in need of Care'

The discussion above has demonstrated that childhood was racialised and every white child was entitled to care and protection. However, the concept of 'Child in Need of Care' carried gendered and moral undertones and epitomised white society's fear and anxiety over female 'degeneracy'. Reporting on Juvenile Delinquency in 1935 the Director of Schools for Bulawayo intimated that,

> I have not included in these groups the names of comparatively young girls of immoral character who would presumably be more suitable inmates of the proposed Rescue Home in Bulawayo than any industrial hostel. But I point out that there have been nearly a dozen cases in Bulawayo in recent years, resulting in several instances in the birth of illegitimate children, sometimes the

[48] NAZ S824/198/1, White Education, 1933- 1939; Inspector of Schools to Director of Education, 10 July 1936.
[49] NAZ S824/198/2, White Education, 1940-1946; Department of Internal Affairs to Secretary FWISR, 22 January 1946.
[50] Kufakurinani, 'White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1980', p.166.

> result of miscegenation, and that in the majority of the cases inadequate parental control or evil home influences in the earlier years was certainly the initial source of trouble.[51]

Misbehaving female juveniles were not considered as delinquents but were separately categorised. Statistics for juveniles under the 'Evil Home Influences' section of the 1935 report indicated that 28 of the 35 cases recorded between 1929 and 1935 were girls[52] whose ages ranged between 7-16 years (see table 9 above). Technically, female juveniles constituted 80 percent of those whom authorities deemed to be in need of care hence the need for a rescue home and not an Industrial school which was designed for boys. The documented 'evil' home influences included drunkard parents, mothers living with multiple men, weak parental control, and cruelty by parents, child labour and 'immoral' mothers.[53] In 1936, McKenzie, the Director of Education captured the authorities framing of the 'moral' delinquent. He remarked that 'it seems to be assumed that delinquency among boys is more common than among girls. I doubt if this is the case. Girls tend to indulge in moral delinquency and this form is more difficult to trace.'[54]

Authorities portrayal of the morally delinquent girls simultaneously presented them as weak, vulnerable, obscure but also dangerous. Borrowing from Honwana and De Boeck youth are either the 'makers' or 'breakers' of society. As 'makers', youths contribute to structures of society, upholding norms and values among other things, and as 'breakers' they engage in illicit sex, break societal norms and conventions.[55] In this regard, white female delinquents were 'breakers' of white society notwithstanding their perceived vulnerability. The perception of the Director of Education was representative of official attitudes towards female delinquency and shaped the policy mechanisms which were employed to mitigate the problem. Central to this 'moral' delinquency was the sceptre of miscegenation and the Black Peril.[56]

The perceived susceptibility and vulnerability of white female juvenile delinquents to interracial sexual relations represented the most detestable form of racial contamination. The

[51] NAZ S824/345/2, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1934-1937; Inspector of Schools, Bulawayo to the Director of Education, 21 March 1935.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] NAZ S824/345/2, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, 1934-1937; Director of Education to Department of Internal Affairs, 13 April 1935.
[55] Honwana and De Boeck, 'Children and Youth in Africa: Agency, Identity and Space', in Honwana and De Boeck, (eds.), *Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Post- Colonial Africa: Agency Identity and Place*, pp. 1-19.
[56] J. McCulloch, *Black Peril, White Virtue; Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2000; Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939*, pp.167-173.

white female body was a symbol of racial purity and as future mothers of the white race; white girls had a duty to preserve imperial whiteness.[57] Deviance committed by female juveniles, therefore, threatened the foundations of the white race and its hegemonic designs. For example, authorities judged Violet Thorn (age not given) as a juvenile 'with a mental age of 9 years, and an obvious attraction for the opposite sex. It would appear that Violet would be unemployable and is a menace to the community' because of her ungoverned sexuality.[58] White paranoia over the preservation of the chastity of the white female body was deeply entrenched. At Ingutsheni Mental Hospital white female patients were separated from Africans, partly, because officials could not risk the possibility of an African male gazing at a naked white female body.[59]

6.3 St Clare's Home for 'moral' deviates

In 1935 St. Clare's Home was established in Bulawayo as a 'rescue home' for unmarried juvenile mothers of 15 years and above.[60] It was a certified institution run partly on a Government grant and charity under the Moral and Social Welfare Work of the Anglican Church. Unlike St. Pancras and later St. Joseph's homes for boys, St. Clare was not a Government institution but it received a per capita grant from Ministry of Internal Affairs of 3 and 2 shillings (to a £) per diem for committed and voluntary children respectively.[61] However, the Education Department reserved the right to inspect the institution.[62] The low government commitment to treatment of female juvenile delinquents did not correspond with state and societal fear of sexually 'deviant' female youths. St Clare's was the only institution of its kind in Southern Rhodesia yet government did not control its curriculum. This may suggest the marginality of women in the patriarchal white Rhodesian society.

However, female delinquency was a particular worry for white society. St. Clare was the only certified institution for girls in the colony and ended up receiving other forms of delinquents

[57] Levine, 'Sexuality, Gender, Sexuality and Empire', p.134-135. J. Carey 'Women's Objective-A Perfect Race: Whiteness, Eugenics and the Articulation of Race' in Boucher, Carey and Ellinghaus (eds.), *Re-orienting Whiteness*, pp.183-198; H. Reynolds, The Question of Miscegenation in Politics of English-Speaking Countries in the Early Twentieth Century in Boucher, Carey and Ellinghaus (eds.), *Re-orienting Whiteness*, pp.73-82
[58] NAZ S824/345/3, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1937-1939; Superintendent St. Clare to Chief Education Officer 16 May 1937.
[59] L. Jackson, *Surfacing Up, Psychiatry and Social Order in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1908-1968*, New York, Cornell University Press, 2005, p.47.
[60] NAZ S824/392, Inspector of School Inspection Report of St. Clare's Report to Secretary for Education, 27 May 1949.
[61] NAZ S824/345/1 Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1931-1934; Certified Institutions, 1933.
[62] Ibid.

and not only the moral delinquent it was originally established for. Since it was the only certified institution in the colony, the home became a halfway house for female delinquents awaiting transfer to South African reformatories.[63] However, St. Clare's was always readily associated with the morally corrupt element of society. The Chief Probation Officer observed that St. Clare 'obtained a reputation of being a Home for bad girls; girls having had an illegitimate child, and this reputation will be difficult, if not impossible, to live down'.[64] This image was further entrenched by the fact that in appealing for charity funds, the Home's propaganda efforts emphasised the moral rescue element resulting in negative public perceptions towards the institution. The enduring tag of St Clare's Home as an institution for the 'moral delinquent' symbolised white fear of miscegenation and the rigid and unforgiving nature of the society of anybody associated with such 'sacrilegious' conduct. Interestingly, there was no sanction for white men who crossed the same racial boundaries, and to a degree this illustrated the patriarchal nature of Rhodesian society and its solicitude over female 'safety'.

In addition to the moral element, officials labelled inmates at St. Clare's as children with a low mental capacity. Official reports on St Clare's gave an impression that it was a miniature lunatic asylum or some special school for the mentally handicapped. These reports consistently emphasised the inmates' mental retardation and also hinted at their lunacy. Similarly, in colonial Kenya, Jackson argues, the way in which sexual transgression linked to mental illness reflected both the value and danger of the white female body to the colonial racial designs.[65] In 1943 there were six inmates at St. Clare's with an age range of 16 to 18 years whom the Education Inspectorate judged to have retardation levels of between 4 and 7 years in their grasp of Arithmetic and English.[66] The report recommended the elimination of Shorthand and Typewriting from the curriculum because the girls were deemed to be unable to sustain office work because they lacked rudimentary knowledge of English and Arithmetic.[67] Below is the Chief Probation Officer's assessment of the condition of five inmates at St. Clare's Home in

[63] Ibid.
[64] NAZ S824/392, Chief Probation Officer quoted in Chief Education Officer Report to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 08 March 1946, p.2.
[65] Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The lives of Kenya's White Insane*, p.17.
[66] NAZ S824/392, Education Inspector to Minster of Education, 19 March 1943, p. 1-3.
[67] Ibid, p.2.

1943 which highlighted racial fears and consistent labelling of insanity in 'degenerate' female youths.[68]

Maureen Welensky - Born 14/03/26 (16 years) Committed 18/02/42: 'Uncontrollable and truant at home. Appears to have settled down and has shown improved behaviour whilst she has been at St Clare's. I consider it would be to her advantage, therefore, to attend a commercial school or take up employment.'

Mari Griesel - Born 21/08/26 (15 years) Committed 21/05/42: 'Lost considerable amount of education owing to the family living too far away from a day school and the children not being acceptable at boarding school because of 'doubtful colour'. Three young children are attending the Parow Convent, Cape Town, due to the same reason. At the time of her admission to St. Clare's she had given birth to a child who was subsequently adopted by coloured family.'

Du Plessis, Johanna - Born 27/01/26 (16 years) Committed 19/05/42: 'Second eldest child of a large "poor white" family who, after many changes of school, finally left at the age of 15 and took up employment. She is unlikely to make much further progress educationally. Complaint of incest brought by child against her father; not proved: child not virgo intacta; refused to return home and was placed at St. Clare's for her own safety.'

Doreen Danker – Born 11/01/27 (16 years) Committed 13/10/42: 'Found to be pregnant whilst a boarder at Eveline High School; father suspected, not proved. Child's father alleges that the father of the infant is a native. Infant deceased. Doreen is mentally retarded; IQ given at 67. Special School indicated…In the case of Doreen Danker, medical examination under the Mental Disorders Act might justify her transfer to some institution such as the Alexandra Institute, as was the case of Lotriet and Viviers transferred to this institution from St. Clare's.'

Dorothy Viljoen - Born 21/07/27 (15years) Committed 06/10/42: 'Said to be mentally retarded. Left Daisyfield at the end of 1940 in Standard V, due to ill health. Family states that she is subject to 'fits' but there is no indication that she has suffered from fits whilst at St. Clare's. An elder brother, who is definitely mentally deranged, was sentenced to six months hard labour for rape on a native female child, in 1928. The girl is not suitable for clerical employment but no doubt would be quite useful at factory or machine work.'

[68] NAZ S824/345/4, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1940-1947, Chief Probation Officer to Chief Education Officer, 19 May 1943.

A number of things emerge from the above cases. The report hammers on the social vulnerability of the children and legitimises the concept of St Clare's as a 'rescue home'. Secondly, the white female body was objectified and dehumanised; 'moral deviates' were subjected to virginity tests to prove their (im)morality. In the case of Doreen Danker the state was more concerned about interracial sex than the possibility of the girl having been raped by her own father. Rape and incest were, therefore, considered as lesser evils than consensual but interracial sex. Third, authorities perceived mental retardation as linked to heredity. Dorothy's perceived mental retardation was quickly linked to her brother who was a proven case of mental derangement. Hereditary mental retardation partly became the basis of the Empire-wide Eugenics Movement which sought to select and preserve racial vigour and purity.[69] Fourth, poor whiteism was associated with Afrikaner sounding names. Johanna Du Plessis's family were labelled 'poor whites'. Whether this was coincidental or otherwise, it perpetuated the existing stereotypes held by most British whites that Afrikaners were generally poor.

In 1946 of the seven inmates at the Home 'three appeared to be of such low intelligence that they could gain little from normal methods of teaching. Two others were very retarded but are teachable, and two are of average intelligence.'[70] In 1949 of the 20 juveniles at the institution 'two of the girls appear[ed] to be definitely mentally subnormal.'[71] The overall assessment of the group read; 'As is found frequently among mentally subnormal children the handwriting was of a good standard and books were neatly kept.'[72] In this respect, 'moral' deviates were all else but normal.

Mental retardation and low intelligence was a convenient marker of 'otherness' among whites and it was attached to all 'delinquents'. However, the use of the label on female juveniles who were perceived by society as morally loose and ready to sexually associate with Africans or any other of the 'lessor' races carried more weight. White racial contamination of a sexual nature had to be presented as confined to retarded and mentally deficient members of white society. Their behaviour was, therefore, both a cause and result of sub-normality. According to Jackson, whites believed that only mental aberration could explain why a white person would prefer a black sexual partner to a white one.[73] In this respect, sex was viewed purely as an act

[69] Campbell, *Race and Empire: Eugenics in Colonial Kenya*.
[70] NAZ S824/345/4, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1940-1947; St. Clare's Home Bulawayo: Education Inspectorate, Inspection Notes: St. Clare's 24-28 January 1946, p.2.
[71] NAZ S824/392 St. Clare's Home Bulawayo, 1940-1950: Education Inspectorate, Inspection Notes: St. Clare's Home to Secretary for Education, 27 June 1949, p.2.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The lives of Kenya's White Insane*, p.17.

of procreation leading to mixed race progeny and not as an act of pleasure. However, justification of 'deviant' sexuality on grounds of mental deficiency had a double pronged yet contradictory effect. By associating deviant behaviour with subnormal whites, officials were frantically projecting the image of an infallible race that 'normally' would not engage in such behaviours. Inversely, in acknowledging the limitations of mental retardation officials were inadvertently conceding the frailties of the white race.

In order to restore 'normality' in 'sub-normal' deviates, the philosophy of teaching at St. Clare's reinforced the gender roles of colonial patriarchal society with an emphasis on domestic duties. As the Education Inspectorate observed, the overall teaching arrangements were unsatisfactory and lessons were makeshift to keep the girls occupied between domestic and other duties.[74] The girls did three hours of domestic work per day around the Home and received instruction in Dressmaking, Home Nursing, Cookery, Gardening, Laundry work, Personal and Household Mending and Hygiene.[75] In addition, the girls assisted with the cooking around the home. Academic subjects on offer included English, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Dramatics and Red Cross Studies, offered for two hours each per week.[76] Interestingly, the provision of domestic teaching was one few aspects the Education Inspectorate found satisfactory because they considered the majority of the inmates at St. Clare's Home as requiring mechanical rather than technical kind of occupations.[77]

In contrast to the domesticity emphasised at St. Clare's, instruction at St. Pancras and later St Joseph's Home for boys taught elementary engineering, woodwork and animal husbandry. St. Clare's emphasis on domestic science was not only a commentary on the gender roles of the colonial society but also reflected on the contemporary debates within women's organisations. In 1936 the FWISR highlighted the need to include Domestic Science as a compulsory subject for girls in school.[78] In particular, girls had to be equipped to care for children and be knowledgeable in cookery and Home craft.[79] In 1959 some women's organisations vehemently

[74] NAZ S824/345/4, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1940-1947; Education Inspectorate, Inspection Notes: St. Clare's 19 March 1943, p.2.
[75] NAZ S824/345/4, Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents 1940-1947; Education Inspectorate, Inspection Notes: St. Clare's, 1943, 1944, 1946.
[76] NAZ S824/392, Education Inspectorate, 1943; Inspection Notes: St. Clare's 19 March 1943, p.1.
[77] Ibid.
[78] NAZ 3287/69/23, Federation of Women's Institutes: Correspondence, 1948-1969; *Rhodesia Home and Country Magazine*, Vol. 1 No. 4, 1939, p.17.
[79] NAZ S824/198/2, Report on the Interview with the Director of Education, 14 July 1944.

lobbied Government that domestic science 'be made a career for girls in public schools.'[80] Such efforts illustrated the determination among women's organisations to entrench domesticity from an early age.

However, this position was not shared by all parents. Some women preferred their children to learn other sciences and were not supportive of Domestic Science being a compulsory element of girls' education. In addition, introducing compulsory Domestic Science in public schools involved expenses which the Government was not prepared to shoulder.[81] However, St. Clare's Home was a private institution which heavily relied on charity and was open to the influence of women's organisations that constituted the majority in child welfare services. Domestic education fitted well into the concept of a 'rescue home' aimed at equipping the girls with the basics of life. Presumably, 'domesticity' would be the girls' 'salvation' so they could become good wives and mothers. In this respect, the education at St Clare's Home was influenced by the dominant ideas of ideal female values because it housed 'failures' of life that required rehabilitation and acceptance into society.

St Clare's reflected wider elements of domesticity found in both Southern Rhodesian and British public schools. Kirkwood describes the public school system in the two countries between the 1930s and 1950s as preparing girls for marriage:

> In these schools girls were tactly encouraged to believe that with marriage they will develop and exercise their "true" feminine gifts, while boys educated at public (private) schools are intellectually and psychologically prepared for the masculine tasks of career and family breadwinners.[82]

The same philosophy was used to rehabilitate 'moral deviates'.

St. Clare's pedagogy also contained aspects of moral teaching. Teachings involved instruction in Birth Control, probably targeted at the mothers at the institution. The philosophy of the pupils' guidance was summed up in the following manner: 'Description of Positive Living = Subordination of instinctive behaviour-sublimated-ensuring positive outlook on Life.'[83] Authorities at St Clare's did not want 'the female children to dissipate their energies in Rock 'n Roll, which is symptomatic of the present age.'[84] Youth popular culture was perceived as

[80] NAZ S846/59, Resolution Passed by the Rhodesian Council of Women to the Honourable, Minster of Internal Affairs for tabling before the Legislative Assembly, 19 February 1959.
[81] NAZ S824/198/2, Report on the Interview with the Director of Education, 14 July 1944.
[82] D. Kirkwood, 'The Suitable Wife: Preparation for Marriage in London and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe', in H. Callan and S. Ardener (eds.), *The Incorporated Wife*, London, Croom Helm, 1984, p.108.
[83] NAZ S824/392, Education Inspectorate 1943; Education Inspector to Secretary for Education, 19 March 1943, p.2.
[84] St. Clare's Home Annual Report, 1956, p.3.

threatening sustenance of youth morality. In this respect, instead of teaching abstinence St Clare's was pragmatic in teaching birth control. Youth morality was also shaped by Christian values. At a spiritual level, the inmates had intercession in the Chapel every Wednesday and a chance to go to church on Sunday and were allowed the company of their boyfriends for Sunday sports.[85] In this respect, moral teachings at St Clare's were grounded in Christian values.

However, the institution needed much more than just moral teaching and spiritual guidance to be effective in juvenile rehabilitation. The rehabilitation at St Clare's targeted unmarried mothers and was not expanded to accommodate the various other cases which were sent there. There were many cases of juveniles who were not particularly 'moral delinquents' but spent several months at St. Clare's while awaiting transfer to South African institutions. In 1943 Martha Havenga was "uncontrollable" and was committed at an institution near Cape Town; in 1945 two girls Maria O'Connell and Betty Beale from St, Clare's were sent to an Industrial School in South Africa.[86] However, problems soon emerged and cases of absconding were not uncommon at the institution. In 1945 Yvonne Smith (17) and Pamela Thompson (16) escaped on the eve of an inspection, much to the embarrassment of the Superintendent, and the Police found them consorting with patrons at the Great Northern Hotel.[87] As punishment, the two were locked-up in a room while they awaited a visit from the Probation Officer.[88] In view of this fact, St. Clare did not have the capacity to handle the other forms of delinquency besides the moral delinquent. Referring the delinquent girls back to the Probation Officer was reversing the hierarchy of operation in dealing with delinquents. In this respect, the colony was overwhelmed by the number of its female deviates who did not fit the frame of 'moral deviates'.

St. Clare's also had problems in age grouping the inmates for the purposes of education and for companionship. The institution was originally established for juvenile mothers of 15 years and above, but it ended up receiving juveniles as young as 12 years old.[89] The 1946 Government report highlighted problems attendant upon mixing mothers and girls who were admitted for other reasons. Specifically, the place was not suitable for girls younger than 15 years but the moral delinquent and post-school maladjusted girls. In addition, attempts at making the younger delinquents attend ordinary schools had been tried but failed because of

[85] Ibid
[86] NAZ S824/567, Special Hostels for Delinquents: 1945-1947; St Clare's Annual Reports 1943 and 1945.
[87] NAZ S824/567, Special Hostels for Delinquents: 1945-1947: Inspection Notes: St Clare's School, 05 October 1945.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

society's negative attitudes towards 'moral delinquents from St. Clare's Home'.[90] The lack of proper age grouping undermined the rehabilitation efforts at the institution. It also represented the institutional limitations of Southern Rhodesia's efforts at curbing female delinquency. Ironically, Southern Rhodesian white society's intolerance of female 'immorality' was not matched with infrastructural provisions for effective rehabilitation.

Southern Rhodesia expanded facilities for white female delinquents to prevent moral delinquency. This also signalled the expansion of the concept of 'children and young persons in moral danger.'[91] Caley proposed the setting up of a hostel on the lines of St. Josephs' for girls between 12 and 15 where they would receive special character training and attend a normal school.[92] He viewed the advanced age of 15 years admitted at St. Clare's as an obstacle to guiding towards normal behaviour. Therefore, the proposed institution for younger girls was designed to prevent the maladjustment as was found at St. Clare's. Consequently, St. Catherine was established in 1950 and by 1953 it was home to 30 school going delinquent girls[93] whose average age was 14 years.[94] This facility was only available to white juveniles and coloured girls were accommodated in private schools which accepted such cases if they fell within the school age range of 16 years and were not considered a problem.[95] In an effort to reduce the number of children falling outside the scope of children's law, in 1949 the Children's Protection and Adoption Act was amended to raise the age of a young person from 16 to 19 years.[96] Children at St. Catherine were from broken homes and authorities judged that the majority of them were emotionally maladjusted, obsessed by hidden fears and were lacking parental guidance.[97] The introduction of preventive measures in the 1950s was in response to the growing needs of an expanding white population during the post-war period.

St Catherine's curriculum was akin to that of St Clare. It focused on character training through Christian principles of discipline. In addition, sport was part of the institution's curriculum. The curriculum designed to channel youth energies in ways that are more productive.[98] Spiritual, moral and ethical standards were essential pillars of training at St. Catherine aimed

[90] NAZ S824/567, Special Hostels for Delinquents: 1945-1947: St Clare's Annual Report,1946 p.2
[91] *Southern Rhodesia. The Administrative Machine: The Social and Welfare Services, 1951,* p.34.
[92] Ibid
[93] NAZ S824/392, Education Inspectorate, 1949; Education Inspector to Secretary for Education, 27 June 1949.
[94] NAZ 824/393, Education Inspectorate, 1953; St. Catherine Annual Report 1953, p.4.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] *Children's Protection and Adoption Act, 1949*
[97] NAZ 824/393, Education Inspectorate, 1956; St. Catherine Annual Report 1956, p.2.
[98] Ibid, p.4.

at securing self-reliance and good citizenship.[99] In addition, girls at St. Catherine attended normal schools and this encouraged their development through companionship with their age mates. In providing a home environment for the girls, the institution received support from women's organisations under FWISR. In particular, the women took the girls into their homes during holidays as well as for 'visiting Sundays'.[100] In this respect, St Catharine sought to provide Christian values and the concept of family to inmates. Women's organisations played a crucial were in providing a family environment for the girls at the institution.

In Southern Rhodesian, the ideal female white youth was not sexualised, did not cross the racial boundaries, and was preferably British. Settler colonialism rested entirely on the premise that the whites possessed wisdom, strength and self-control as the civilising ethos. As such, 'deviant' female sexuality undermined these values. It was the inalienable duty of the state to protect the white race against the most detestable form of racial contamination; miscegenation. The normative sexual behaviour in colonial white society remained heterosexual and sexual contact was perceived as essentially for procreation. 'Domesticity' and marriage were perceived as providing salvation to young women. White society was anxious and intolerant of 'moral deviates' and had them put away at St Clare's in order to 'cleanse' the race. As Jackson argues 'the white woman was at best, a metaphor of civilisation; sacred yet fragile, infinitely estimable yet constantly under siege'.[101] The curriculum at St Clare's and St Catherine reflected the ideals of white colonial society where inmates were taught domestic roles for their future duties as mothers and wives. However, the curriculum at St Clare was not well coordinated and the government did not commit to controlling the institution as it had done with St Pancras Home for male delinquents. To a large degree, this reflected the marginality of women in Rhodesian society.

6.4 Youth Unemployment, State and Capital: The Juvenile Affairs Boards

Viability crisis and business closures during the depression years resulted in workers losing their jobs and white school leavers swelled the ranks of the unemployed. Of the 21,500 settler wage earners in Southern Rhodesia by 1932, eight percent or 1,720 were unemployed.[102] As a

[99] NAZ S824/392, Education Inspectorate, 1950; St. Catherine Annual Report 1950, p.3.
[100] NAZ S824/392, Education Inspectorate, 1949; St. Clares' Home Bulawayo: Chief Inspector of Schools to Secretary for Education, 27 June 1949, p.3.
[101] Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The lives of Kenya's White Insane*, p.108.
[102] *Report of Select Committee to Investigate the Problem of Unemployment in the Colony, 1932*, p.3.

result, state adopted a two pronged approach to dealing with white unemployment in the Colony. First, it created jobs on public works on roads and forestry plantations, and 'Rhodesianised' the civil service.[103] Second, it helped farmers who had been forced off the land by bankruptcy to resume operations and initiated a smallholdings land settlement scheme for those who did own land prior to the depression.[104] 'Rhodesianisation' of the civil service was, partly, conceived to accommodate youths. In line with the Public Service regulations (1929) the Commissioner of Labour charged that 'Whenever possible in Government Departments every facility be given for the employment of white youths, even if it might entail in some cases the retrenchment of native employees.'[105] The Education Department decided to expand this initiative. In 1932, the Inspector of Schools, H.D Sutherns proposed the formation of a Juvenile Affairs Board in the colony.[106] Although the proposal came in 1932, the idea had been under debate within the Department of Education as early as 1928.[107] The concept was borrowed from the South African Juvenile Affairs Boards which started operating between 1914 and 1916 to facilitate youth employment and were legalised in 1921.[108] In 1929 the Inspector of Schools for Bulawayo highlighted the need for Southern Rhodesia to operate Juvenile Affairs Boards to secure jobs for white school leavers.[109] In January of 1932 the Southern Rhodesia Trades and Labour Council expressed interest in the proposed Boards in providing a link between the school system and the employment world which was hitherto missing.[110] The Director of Education challenged the Colonial Secretary to support an initiative aimed at remedying youth unemployment in the colony.

> …in view of the present difficulties regarding the employment of children leaving school, the subject is one of considerable interest to the public especially in the two large towns (Salisbury and

[103] Farmers who were forced off the land because of the Great Depression were employed on European Labour Afforestation Operations (ELAO) camps on Government forestry plantations at Mtao (Victoria District) and Stapleford (Umtali District). The Mtao plantation had been taking on unemployed settlers since 1925, and in September 1931 a second work camp was inaugurated at Stapleford. In addition to paying these workers, Government supplied esentials to their families. There were also work parties involved in road construction.
[104] Practically all the farmers in the ELAO camps had no other skills and were unlikely to find work in the towns and the Government decided to establish a small holding scheme at Chilimanzi. Their numbers included those who never owned land. Each settler was given 200 acres of land, of which 50 acres was vlei suitable for wheat growing, 8 oxen 2 cows, a drag harrow, a single furrow plough and the necessary trek-gear, disc-harrow and drill, one wagon and seed. An allowance of 20 per settler was also provided to cover costs of farm tools, pole and dagga buildings and fowl-runs.
[105] *Report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Problem of Unemployment in the Colony, 1932*, p.6.
[106] NAZ S824/43/2 Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Inspector of Schools, Salisbury to Employers (Chamber of Mines, Builders, Engineering Trades Motor Trades, etc.) 26 February 1932
[107] NAZ S824/42/1 Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1928-1932: Inspector of Schools, Bulawayo, to the Director of Education, Salisbury, 10 June 1929.
[108] Chisholm, 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa', p.88.
[109] Ibid.
[110] NAZ S824/42/1, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1928-1932; Secretary, Southern Rhodesia Trades and Labour Council to Director of Education, 29 January 1932.

> Bulawayo)…The principal question to be considered by Government is what action, if any, should be taken by the State in order to co-ordinate local efforts throughout the Colony.[111]

Statistically, about 369 pupils left school at the end of 1931 and this figure was far less than the annual average of 700.[112] The Director of Education speculated that the 1931 figure was lower than the usual on account that the parents kept their children in school because there were no job openings.[113] In light of this fact, Government promised its support for the Department of Education initiative and in 1932 the Salisbury Juvenile Affairs Board was launched with a mandate

> … to deal with matters affecting the employment, training, welfare and further education of juveniles, including advice to juveniles and their parents, placement, the investigation of fresh avenues of employment and the collection of statistics bearing on these problems. It is further suggested that part of the duty of the Board will be to bring to the notice of Government and of the public generally the existence of any such evils, with suggested remedies, in all matters concerning the training and welfare of juveniles.[114]

The Board constituted of twelve members, with four members each representing Employers, Employees and Social Workers and Educationists.[115] They coordinated with the Southern Rhodesia Employment Bureaux but concentrated on youths below 18 years.[116] Employers would apply to the Board for youths who were in need of employment. In 1933 a similar Board was established in Bulawayo under the same terms.[117] Notwithstanding Government support through the Department of Education, the Boards were voluntary and there was no legislation underpinning their constitution and function, despite calls from the Motor Traders Association for Government involvement. Officials, however, hopped that the experiences of the Boards would enable them to advise Government on legislation regarding juvenile welfare and employment particularly conditions of apprenticeship and extension of juvenile vocational education.[118]

The inaugural Salisbury Board meeting received considerable support from voluntary organisations, schools and employers' representatives comprising Master Printers, Salisbury High School Councils, Caledonian Society, and Department of Public Works, Girl Guides

[111] NAZ S824/42/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Director of Education, Southern Rhodesia to the Secretary, Department of the Colonial Secretary, 03 February 1932.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] NAZ S824/42/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Inspector of Schools, Salisbury District, H.D Sutherns to Employers (Chamber of Mines, Builders, Engineering Trades, Motor Trades, etc.) 26 February 1932.
[115] NAZ S824/42/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934: Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting for the formation of a Juvenile Affairs Board, Salisbury, 04 March 1932.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid, p.6.
[118] Ibid.

Association, Rhodesia Manufacturers Association, Typographical Union, and the Salisbury Operative Bricklayers' Society.[119] The discussions focused on the appraisal of the character and stamina of Rhodesian youth as a candidate for employment. Captain W.H Kimpton of the Motor Traders' Association described the average youth as 'indolent and imputed, without initiative or ambition', faults he ascribed to 'lack of parental control, poor physique and undue native assistance.'[120] Although A.J Somerville, representing Principals of Salisbury Schools vehemently disagreed with this view, it was endorsed by M.E Cleveland representing the Salisbury Municipality who perceived the youths as 'lacking manners'.[121] In this regard, the Rhodesia Agricultural Union (RAU) alleged that the 1930s labour shortages were, to some degree, artificial and expressed disappointment at the fact that offers of permanent employment on tobacco farms at £10 per month with lodgings had been turned down by white youths on the ground that 'this was no suitable reward for the sacrifice of the attraction of town life which it entailed.'[122]

Dr Martin who was representing the British Medical Association presented another angle to white youth unemployment. He argued that lack of initiative among white youths was because they were kept in school for too long and instead advocated their entrance to industry at an earlier age.[123] In contrast to male youths, Martin regarded the position of females as different because their school curriculum prepared them for life with a slant on domestic skills.[124] However, his argument regarding early entrance to industry was self-defeating because the essence of advanced white education was to gain advantage over the African on the job market. Martin was, however, correct in so far as the Rhodesian education system tended to take the education of some youths too far, irrespective of their suitability for it. In 1933, Reverend J Kennedy Grant argued that concentration on Matric Exam tended to draw juveniles away from primary industries towards clerical work.[125] Instead, he advocated for vocational training in school work and attempts at discovering the child's natural bend.[126] This view resonated well with Huggins' views on education. Educational reform became one of Prime Minister

[119] Ibid, p.12.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid, p.13.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid, p.10.
[125] Ibid.
[126] NAZ S824/43/2 Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Salisbury Juveniles Affairs Board, Annual Meeting, 18 May 1933.

Huggins's flagship policies in the 1930s and echoed the sentiments of education reformist of the immediate post-World War One period.[127]

The initiative of the Juvenile Affairs Boards represented a different and third measure against white unemployment. The Boards proposed the replacement of African Chauffeurs and drivers of commercial vehicles by white male youths. Underpinning this suggestion was the belief that Africans were doing work that white youth might undertake resulting in lack of skills in white youth and the Colony having to look outside its borders for skilled manpower.[128] Consequently, the replacement of Africans by white youths in certain branches of industry was mooted not as a short-term measure but an essential step in the efficient training of youth for industry.[129] Initially 'Rhodesianisation' was confined to the civil service, but the Boards took the first practical step towards expanding it into the private sector and artisanal skills. However, the act of replacing African males with white youths had wider connotative meanings. It evoked the sentiments of infantilisation of the African.[130] Adult African males were placed in the same bracket with white youths against whom they competed for jobs.

However, there was no consensus on the principle of 'Rhodesianisation' and dismissal of Africans for the employment of white youths. In 1929, Henry Birchnough (a Director of the BSAC) reported;

> For the first time I have come away from Southern Rhodesia rather depressed. The Government is adopting and carrying out a policy of 'Rhodesia for Rhodesians'… Downie suggested to me that we should follow suit on the Railways. I told him that it was impossible to fill technical posts from a population of 40 000 souls - men, women and children…There are no brains enough in the actual public life of the Colony to run a Parish Council.[131]

Birchnough's sentiments were shared among Rhodesian industrialists who felt that it was economically unwise to start replacing Africans with whites during times of economic crisis. Employers were taking advantage of desperate situation to offer very low wages which, ordinarily, would not be offered to white employees.[132]

In order to circumvent this contention which was likely to be the bedrock of industry's resistance to the new initiative, the Boards proposed that such reforms would target the lower

[127] refer to chapter five
[128] NAZ S824/42/2, Juveniles Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting for the formation of a Juveniles Affairs Board, Salisbury, 04 March 1932.
[129] Ibid.
[130] I. Mhike, 'State Social Engineering, Youth Citizenship and Social Protection in Zimbabwe; 1929 -2013'
[131] Henry Birchnough to John R. Chancellor, Quoted in Machingaidze, 'The Development of Settler Capitalist agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Reference to the role of the State, 1908-1939', p.255.
[132] *Report on Unemployment and the Relief of Destitution in Southern Rhodesia, 1934*, p.2.

ranks of trades which eventually enabled white youths to qualify as journeymen.[133] Although there was not much industrial and economic development in the early 1930s this measure was meant to secure future industrial skills for the Colony. The place of the African in industry was to be strictly one of a labourer, unskilled or semi-skilled work. This move was designed to slow the momentum of skilled Africans gradually finding their way into skilled trades at better economic rates for the employers, a trend which was aggravated by the depression.[134] Consequently, Huggins rationalised the ICA (1934) as the bulwark to white civilisation in the Colony which preserved privilege for white artisans.

White unemployment during this period engendered the development of nationalistic sentiments. From around the late 1920s the dictum 'Rhodesia for Rhodesians' shifted policy priority from white employment to preference for Rhodesian born whites. This policy shift should be viewed in the context of the 1923 Responsible Government and the shrinking economic prospects for the white society in the late 1920s and early1930s which was partly attributed to African competition. In view of this fact, White unemployment affected White immigration policy in the 1930s. To ease pressure on the slowly expanding economy which could not absorb new comers in large numbers the state preferred the immigration of retired white people who would invest in the local economy and not the economically active who would compete for jobs.[135] In addition, the preference for whites of British stock became stronger during this period. In this respect, Huggins instituted the reading and writing of the English language as a pre-requisite for immigration into the colony. As Gann and Gelfand note, such measures were targeted at, among others, the landless Afrikaners[136] to 'check the growth of a poor white class'.[137] It was generally believed that Afrikaners constituted the majority of whites in European Labour Afforestation Operations Camps and those under the small holder settlement scheme. Of the 105 men classified as 'poor whites' in 1934, 20 were Rhodesian born, 80 came from South Africa, 2 from other British sources and 3 from foreign countries.[138] In this respect, the need to accommodate white youths in industry resulted in radical immigration policy changes induced by nationalist feelings.

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[133] NAZ S824/43/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934: Juvenile Affairs Board Chairman to Education Department, 20 March 1933.
[134] See Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, p.190.
[135] Gann & Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*, p.124-126.
[136] *Ibid.*
[137] *Report on the Unemployment and the Relief of destitution in Southern Rhodesia, 1934*, p.30.
[138] *Ibid*.p. 31.

The public had to be educated on the merits of the proposed system in order to sell the idea of replacing Africans with white youth.[139] The Boards started a propaganda campaign through the press targeting the white public, employers and school children. School Heads conducted career guidance programmes in order to convince youths to take up employment at economic rates and employers were also educated about the programme.[140] Underpinning the success of the programme was white youths accepting to be remunerated at 'African' or economic rates of pay. Special accommodation for low income youths was to be arranged to make high initial salaries unnecessary. However, accommodation was limited and by mid-1932 the Salisbury Board had failed to improve the accommodation situation.[141] Although, Southern Rhodesia had a hostels system under the concept of 'children in need of care' which also provided accommodation for working youths from poor backgrounds such accommodation could not be used under the new scheme. In this respect, the momentum of the Juvenile Affairs Boards was slowed down by the lack of youth accommodation.

In light of the accommodation and job vacancy scarcity, in 1932 the Bulawayo Board proposed an alternative to employment in cases where vacancies were not available. They proposed that the Colonial Secretary approach the Beit Trust to finance a scheme of keeping jobless youths in school by paying for their tuition.[142] Although the proposal did not get through, the Government, through the Department of Education, was prepared to grant Free Tuition to pupils less than 15 years of age in lower forms of high school.[143] However, this measure was limited to the duration of the depression years and was only applied in cases where pupils were at risk of being idle should they leave school and where parents were unable to meet the cost of tuition and books.[144]

The Boards acted as a bridge between employers and employment seeking school leavers but white youth's low educational qualifications proved an obstacle. Schools Principals were mandated to provide the Boards with lists of pupils who had left school and submitted to the Boards completed Employment Forms on behalf of juveniles seeking employment.[145] Through this process, there were about 217 applications for work between 1932 and 1934 of which 160

[139] *Rhodesia Herald* 31 May 1932.
[140] *Ibid*.
[141] NAZ S824/43/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards,1932-1934; Salisbury Juvenile Affairs Board Meeting, 20 May 1932.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.

were placed in employment.[146] In 1934 about 71 youths were registered as seeking employment and the elaborate statistical data indicated that low levels of education were at the centre of youth unemployment. Of the 71 youths, 62 were assessed regarding their level of education of which 33 had reached Standard V or less, 14 Standard VI, 12 Standard VII and only 3 had reached a higher level of education.[147] Effectively, 53% of the youths had reached Standard V and below and given the growing appetite for education among Africans from the 1920s, this group of white youths came into direct completion with the better educated Africans,[148] who, by virtue of colour, could be paid less than a white person.[149] In particular, 45 of the 71 young job seekers had a standard of education that would ordinarily make them fit to be lorry drivers, unskilled artisans or handymen and only 15 were categorised as suitable for employment in the usual avenues open to whites.[150] In this regard, the Boards facilitated for the employment of white youths among whom were those whose qualifications pitted them to compete with Africans for jobs.

The low levels of education were partly a result of poor home conditions. Specifically, poor parents pulled their children early from school with the hope of benefitting from the wages such juveniles earned.[151] Reporting on the European Labour Afforestation Operations Camps (ELAO) in 1934 the Labour Commissioner noted that 'farmers are being attracted from their land and youths of a certain class are leaving school with the fixed intention of seeking employment in the camps.'[152] There were 59 youths of 21 years in the Government relief programmes and 21 of them were at the ELAO Camps and some men at these camps were waiting for their sons to reach the requisite age of 21 to join them at the camps.[153] To remedy the situation, the Board suggested that the compulsory school-leaving age of 15 years or the level of education be raised to compel school attendance.[154] Although the Government was concerned about youths leaving school prematurely, amending the Compulsory Education Act of 1930 would be, in itself, a premature move hardly 5 years after its enactment.

[146] NAZ S824/43/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Bulawayo Juveniles Affairs Board Second Annual Report, 1934, p.4.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] NAZ S824/43/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Bulawayo Juvenile Affairs Board Second Annual Report 1934, p.4-5.
[150] NAZ S824/43/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Bulawayo Juvenile Affairs Board to Ministry of Internal Affairs.
[151] Ibid.
[152] *Report on Unemployment and the Relief of Destitution in Southern Rhodesia, 1934*, p.13-14.
[153] Ibid, p.11-12.
[154] Ibid.

Below is a table showing the youth employment situation in Southern Rhodesia.

Table 13: White Youths Employment Situation in 1933

	Boys	**Girls**	**Total**
Number who left Rhodesian Schools in December 1932	349	243	592
Those who proceeded to a University, entered upon a course of professional training (other than a University), returned home for domestic or family occupation or left the country	102	159	269
Those who entered or seeking employment other than at home	247	84	331
Those who, leaving school in December, 1932, had secured employment by February 1933.	156	44	200
Those still seeking employment in February 1933	91	40	131

Source: NAZ S824/43/2, Bulawayo Juveniles Employment Board, Second Annual Report, 1934.

Several of the better educated youths were attested in the Police Cadet Corps. Another unspecified number of youths were placed on small mining properties with a commencing wage of £10 per month.[155] In order to widen employment opportunities for white youths, the Boards established contact with the Commissioner for Unemployment in Northern Rhodesia with the hope of placing youths in employment on the copper mines and elsewhere as vacancies occur.[156]

Apprenticeships were central to youth education and employment. In 1932, the Secretary for Education highlighted the need for a new Apprenticeship Law because industry was struggling under the depression and apprentices were no longer getting the right training. He noted the high apprenticeship drop-out rate. For example in 1933 the Railways initially had 100

[155] NAZ S824/43/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Bulawayo Juvenile Affairs Board Second Annual Report 1934, p.4-5.
[156] Ibid.

apprentices but by year end these had dropped to 15.[157] In its annual report for 1933 the Salisbury Board highlighted that there was a measure of exploitation in the employment of apprentices.[158] In order to protect both the apprentices and employers contracts had to be specific about tenure, duration, the provision of machinery for transferring apprentices from one employer to another. The contract had to specify the binding period of indenture in a particular occupation, the minimum and maximum ages at which apprenticeship should begin, the educational qualifications, the proportion of apprenticeship to Journeymen, and the determination of the trade industries in which apprenticeship was controlled.[159] These aspects needed to be legislated for in order for the Colony to train its own skilled workers. The Juvenile Affairs Boards were part of the lobby for the Industrial Conciliation Act (ICA) of 1934.[160] When their bid for Government official recognition failed, they decided to support the initiatives which would further their cause. Supporting new apprenticeship regulations through the 1934 Act was one such move. However, the Boards viewed the enactment of the ICA with ambivalence. Although the law championed their cause, there was a genuine concern that the Boards would lose relevance with the coming of the Act, and Government continuously postponed the recognition and placing the Boards on legal basis until some experience of the ICA had been gained.[161]

The Boards revamped youth apprenticeship programmes. In 1932 the Education Department approved the re-establishment of classes for apprentices in the Building specifically in Plumbing and Building Construction.[162] This policy was a brainchild of the partnership between the Salisbury Board and the Master Builders Association. In 1937 about 200 juveniles were apprentices in the building industry.[163] In addition, avenues for employment were also opened in the Post and Telegraphs, and the Land Bank.[164] The Boards also discussed ways of developing 'rural mindedness' and of inducing more youths to take up farming as a career.[165]

[157] NAZ S824/43/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; The Secretary, Department of Education to Department of the Colonial Secretary.
[158] NAZ S824/43/2, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1932-1934; Salisbury Juvenile Affairs Board, First Annual Report, 1932-1933, p.3.
[159] Ibid
[160] NAZ S824/345/3, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937; Juvenile Affairs Board Sixth Annual Report, 1937.
[161] NAZ S824/345/3, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937; Juvenile Affairs Board, Secretary Bulawayo to Inspector of Schools, 07 March 1934.
[162] NAZ S824/345/3 Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937; Director of Education, Foggin to Secretary, H.D Sutherns, 17 October 1932.
[163] NAZ S824/345/3, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937; Juvenile Affairs Board Sixth Annual Report, 1937.
[164]NAZ S824/345/3, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937; Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the Salisbury Juvenile Affairs Board, 22 July 1932.
[165] Ibid.

The commencing wage in agriculture of between £2 and £3 per month including lodgings failed to attract youths to take up farming.[166] The situation was similar in South African where only about 2 percent of the total number of youths placed in employment took farming post.[167] In light of the low interest in taking up posts in the agricultural industry, in 1934 the Rhodesian Commissioner of Labour suggested the establishment of a practical farming course to train youth as farm assistance, specifically targeting youth with little education for whom the scientific aspects of farming would have little or no appeal.[168] In 1932, the Government considered placing destitute youths as assistants with established farmers but the programme never got off the ground.[169] The inability to attract youths to farming was partly a result of the depressed rates of pay. In 1934 of the 71 youths seeking employment only 11 (15 percent) were youths of the peasant type, brought up and educated on the farms and were unlikely to successfully follow any other occupation but farming.[170]

However, not all rural youths were willing to pursue farming. In 1936, the Secretary of the Afrikaans-English Union proposed to the Director of Education that arrangements be made to enable rural youths to learn trades or professions in towns. These youths of rural upbringing wanted to pursue other trades and besides farming but were being hindered by the cost of accommodation in the urban areas.[171] In this respect, the Salisbury Young Men's Club offered accommodation to such youths at a cost commensurate with what the youths earned as apprentices. In this respect, agriculture employment was not very attractive to white youths and this was exacerbated by the depressed rates of pay in the 1930s.

The Boards were however opposed to the introduction of agricultural teaching in all schools as suggested by the Labour Commissioner.[172] In 1934 the Director of Education, Foggin in agreement with the Bulawayo Schools Inspector and all the Heads of Bulawayo Schools expressed the difficulty and expense of introducing a vocational type of education in schools. He was of the opinion that 'a good general education is the most suitable preparation for the

[166] NAZ S824/345/3, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937: Bulawayo Juvenile Affairs Board, Second Annual Report, 1934, p.5.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] NAZ S1539/C39 Relief of Unemployment 1930–1933; Destitute Youths: Secretary, Department of the Colonial Secretary to the Magistrate, Gwelo, 27 October 1932.
[170] NAZ S824/43/3, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937; Bulawayo Juvenile Affairs Board, Second Annual Report, 1934, p.5.
[171] NAZ S24/43/4 Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1937-1941; Secretary, Afrikaans-English Union to the Chief Education Officer, 06 March 1937.
[172] NAZ S824/43/3, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937; Chairman, Bulawayo Juvenile Affairs Board to Inspector of Schools, 07 March 1934.

majority of occupations open to young people in the Colony.'[173] Interestingly, AC. Cowling and HD. Sutherns were Inspectors of Schools for Bulawayo and Salisbury respectively and the two were elected Secretaries for the Juveniles Affairs Boards in their respective towns. Therefore, the Boards' opposition to practical education did not come as a surprise because the Director of Education and Secretaries to the Boards belonged to the conservative camp in the education reform debate of the 1930s. Consequently, in 1939 Prime Minister Huggins forced-out then Director of Education, McKenzie, who believed in 'a good general education' as opposed to practical skills training and took over the running the Education Department.[174]

Girls' education and employment presented a challenge to the Boards. Between 250 and 300 girls in Bulawayo were taking courses in Domestic science and a two year course in the subject was compulsory in Government schools.[175] However, the majority of white girls took this course as part of personal life skills development and not necessarily as career skills. In patriarchal Rhodesia there was a belief that a woman needed domestic skills to manage the home. There was a general perception amongst whites that domestic work was akin to that of Coloured and African girls hence the aversion towards domestic work. The girls preferred vacancies for governesses were far in between and the majority of vacancies were for housekeepers and companions, which occupations fell directly in the category of occupations for the 'lesser' races.[176] The Boards rationalised that that the move would minimise the possibility of young people pursuing high academic qualification for which the Rhodesian economy had no use. In this respect, the Boards perpetuated a gendered approach to employment by limiting the employment opportunities for girls to domestic related career paths.

The Boards also considered the position of youths with low mental capacity. These were youths generally unable to benefit from the ordinary school courses or qualify for any ordinary technical or clerical occupation.[177] The Bulawayo Board reported that the Railways opened channels of work for such a class of youth but did not give much detail on the programme.[178] They also proposed farming, road work and transport driving as some of the avenues for these

[173] Ibid.
[174] Gann and Gelfand, Huggins *of Rhodesia*, p.138
[175] NAZ S824/43/3, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1934-1937: Bulawayo Juveniles Affairs Board 2nd Annual Report, 1934.
[176] NAZ S824/42/2, Juveniles Affairs Boards, 1932-1934: Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting for the formation of a Juveniles Affairs Board, Salisbury, 04 March 1932.
[177] NAZ S824/43/4, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1937-1941: Chairman, Bulawayo Juvenile Affairs Board to Minister of Internal Affairs, 16 July 1938.
[178] Ibid.

youths. However, as a long-term measure, the Board proposed that Government appoints a trained Industrial Psychologist for two to three years to handle such juveniles as they approached school leaving age. The incumbent would also advise on the proper means of training for such children from their infancy upwards.[179] Underpinning this argument was the Board's belief that special training schools or trade schools for low mentality juveniles were necessary and expensive but such expenditure was much smaller compared with the possibility of creating 'a poor white problem in the future.'[180] By the outbreak of the Second World War debates on the suitable education and employment of these youths were still topical on the Boards. In 1940 the large call up for military service for juveniles seeking employment, delinquents and destitute youths provided much needed relief to the problem of youth unemployment.[181] In addition, military call up sealed the fate of the Juvenile Affairs Boards whose operations were essential but whose relevance was constantly threatened by the 1934 Industrial Conciliation Act.

The operation of the Boards was an extra market measure that secured employment for white youths. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 consolidated the replacement of adult Africans males from work and their replacement with white youths. However, while on paper the state advanced the rhetoric of a monolithic white society, in reality it appreciated the limitations based on class and gender.

6.5 Social Welfare for White Rhodesians, 1945 – c.1960.

The impact of the Second World War and the ensuing white immigration into Southern Rhodesia changed the social needs of white society and shaped the nature of reforms adopted for social welfare. The post war consolidation of welfare services was aimed at providing for the needs of the white family because many immigrants between 1946 and 1949 were parents with young families.[182] The report of the Social Security Officer for 1944 warned that there were signs that a poor white class was growing and estimated the figures to be between 500 and 1000 families.[183] In addition, Professor Wagner of Stellenbosch University advised that Southern Rhodesia needed to conduct a study along the lines of the Carnegie Report of 1937

[179] Ibid.
[180] NAZ S824/43/4, Juvenile Affairs Boards, 1937-1941; Chief Education Officer to Secretary Internal Affairs, 15 February 1940.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians,* p.84.
[183] *Southern Rhodesia Report of the Social Security Officer Part II, Social Services, October 1944,* p.193.

in South Africa in order to scientifically measure the levels of white poverty and adopt effective measures.[184] The report, however, highlighted that 'poor white-ism' could be removed in a space of a generation by means of social surgical operation particularly through improved health, nutrition, education and training.[185] White poverty became more conspicuous in the post 1945 period because the white population was increasingly becoming urbanized. In 1936 only 59 percent of white population resided in urban areas but the figure rose to 77 percent by 1958.[186]

Medical health was one of the fundamental requirements of post war white society. Whites were taking jobs in the bourgeoning sectors of industry and commerce in the urban centres. In light of the increasingly urbanized white society and expansion of the manufacturing industry the Commercial and Industrial Medical Aid Scheme (CIMAS) was launched in 1945 to provide sustainable and secure health financing for the working class.[187] During the same period the Workmen's Compensation Fund was introduced to insure against work related accidents and illness. In 1946 the National Health Services Commission (NHS) investigated the possibility of Southern Rhodesia forming a national health programme for a publicly funded healthcare system that would make health more accessible at cheap rates.[188] The idea of a National Health Services scheme was inspired by the 1945 British committee with the same name. To a large degree, Southern Rhodesia was responding to global trends towards more sustainable health financing for the security of individuals and families. A health services scheme also dovetailed with the new trajectory of enhanced welfare services in post war Rhodesia. Although the Southern Rhodesia NHS was not adopted, it indicated how the British ideas of a welfare state were adopted in the colonies. These ideals were driven by the humanitarian goal to establish a minimum standard of life for all (whites) and attain a more efficient use of resources.[189]

The 1947 Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Welfare determined ways to reorganize Southern Rhodesia's social welfare programmes. Upon its recommendations, in April 1948, the sub-Department of Social Welfare was formed as part of the Department of Internal Affairs. The new department dealt with all aspects of social welfare among Whites and Coloureds.[190]

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[184] *Ibid*
[185] *Ibid*, p.195
[186] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p.276.
[187] Mhike, 'A Case of Perennial Shortage', p.44.
[188] *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the National Health Services, 1946*.
[189] R. Lowe, ''The Welfare State in Britain since 1945: Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History', *Spring* 18, 1994, p.3.
[190] *Southern Administrative Machinery: The Social and Welfare Services, 1951*, p.32.

The new department was responsible for child care and protection; physically or mentally handicapped children; maladjusted children; family welfare; matrimonial disputes and school attendance; relief for unemployed persons, widows and indigent children in government School Hostels or voluntary institutions.[191] Other government departments widened the social safety net for whites. For example, the Treasury was responsible for old Age and Military Disability Pensions.[192] The particular focus on the welfare of the family was central to overall child welfare. Government introduced dependents' allowance, family allowances and mothers' and guardians' benefit aimed at supporting and holding the family together.[193] There were also free maternity benefits introduced in 1950.[194] The measures were conceived within the philosophy of the humanitarian and welfare of the time.

Child and youth welfare formed a major component of social welfare services. The government provided financial aid to Nursery Schools outside the jurisdiction of Municipalities and conducted health inspections.[195] In addition, the physical welfare of school children was fundamental and the Public Health Department provided dental inspection in schools. Furthermore, there were nutritional programmes of a daily issue of milk, buns or bread and cheese and butter free of charge.[196] All government schools were provided with playing fields and recreational facilities. White residential areas were provided with recreational parks and swimming pools and school Cadet, Boy Scout and Girl Guide camps were arranged for youths.[197]

The formation of the Social Welfare Department reconfigured the attention given to white youths. Probation Officers, hitherto under the Education Department moved to the newly created division with their portfolios changing to that of Welfare Officers. In the new establishment Caley's position changed from Chief Probation Officer to Chief Welfare Officer for Southern Rhodesia.[198] The staff complement of the new department was fourteen field officers (ten males and four females) and ten supporting staff, with their purview encompassing [199]the Children's Act; pre-sentencing enquiries and supervision of delinquents, children in need of care; prevention work and family rehabilitation; case investigation and

[191] *Ibid.*
[192] *Ibid.*
[193] *Southern Rhodesia Report of the Social Security Officer Part II*, Social Services, October 1944, p.194.
[194] *Ibid.*
[195] *Southern Administrative Machinery: The Social and Welfare Services, 1951*, p.33.
[196] *Ibid*.
[197] *Ibid*.
[198] In 1954 Caley became the Southern Rhodesia Director of Social Welfare.
[199] *Southern Rhodesia Administrative Machinery. The Social and Welfare Services, 1951*, p.32.

placement of physically and mentally handicapped children.[200] In this period, African juvenile work only became an adjunct of the functions of the new department.[201] In this respect, the racially differential provision of social welfare services continued after 1945 and the government prioritised welfare services for white youths.

The Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1929) had to be streamlined with the new legislation and demands of white society. For two decades the law was a quintessential racial policy that represented the uncompromising attitudes of white society in denying Africans the right to childhood. However, by the 1940s some of its provisions had become obsolete among the white community. For example, the legal age of a child of 16 years was increasingly becoming a problem because it left those between 17 and 19 years outside the ambit of the law and without protection.[202] The economic realities of the 1930s, particularly unemployment among white youths and the need for skills training and apprenticeships for the 17 to 19 year olds necessitated legal revisions. In the amended Children's Protection and Adoption Act (1949) the child age limit was increased to 19 years. Section 3 of the 1949 Act also provided a child's right to health services, shelter and the overall protection.[203] In addition, it was an offence to employ children or young persons required by the Education Act 1930 (Amended 1938) to be attending school. In this respect, Southern Rhodesian legal provisions were responding to the changing needs of white society.

Juvenile delinquency statistics grew with the increase in population. In the beginning of the 1940s juvenile statistics fluctuated with 80 recorded cases in 1940, 91 in 1942 and 82 in 1945.[204] However, there was no immediate explanation to these fluctuations in the numbers. These statistics did not factor the numbers of juveniles who were enlisted into the military between 1940 and 1945. Actual juvenile delinquency figures were much higher than the figures presented. In the 1950s annual statistical figures were above the 100 mark. In 1951 there were 148 recorded cases, 149 in 1953 and 159 in 1954 and 138 in 1955.[205] By the late 1950s Southern Rhodesia had an average of 16 juveniles in South African reformatories per year. In the long term South African reformatories could not be expected to increase in proportion to

[200] NAZ S2583/1685, Prisoner's Aid Society Congress, 1952. Probation and Welfare Services in Southern Rhodesia – Address by F.S. Caley, Chief Welfare Officer for Southern Rhodesia, p.3.
[201] *Southern Rhodesia Administrative Machinery. The Social and Welfare Services, 1951*, p.32-36.
[202] *Children's Protection and Adoption Act 1929.*
[203] *Ibid.*
[204] NAZ S3062/1-4: Juvenile Delinquency, CID Files 1940-1956.
[205] Ibid.

an expanded Southern Rhodesia demand.[206] In addition, there was an increased demand for reformatory institutions from increasing numbers of South African juveniles. Authorities also expected an increase in white population in the Federation and potential increase in juvenile delinquents which raised the need for a Borstal institution for whites.[207]

Meanwhile, Southern Rhodesia continued to send white juveniles to South African rehabilitation institutions way into the 1950s. Its network of homes and hostels for delinquents catered for indigents and the maladjusted children and there was no framework for rehabilitation of the extreme type of juvenile delinquent. By 1959 there were 13 institutions for White children receiving partial or full funding from government, 6 for Coloureds children and 4 for Africans.[208] The philosophy of providing a family environment was central to the expansion of juvenile rehabilitation institutions. In addition, the Social Welfare Department increased the use of foster parents and institutions such as boarding houses.[209] However, there were increasing calls from sections of white Rhodesian society for the establishment of a Borstal institution in the colony.

Below is a table of the number of Southern Rhodesian juveniles committed at a South African institution.

Table 14: Rhodesian Juvenile Committals in South African Reformatories, 1955-1958

	1955	**1956**	**1957**	**1958**
No. at St Constantia Reformatory	9	16	16	21
Placements		9	6	11
Withdrawals		3	6	6

Source: NAZ LP/167/1, Southern Rhodesia Director of Social Welfare to Federal Secretary for Law, 06 April 1959.

[206] NAZ LP/167/1, Reformatories and Borstals; Policy, 1958-1963: Southern Rhodesia Director of Social Welfare to Federal Director of Prisons, 24 July 1958.
[207] NAZ LP/167/1, Reformatories and Borstals; Policy, 1958-1963: Federal Minister of Law to the Director of Prisons, 16 February 1959.
[208] NAZ LP/167/1, Reformatories and Borstals; Policy, 1958-1963: Institutions Registered or Certified under the Children's Act (1949)
[209] NAZ F242/400/4, Social Welfare-General, 1942-1954: Director of Social Welfare to Minister of Internal Affairs, 14 October 1954.

Nyasaland contributed a total of four juveniles to South African Reformatories during the four-year period and no statistics were available for Northern Rhodesia. The two main destinations of Federal juveniles were St Constantia and Tokai Reformatory in Cape Town.

In 1960 the government established Matopos Reformatory for whites. The institution was supposed to operate as a Borstal institution but the project was short lived. The Department of Education donated the buildings to the Federal Prison Services to establish the reformatory.[210] The buildings formerly housed the Matopos Farm School experiment which was abandoned in the 1930s. When the Reformatory opened it was meant to replace the functions of South African Reformatories. In 1960 there were between 15 and 16 boys.[211] However the institution had poor water supply and for electricity it relied on an old electricity generator. In dry seasons water was fetched using drums from Bulawayo some 30 miles away.[212] These problems militated against the development of a thriving reformatory at Matopos. In addition, the location of the institution undermined effective juvenile reform. The place was isolated and semi-arid, and personnel refused to be deployed to Matopos because their wives did not want to stay there.[213] The infrastructure was rundown with leaking roofs and crumbling walls.[214] In addition, it was almost impossible to get sporting teams or friends who were willing to visit the institution. Juvenile rehabilitation could not be achieved in isolation and there were insufficient numbers to generate a sense of community among the inmates.

White education was another arm of youth social welfare in Southern Rhodesia. In the post 1945 period the European school population rose by 41 percent to a total of 20,741.[215] From the late 1930s educational policy was, largely driven by the needs of capital. By the 1950s white education expanded to meet the needs of the expanding economy. From 1951 there were insufficient school places in white secondary schools.[216] Following the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland white education became a federal responsibility and was better funded compared to the education of other races. In 1955 £3,999,958 was spent on expanding white education and there was a 16 percent increase in the 1956/57 budget to £4,660,507.[217] In addition, there was a teacher training recruitment drive from Britain which

[210] Ibid.
[211] NAZ ORAL/242 Brian Dennis Beecroft, p.15.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Ibid
[215] Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians*, p.84.
[216] *Ibid.*
[217] Zvobgo, *Colonialism and Education in Zimbabwe*, p.44

brought in some 133 teachers into the Federation by 1956.[218] This was meant to augment the teacher training drive for white schools at Heany Training College which commenced in 1956. By 1960 it had produced 265 teachers.[219] In addition to the expansion of white education, in 1956 the Bray Commission recommended the prioritisation of technical training for white youths who were in high demand from industry and commerce.[220] However, because of the high cost of establishing technical schools, the Committee recommended that the schools be reserved for those with a proven aptitude for technical education.[221]

Conclusion

From the early 1930s to 1960 Southern Rhodesia constructed a machinery for white social and welfare services as part of state attempts to reconfigure the economic, social and moral order of colonial society. This process also involved the construction and proliferation of discourses of juvenile delinquency and juvenile justice in which the 'Child in Need of Care' was constructed and dealt with. All white youths qualified for state care and protection because they belonged to the dominant white race. State initiatives aimed at white youth development had bearing on the fundamental facets of colonial political economy such as labour, 'Native' and Immigration policies. Apart from the broad protection of white youth, the concept of child in need of care had strong gender underpinnings. White girls were perceived to be more at risk and vulnerable to societal ills than boys. While the sexualisation of white girls was unacceptable, cross racial sexuality was sacrilegious because of miscegenation arising thereof. Miscegenation involving white female youths was almost readily dismissed as a result of either insanity or low mental capacity. The introduction of Juvenile Affairs Boards represented an extra market measure to stem youth unemployment and the operations of the boards reinforced the gendered employment structures of Southern Rhodesia. Government continued to prioritise white social welfare even after 1945 through the provision of health, education and legal structures to support development of white children. The next chapter summarises and concludes the thesis.

[218] *Ibid.*
[219] *Ibid.*
[220] *Ibid.*
[221] *Ibid.*

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This thesis has provided the first comprehensive study of the history of juvenile delinquency in colonial Zimbabwe for the period 1890 to 1960. It has reconstructed important dimensions of the construction and treatment of juvenile delinquency during this period. In doing so it has explored the socio-political development of Southern Rhodesian society and demonstrated the diversity and shifting notions of what was considered deviant and delinquent. The study significantly modifies a number of historiographies, and opens up space for creating a more comprehensive history of juvenile delinquency in Africa.

Works on the history of juvenile delinquency in Africa enhance our knowledge about academic discovery of youth destitution and the creation of juvenile institutions more than it informs on the history of youth crime.[1] In Southern Rhodesia, the state began to construct juvenile delinquency as a problem primarily among whites in the 1930s and later among Africans in the 1940s. This highlights the fact that although delinquency was common to all races and genders, racial construction of childhood as exclusively white and the socially prescribed identities engendered discursive constructions of the delinquency problem. Second and equally important, the thesis highlights the problem of analysing the history of youth behaviour through the lens of state 'discovery' of juvenile delinquency. The study has been wary of uncritically adopting state discourses and has read delinquency against the grain. It goes beyond the state construction of delinquency and analyses forms of youth crime and antecedents of what the state, only later, categorised as juvenile delinquency in the 1930s and 1940s. As has been argued, the real foundations of deviant behaviour and labels of delinquency were formed between 1890 and the 1930s.

Chapter two has demonstrated that the concept of juvenile delinquency has serious limitations for those wanting to understand forms of rural youth deviance between 1890 and the 1950s. As has been argued, the rural African youth 'nuisance' manifested through youth challenging the social status quo of moral values, flaunting social hierarchies of authority and respect and the setting up of parallel leadership structures. The new forms of youth expression threatened rural production by disrupting labour mobilisation; threatened established forms of wealth accumulation through bride wealth and introduced new forms of religions that eschewed notions of 'traditional' leadership. Colonial 'shocks' on African societies sharpened the

[1] Fourchard, 'The Making of the Juvenile Delinquent in Nigeria and South Africa, 1930–1970', p.129.

generational differences that had long existed. These developments were a threat to both the traditional and cultural harmony and state maintenance of law and order.

The analysis in chapter two adds another dimension to the historiography of generational conflict. Conflicts between youths and elders in late precolonial society manifested through wars.[2] For the colonial period, as Waller, Campbell and Fourchard have argued that the negative images of 'modern' and urban youth and calls for its control often emerged as an expression of unease about the meaning and direction of colonial progress, 'its impact on tribal society' and the apparent erosion of 'tribal discipline'.[3] However, analysis tends to focus on youth and the urban process. As has been argued in this thesis youth deviance was neither a late pre-colonial nor a colonial urban phenomenon. Rural youth misdemeanours and forms of entertainment discussed in chapter two of this study demonstrate that there was an intermediate period of forms of youth fashioning that constituted 'deviance' with youth activities being perceived as 'immoral' and 'devious', before the state 'discovered' urban youth delinquency of the 1940s.

Juvenile delinquency was influenced by and had implications for spatial control and labour supply. In particular, young people were a critical factor of the transient labour system and 'juvenile' was the reference term in colonial labour recruitment and tax payment. For the convenience of labour supply and tax returns, the concept of the 'African juvenile' was not necessarily numerical but was at the 'discretion' of colonial officials. Colonial officials' use of discretion in determining the age in an African was a convenient tool in primitive accumulation and rent extraction. In addition, the study demonstrates the complex ways in which 'boy' as demarcation of age and 'boy' as used to infantilise the adult African were mobilised in colonial society to justify the colonial state's racist manipulation of African childhood. There was no legal recognition of the African child until 1949 and prior to that the state demanded the same responsibility from African juveniles as they did from adult Africans. Furthermore, juveniles were tried in the same court rooms and were subjected to the same laws as adult Africans. As a result, 'youth' and 'adult' were conflated and the colonial state did not have any obligation to African childhood. White racial attitudes also equated the position of African adult males

[2] Burton and Charton-Bigot (eds.), *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*.
[3] Waller, 'Rebellious Youth in Africa'; Campbell, "Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1939'; Fourchard, 'Lagos and the Invention of Juvenile Delinquency in Nigeria,1920-1960'.

with that of white youths. At the height of the depression in the 1930s, the state placed adult African males with white youths in industry and the Civil Service.

Chapter three demonstrates that African urbanisation from the 1920s configured new identities into specific boundaries; repackaged and categorised the young people and their behaviours and identified when, where and how the new urban social and ideological boundaries were transgressed. Apart from the lack of youth socialising agents such as schools and recreation facilities, African juvenile delinquency 'emerges' from the urban socio-legal identities where youths were racialized and criminalised as delinquent youths.[4] This contributed to the technical aspects of delinquency where youths were labelled as 'spivs', 'waifs' and 'strays' who were 'loafing', 'loitering' and making a 'nuisance' of themselves in the urban space. The colonial towns were areas reserved for the 'respectable' working class families and the ungoverned movement of juveniles disturbed the harmony of colonial and urban order. The emergence of a 'respectable' African middle class in the 1940s and 1950s that viewed poor sections of African urban society as a nuisance, allied with the state in entrenching delinquency labels. In this respect, African society was not homogenous and African middle class opinion in the *Bantu Mirror* was highly critical of other groups of Africans. Delinquency was, therefore, as much a socio-economic problem as it was a technical one compounded by the changing meaning of urban space, its management in the eyes of the state and the limited sections which African youths could rightfully occupy.

Colonial authorities concern with youth morality and urban youth problems which gained prominence when juvenile delinquency was 'invented' in the 1940s were not entirely new but were a modification of youth misdemeanours that had essentially started in rural Southern Rhodesia during the first four decades of colonial rule. The emergence of youth delinquency on the urban social scene based on legal concepts of youth crime and deviance of the late 1930s and 1940s, did not create but altered the nature and forms of youth delinquency. State discourses that presented urbanisation as an inevitable pathway to delinquency were designed to justify state neglect of urban African social welfare needs. This same discourse cemented the nexus between urbanisation and youth delinquency. Consequently, repatriation of juveniles back to the rural areas was the key policy in dealing with the delinquency problem from the 1930s into the 1940s.

[4] Waller, 'Rebellious Youth in Colonial Africa'; Burton, 'Urchins, Loafers and the Cult of the Cowboy: Urbanisation and Delinquency in Dar es Salaam, 1919-61'.

Chapter four has shown that despite the rhetoric of 'liberalism' of the 1950s and 'Racial Partnership' under Federation, policy and practice did not translate into any major changes in the treatment of African youths. The 1949 Children's Act which recognised African childhood largely remained a dead letter because colonial authorities lacked the political will to put it into practice. The 'temporary' use of Mrewa Gaol infrastructure to house juvenile delinquents as Mrewa Reformatory was an affront to rehabilitation and reflected not only a poor crisis management strategy but also a situation of many years of neglect in African juvenile policy and infrastructure development. In the 1930s the state acknowledged that the use of prison to house juveniles 'manufactured' criminals and stopped using it for white juveniles but by the late 1950s, African juveniles were still being detained in prisons. Contrary to the argument that cultural differences undermined the effectiveness of rehabilitation 'Western' methods, the study has demonstrated that rehabilitative institutions came in late, methods of training were poorly coordinated and the institutions were run by untrained personnel, at best, and military and prison personnel, at worst. The Reformatory Regulations of 1956 conceived under the 'liberal' policies did not ameliorate the condition of the African offender. The findings of this thesis regarding use of corporal punishment and the jailing of African juveniles have a wider relevance, speaking to the broader history of crime and punishment in colonial Africa. As is argued, the colonial judiciary and penal systems did not distinguish between 'juvenile', 'youth' and 'adult' and Africans were subjected to the same treatment.

Southern Rhodesia was a particularly interesting case regarding the management of African youth. In other parts of colonial Africa like Kenya and Nigeria juvenile delinquency among Africans was legislated into existence and, therefore, policy formulation and its supporting infrastructure developed almost at the same time.[5] However in Southern Rhodesia, the law was amended in 1949 to accommodate African juvenile delinquency which the state had reluctantly been attempting to curb for close to two decades since the 1930s. In addition to the crisis of juvenile facilities, the Mrewa Reformatory, the first and only African reformatory in the country, represented continuity regarding the concept of 'juvenile delinquent' and treatment thereof. Mrewa Reformatory was established for male delinquents reinforcing the gendered nature of delinquency. In addition, gaol was, for decades, the only available institution used by the colonial state to deal with African juvenile delinquents.

[5] Campbell, 'Juvenile delinquency in in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1939'; Fourchard, 'Lagos and the invention of Juvenile Delinquency in Nigeria, 1920-60'.

Building on the work of Andrew Burton[6] on the development of structural unemployment in Tanganyika, this thesis has also demonstrated that the marginality of African youths in colonial urban areas transformed the juvenile delinquency problem from a socio-economic problem of the 1930 and 1940s to socio-political one in the 1950s. Urban overcrowding resulting from failed government rural policies and urban unemployment forced the African youths to join the swelling ranks of confrontationist nationalist movements. The increase in youth rural-urban drift partly induced by post war economic boom created problems of overcrowding and crime which fed into the emergent nationalist movements. Changes in the nature of juvenile delinquency during this period also transformed state response to the problem. While in the 1930s the state curbed youth delinquency by consolidating 'traditional' authority through the Native Law and Courts Act (1927) and Natives Councils Act (1937) by the late 1950s state responded directly to the youth problem because it had become a threat to state security. The Immigrant Labour Act (1957) restricted the employment of foreigners in urban areas to allow for greater opportunity to local Africans. In addition, the Vagrancy Act (1960) was a direct response to the socio-political crisis of the late 1950s and was designed to criminalise and remove 'workless' and 'idle' youth from the urban areas. State response to the delinquency problem transformed from one of total neglect in the early 1930s to direct policy confrontation in the 1950s.

The analysis of juvenile delinquency gives insights into the relationship between the state and other colonial players such as capital and the church. The state and capital did not always agree on how to manage African population movements, particularly juveniles. In the 1930s, the state tried to stem the migration of African juveniles into the urban areas. However, state efforts were ineffective largely because capital continued to employ juveniles including those who were legally ineligible for labour contract. The economic problems of the 1930s made the employment of juveniles attractive to capital because juvenile labour was paid low wages. The discourse of juvenile delinquency also demonstrates the shifting nature of Church-State relations in Southern Rhodesia. Religion was one of the colonial pillars of controlling Africans but in the 1930s the church's conception of education as a tool for the 'civilisation' of Africans and future equality with the whites contrasted with state desire for white dominance. In the 1930s skills education for Africans offered in church schools threatened the survival of a white artisanal class, which Prime Minister Huggins perceived as the bulwark to white civilisation in

[6] Burton, 'Raw Youth, School Leavers and the Emergence of Structural Unemployment in Late Colonial Urban Tanganyika'.

the colony. Mission education made Africans too 'clever' and became the bedrock of nationalist agitation.

Chapter five has demonstrated how juvenile delinquency was a nebulous socio-legal concept. The myth of white superiority hung like a spectre over the whole construction of white youth identities. The demarcation of social boundaries in white youth became inextricably intertwined with broader discourses of white superiority and dominance. The 1935 report on white juvenile delinquency represented the continued tensions between delinquency as a socio-economic concept and delinquency as a legal issue. While society panicked over youth 'degeneracy' in the 1930s, the state had to shelve the establishment of an Industrial School because, legally defined, Southern Rhodesia's delinquency problem was small.

Although the absolute numbers of juvenile delinquents were small, white society was worried about what delinquency represented in light of the colonial racial binaries. Despite the asymmetrical power between the dominant white settlers and colonised Africans, the sustenance of racial binaries demanded a certain measure of discipline and rigidity in the construction of white childhood. The ideal child had to be educated, physically fit and provided for in all aspect of their needs so that they would grow to inherit the control of the country. White social values were also influenced by a protestant ethic mixed with Victorian values of respectability. These defined the moral boundaries of white Rhodesian society and authorities framed lower class whites as operating on the fringes of this conception of society and were, at least until the 1950s, often labelled deviant and delinquent.

The thesis has also revealed the nexus between colonial dominance and hegemonic masculinities and has explained why juvenile delinquency was initially conceived as a white male problem. According to Stephanie Olsen, the white boy had upon his shoulders the safeguarding of civilisation and carried the white setters' mission in colonised lands.[7] In Southern Rhodesia, male children had to be taught to defend the empire and colonial authorities viewed lack of education and poverty as an obstacle to the proper maturation of white youths. Authorities saw a direct link between poverty and crime. White poverty was morally pervasive and was readily associated with idleness which authorities also viewed it as an incubator of racial contamination between blacks and whites through sex, theft and other forms of social interaction. Ideologically, poverty presented the 'infallible' white colonial master as susceptible to ordinary human weaknesses. In this respect, racial separation was physical as

[7] Olsen, 'Adolescent Empire: Moral Dangers for Boys in Britain and India', p.20.

much as it was ideological. The conception of white juvenile delinquency was also an expression of societal concern with the need to rescue children in danger of becoming criminals and a stigmatisation and resentment of behaviours and lifestyles which the state deemed threatening to the white race.

Chapter six shows that white anxiety to preserve racial purity, white reproduction and heterosexuality informed gendered perceptions on deviance among youths. White femininity constituted the axis on which borders of race and gender were constructed and preserved, and informed the categorisation of the female child as, largely, in need of care and protection as opposed to the criminal tag of 'delinquent' of her male counterpart. State solicitude over white female juveniles reflected its anxiety to contemplate the ramifications attendant upon the ungoverned social relations between the races. In particular, officials envisioned the collapse of morality and feared the subversion of white racial purity and superiority especially among white female youths. Racial contamination as a result of poverty was perceived as harmful among white female youths and, therefore, it was the state's duty to protect them.

However, the desire for racial purity and fear of miscegenation revealed the extreme measure which the state was willing to take. The female body was objectified and dehumanised because 'moral deviates' were subjected to virginity tests to prove their (im)morality. In addition, miscegenation was a social 'evil' that surpassed all else. In the case of Doreen Danker, the state was more concerned about her interracial sexual associations more that the possibility that the girl was raped by her father. In addition, 'moral deviates' were labelled as 'subnormal' in order to justify their 'unnatural' behaviour. The label of insanity was attached on those who did not conform and served as a tool for social control and preservation of white dignity.

Colonial juvenile rehabilitation methods were part of the colonial state's social engineering aimed at preserving white hegemony and economic dominance. Colonial legislation and introduction of juvenile institutions helped shape juvenile behaviours for the (re)production of the ideal society. In particular rehabilitation methods sought to make juveniles (re)embrace their socially prescribed identity in colonial society. The socialisation and teachings at white juvenile rehabilitation institutions were instrumental for the production of colonial, and racially segregated social structure in which white children were given a privileged position. Beyond that, training in these institutions revealed the societal stratification within the colonial white society itself along class and gender lines. Mainly targeting children of working class whites, the juvenile rehabilitation institutions nurtured a productive masculinity and discipline of

labour around the generic blue collar jobs. The development of a white productive workforce became increasingly important in the 1930s when the state put measure in place to secure white economic security and job market advantages through laws such as the ICA (1934). The white collar jobs were reserved for those who could afford a secondary and university education. The rehabilitation of girls also emphasised Victorian domestic roles and framed marriage as the institution in which young women experienced their full potential.

The emergence of the notion of the white 'juvenile delinquent' associated with lack and poverty asks questions of Cecil Rhodes' desire for an 'excellent class' of settlers. The thesis shows that the Rhodesian state' intervention against juvenile delinquency demonstrated that not all whites were well to do members of the middle class as portrayed by orthodox histories on the homogeneity of colonial white society.[8] Beyond this, the study modifies Southern African historiography on relations within white society. It demonstrates how juvenile delinquency refracts the deep division between white groups and the limits of cooperation based on skin colour revising claims that in colonial society 'the barriers being created were not between cultures, nor even between races, but between colours…'[9]

Chapter five and six indicate that constructions of juvenile delinquency in certain groups of whites were expressions of British fears and failures. This thesis suggests that a fine grained reading in facts reveal the hidden and contested aspects of relations within the white race and the changing nature of appropriate behaviours which conditioned white lives. The Afrikaners were victims of British cultural chauvinism and racial intolerance of other white groups in the colony. The marginalised position of Afrikaners also represented the limits of the colonial state economic welfare for whites. They were targeted partly because of the long history of Afrikaner-British relations in South Africa which bred mutual suspicion. In addition, at its peak the Afrikaner population was 25 percent of the total white population which constituted the second largest group of whites after the British.[10] Although the Afrikaners were not a real threat to British political and economic dominance in Southern Rhodesia they were always perceived as the rival and 'other' whose intentions in the future of the colony could not be determined. For the greater part of the colonial period the Southern Rhodesia state did not have the economic capacity to uplift the lives of all white to the expected 'white standards' and the Afrikaners became the convenient scapegoats of the limitations of state policy for white

[8] See Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*.
[9] Clements, *Rhodesia. A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society*, p.58.
[10] Tawse Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*.

economic welfare. Afrikaner poverty, therefore, was not framed as a reflection of failure of the state policy to integrate all white groups but as an obstacle to state welfare policies. The British perceived Afrikaners as their racial and cultural inferiors who could not be propped up to 'white standards'.

Further de-homogenising white society and widening fissures in the empire, political events in both Southern Rhodesia and South African had serious ideological implications on British Afrikaner relations in Southern Rhodesia. Afrikaner support for the Southern Rhodesia lobby to join South African against self-government in the 1922 referendum fed into the British fears of Afrikaner nationalism into the northern frontiers of the Limpopo. In addition, the Second World War and the insecurity it bred saw the resurgence of concerns about Rhodesian whites' loyalty to the Empire. Allegiance to Empire gave whites, especially those of British stock, a sense of unity and strength in the face of adversity. The 1944 case of the 41 Afrikaners who were dismissed from the military for refusing to obey orders and the death of a British boy at the hands of a fellow Afrikaner schoolmate at Enkeldoorn were events which were amplified as manifestation of the long existing antipathy between the two groups. The asymmetrical state reaction to the Enkeldoorn incident of appointing a commission of inquiry into possible racialism in Southern Rhodesia public schools and the possibility of subversive activities played into the politics of crisis management and the need to allay war induced fear among the Rhodesian British. With the impending 1948 election, the sitting government wanted to be seen to be in control. However, these and other events justified British attitudes of keeping the Afrikaners on the fringes of the economic, political and social processes of Southern Rhodesia. To a large degree, labels of deviance and delinquency attached on the Afrikaners were part of this broader marginalisation.

Common threads can also be drawn on how juvenile delinquency was framed between whites and Africans. For both races delinquency was gendered and female juvenile delinquency was perceived as largely a moral problem. However, while white female delinquents were viewed as future mothers of the white race who needed to be protected for the purity of the race, on the other hand, African females were framed as hypersexualised, brazenly immoral and a problem to state efforts at contain African population movements. The female 'moral deviate' caused anxiety and resentment in white society, but she also epitomised the 'child in need of care' whom the state had to 'protect' for the good of the white race. By contrast, the marginality of the African female delinquent was underlined by the lack of rehabilitation institutions in the colony. The colonial authorities grappled with the problem of young African females who

'solicited for prostitution' beginning in the 1930s but by the late 1950s there were no rehabilitation institutions for African female delinquents. This thesis, therefore, modifies literature on juvenile delinquency in Africa. It was not only African female delinquents who were framed in gendered perceptions as 'moral deviates' as Aderinto and Konate suggest but the predominantly patriarchal colonial state framed whites in the same way albeit for different reasons.

This dissertation also opens up dialogue on the meanings of poverty in Southern Rhodesia. This area has not received any scholarly attention. To a degree, the state used poverty as a political expression of ethnic and cultural difference to achieve intra-racial stratification among whites. Although white poverty in Southern Rhodesia was, partly, influenced by ideas from South Africa, there is room to analysis its nuanced socio-political dimensions. My discussion on juvenile delinquency only presented a part of broader conceptions of white poverty and how state structures and resources were mobilised to fight it. Indeed, social welfare for whites was critical to white dominance but there is need for more research into white livelihoods and economic security at household and community levels and the overall state policy and structures deployed to mitigate the effects of poverty. There is also need for further research into the capacity of social welfare structures in providing for social safety and changes that were implemented to meet the changing needs of a highly transient white population.

This study contributes to emerging literature on settler societies.[11] Settler societies were built on promoting the idea of 'sameness'.[12] In this regard, the Southern Rhodesian colonial state was known for driving the overarching idea of a white monolithic to sustain white political and economic dominance. However, the state's handling of the juvenile delinquency problem among whites in Southern Rhodesia proved that state structures were mobilized actively or otherwise to drive a wedge between the different economic classes, perpetuate ethnic differences, and gender disparities. The process of identifying and labelling of delinquents on the one hand and their rehabilitation on the other, shows a simultaneous state engineering that set the white race apart as the dominant group while at the same time actively encouraging intra-racial differences among them. In addition, although every white child had the right to childhood under colonial laws, childhood meant different things for the different classes and categories of whites.

[11] Coombes (ed.), *Rethinking Settler Colonialism*.
[12] Veracini, 'Introducing Settler Colonial Studies'; Godwin and Hancock, *'Rhodesians Never Die'*.

The study also contributes to youth and childhood studies.[13] It demonstrates that childhood was central to colonial socio-political processes which partly drove policy agendas. State devoted a lot of time and resource in planning for ideal childhood in order to achieve particular social goals. Within their subjective agency, children and youths provoked crises and sometimes held the colony at ransom. Beyond the 1929 and the 1949 Children's laws which were directly aimed at protecting children's rights, young people had a wider leverage on purchase for policy. In order to secure the future of the white race, the state promulgated the Compulsory Education Act (1930) and Industrial Conciliation Act (1934) with the youth in mind. The ICA was a hard bargain which removed cheap African labour from skilled jobs at a time of economic crisis. In addition, state social welfare for whites was driven by the need to avert poverty among white children.

On the other hand, the African youth was marginalised by the colonial state but they still influenced policy measures. The emergence of new forms of youth entertainment and other forms of social organisation in rural Southern Rhodesia from the 1930s to the 1950s challenged state designs at controlling the rural areas. This forced the state to rethink its conceptions of 'traditional' chiefly authority the Native Law and Courts Act (1927) which was consolidated and by the Native Councils Act (1937). These laws established a governance structure in the rural areas aimed at eliminating the limitations to chiefly authority. In order to manage youth unemployment and political participation in the 1950s the state promulgated the Immigrant Labour Act (1957) and the Vagrancy Act (1960). Through the 1960 Act, the United Party acknowledged the existence the problem of unemployment and that it was state responsibility to intervene as opposed to the policy of total exclusion of 'undesirables' which punctuated the pre-war and immediate post war periods. This was in itself acknowledgement of the inherent contradictions of the LHA. In this respect, children and youths forced both proactive and reactive measures from the state.

Finally, this study adds to the emerging literature on deviance and disorder in the British Empire. For instance, as Will Jackson and Emily J. Manktelow have written, the colonial world was far less homogenous and far more chaotic than previously thought.[14] My discussion on Southern Rhodesia's colonial society illustrates some of these elements. For example, although 'white standards' were never clearly defined the fluid and discursive constructions of the term

[13] Praisley, 'Childhood and Race: Growing Up in the Empire in Levine'.
[14] W. Jackson and E.J Manktelow (eds.), *Subverting Empire: Deviance and Disorder in the British Colonial world*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

drove white society to resent certain behaviours and labelled individuals. In addition, the colonial state advanced the rhetoric of a white monolith but it lacked the organisational and economic capacity to propel white society to ‘acceptable’ standards to achieve perpetual white economic dominance. The colonial state sought to justify its failure at economic and social welfare by labelling those who were found on the fringes of society.

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