The Goffal Speaks: Coloured Ideology and the Perpetuation of a Category in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe

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ABSTRACT

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Significant changes for the *Coloured community*[1] have occurred and continue to occur as a result of an ever-changing political landscape in Zimbabwe. These changes reveal a group[2] consciousness or ideology that often translates into daily practices of methods of inclusion and exclusion based on ethnic affiliation and racial organization. Many Coloureds have historically denied the reality of the boundaries that have separated them from whites or Europeans, and more recently, have reinforced the boundaries that have separated them from black Africans. Zimbabwe at Independence was the poster child for progress and change on the African continent. It was a place where, "the wrongs of the past [would] stand forgiven and forgotten… [and] oppression and racism were inequalities that [would] never find scope in the political and social system."[3] Yet thirty years later, amid growing disillusionment over promises of a unified Zimbabwe, a destitute economy, and the perpetuation of racial inequality and oppression, there is an effort among Coloureds themselves to reify the Coloured category[4].

The categorization of people tends to develop in the course of specific histories of particular places. Local nuances color this. In Southern Africa, following the victory of the South African National Party (NP) in 1948, the term "community" was used as a euphemism for racial exclusion. Official categories that were clearly racial were commonly designated "communities": the Indian community, the Coloured community, the white community, and the black community. The NP relied heavily on the idea on distinct peoples bound together by blood and

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[1] People who share a particular quality of relationship, such as a sense of common identity or consciousness. In this sense the mixed-race community.

[2] A number of people or things that are located close together or are considered or classed together.

[3] Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, inaugural speech, April 17, 1980.

[4] Here meant to imply a legal definition of Colouredness; very similar to community but not quite the same.

culture and in this context the language of community slid easily into a rhetoric justifying separate development for separate communities (Crehan, 2002). In the anti-apartheid era, opposition to the State often assumed the form of struggles fought out in the name of a particular community. It is here yet again, in the postcolonial context that we witness Coloured struggles around notions of belonging, nationality and citizenship.

Why and how have Coloureds or mixed race people in Zimbabwe sought to reclaim, or perpetuate their historic place (category) within the colonial racial hierarchy postcolonially in an ever-changing political landscape?

This dissertation examines the ideology of Coloured peoples and the perpetuation and maintenance of the category Coloured in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The framework used here is from a socio-historical perspective, considering the political history of colonial settler policy in Zimbabwe, its subsequent racial ideology, and its effects on the social reality of the Coloured or mixed race population today. Here the conceptualization of race is restricted to settler societies and is not meant to be addressed on a global scale, as the term *Coloured* in this sense is in and of itself a Southern African phenomenon.

This study relies on ethnographic data collected intermittently for approximately twenty-two months between May 2004 and May 2008 in the Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe, in particular, in the city of Bulawayo. Additional ethnographic data was also collected in Cape Town, South Africa in the winter of 2009. Several methods were used in collecting data for this project: household surveys, genealogies, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, participant observation and snowball methodology.

This study reveals the historical fluctuations in the meaning of the Coloured category and its overall genealogy to demonstrate that *race* was a paramount paradigm of identity in Rhodesia

and despite changes in heads of state, ideologies, social practices and meanings that define identity, it continues to remain paramount in Zimbabwe today. Further, I argue that Coloureds themselves are major perpetuators of racial difference in the post-colonial context and value Coloured identity above either a national Zimbabwean identity or a continental African identity. The reason for this is that Coloureds hold on to the ideological[5] value of their legal and social status of the past.

By examining the Coloured experience within race and space in Bulawayo, this dissertation demonstrates how Coloureds maintain and enforce the familiar boundaries of their community in the post-colonial context via residential, social and cultural enclaves. Given the struggle for "place" in terms of nationalism—socially and economically in post-colonial Zimbabwe-- that is revealed through a study of popular discourse on race and political change in Zimbabwe, one questions whether Coloureds could ever or would ever want to become *African*.

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[5] Ideas about being Coloured that constitute goals, expectations and actions.

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DEDICATION

      Alberta Johnson, my beloved grandmother, I dedicate this to you. You were always my rock, my life, and my family. I lost you four days before my defense and your strength and courage inspired me to fight. I am proud to be your descendant and your life and death continue to impact me in ways that I cannot express. Thank you.

Rhodesian and Zimbabwean Place Names[6]

Colonial Period	Postcolonial Period
Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia	Zimbabwe
Bulawayo	Bulawayo
Chipinga	Chipinge
Enkeldorn	Chivhu
Fort Victoria	Masvingo
Gatooma	Kadoma
Gwelo	Gweru
Inyanga	Nyanga
Melsetter	Chimanimani
Que Que	Kwekwe
Salisbury	Harare
Umtali	Mutare
Wankie	Hwange

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[6] Independence marked a renaming of colonial places.

List of Acronyms

APO	**African Political Organization**
ANC	**African National Congress**
BG	**Barham Greene**
BSAC	**British South Africa Company**
CAF	**Central African Federation**
LAA	**Land Apportionment Act**
LMS	**London Missionary Society**
MDC	**Movement for Democratic Change**
NAACP	**National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People**
NACP	**National Association of Coloured People**
NAZ	**National Archives of Zimbabwe**
NP	**National Party**
REVA	**Rhodesia Eurafrican Vigilance Association**
RF	**Rhodesian Front**
UDI	**Unilateral Declaration of Independence**
ZANU	**Zimbabwe African National Union**
ZANU-PF	**Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front**
ZANLA	**Zimbabwean National Liberation Army**
ZAPU	**Zimbabwean African People's Union**
ZIPRA	**Zimbabwean Peoples' Revolutionary Army**

Map of Zimbabwe[7]

Map of South Africa[8]
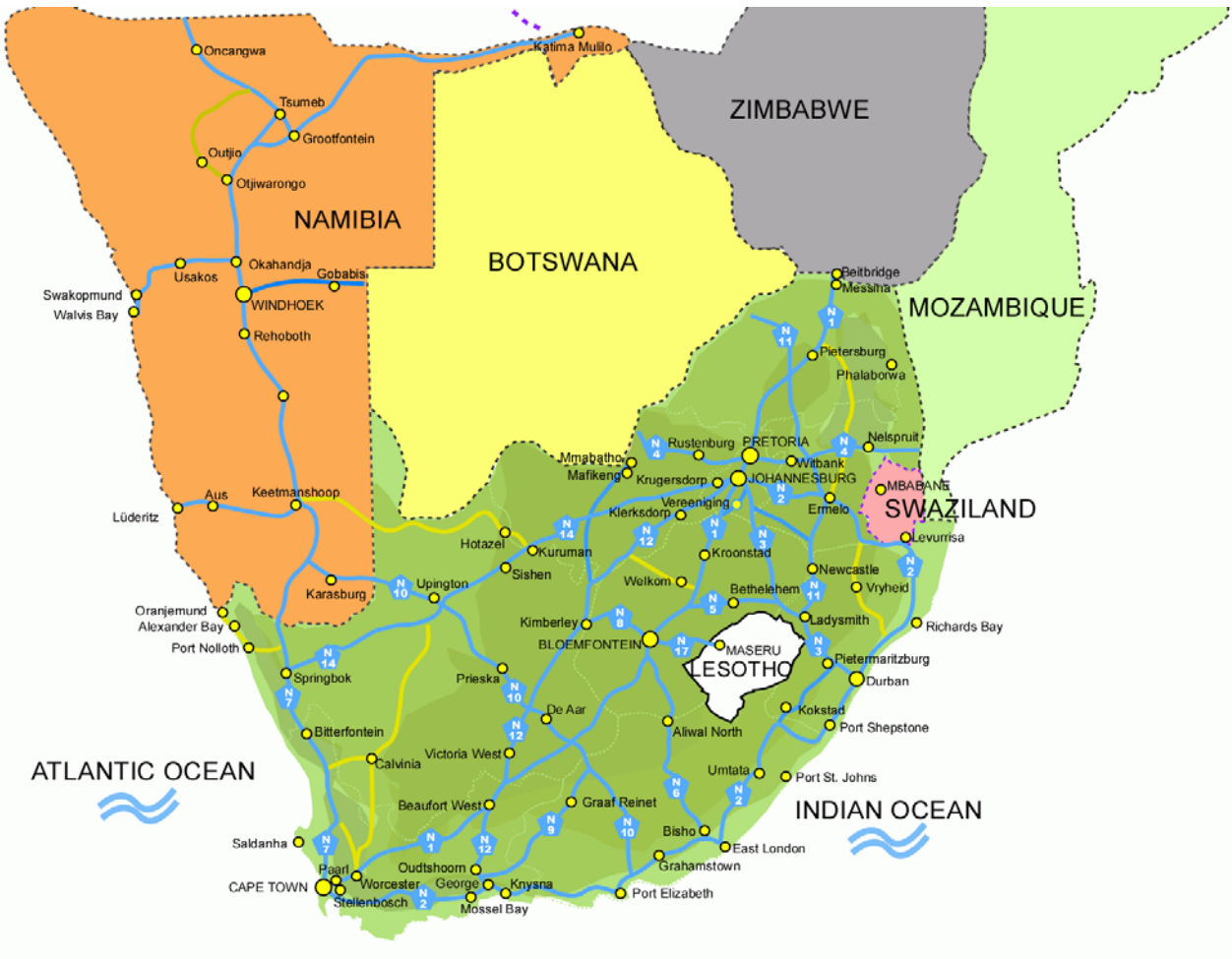
CHRONOLOGY OF HISTORIC EVENTS IN ZIMBABWE[9]

1889: Cecil John Rhodes granted a charter for the British South Africa Company (BSAC) to occupy Lobengula's territory in Matabeleland.

1890: Rhodes' *Pioneer Column* arrived in Fort Salisbury heavily armed

1893: Kills Lobengula's troops in Matabeleland.
Vagrancy Act imposed. Only Natives were required to carry a pass.

1895: Country is officially named *Rhodesia.*
Registration of Native Regulations and Town Location Regulations both called for a distinction to be made by police officers and location inspectors as to who was Coloured, Native or European. Only Natives were compelled to stay in certain locations.

1896: First Chimurenga[10].

1902: Rhodes dies.

1903: Immorality Ordinance passed which dictates punishment for interracial sexual relations.

1923: BSAC is controlled by settlers and votes to become a self-governing colony, thus rejecting a union with South Africa.

1930: Land Apportionment Act (LAA) divides colony into racially distinct sections, securing the best farmland for white settlers.

1934: Bantu Congress is formed.

1938: Liquor Act imposed. Only whites could legally purchase European liquor. Coloureds could consume it, but not legally buy it and blacks could neither purchase nor consume liquor.

1945: Dramatic increase of white settlement following World War II, thus expanding Salisbury and Bulawayo.

1946: Native Accommodation and Registration Act (Urban Areas Act) is passed. This divides the cities into racially distinct sections, strengthening state control over the movement of Africans.

1957: African National Congress (ANC) founded.

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[9] Davies, 1999.

[10] Second Matabele War which pitted the Ndebele against the British South Africa Company.

1958:   ANC banned.

1962:   Rhodesian Front (RF) wins election in Southern Rhodesia.

1964:   Ian Smith becomes Prime Minster.

1965:   Ian Smith declares Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain.

1966:   UN sanctions Rhodesia. Second Chimurenga begins.

1968:   May 29, UN Resolution 253 resolved sanctions on white-minority-ruled Rhodesia.

1970:   On March 1 the white government of Rhodesia declared Independence from Britain.

1972-79: Black rebels fought an insurgency against minority white rule.

1974:   Under pressure from guerrilla groups Rhodesian PM Ian Smith released all black
        leaders for peace talks, but the talks failed.

1976:   Mozambique becomes independent and supports ZANU and ZAPU. War intensifies.

1977:   On August 31, Ian Smith, espousing racial segregation, won the Rhodesian general
        election with 80% of overwhelmingly white electorate's vote.

1979:   Bishop Muzorewa wins election as Prime Minister of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, but is not
        recognized.

        Lancaster House agreement signed and seals a new constitution and calls for new
        Elections.

1980:   Robert Mugabe wins election and on April 18, Rhodesia officially becomes Zimbabwe.

1982:   Coalition between ZANU and ZAPU ends. Joshua Nkomo and other ZAPU members
        are removed from the government.

1983:   Fifth Brigade enters Matabeleland to crush "dissidents."

1987:   The special provision for twenty white parliamentary seats preserved by the Lancaster
        House agreement expires.

1991:   ZANU-PF enters into an adjustment program with the International Monetary Fund
        (IMF) aimed at cutting government deficits. The program fails and radically devalues the
        currency and increases inflation.

1999:   The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) is founded.

1999:   In Zimbabwe Pres. Mugabe announced at a convention of the ruling party that land would be seized from whites and that the constitutional clause guaranteeing compensation would be scrapped.

2000:   In Zimbabwe it was reported that about 4,500 white commercial farmers owned 31 million acres of prime agricultural land, 20.7% of the country's total area. Most rural blacks lived on state-owned land over 41% of the country

2000:   Mugabe announced that the state would begin seizing 804 mostly white-owned farms and resettle them with landless blacks. Pres. Mugabe said that whites may live in Zimbabwe, but they will never have a voice equal to that of blacks.

2000:   Mugabe seeks to ratify the Constitution, adding a provision to make him President for life. Voting began on a new constitution with provisions for expropriating the land of white farmers without compensation. A new party, the Movement for Democratic Change, opposed the new constitution and Pres. Mugabe as inflation in the country soared to over 60%.

2000:   The illegal occupation of white owned farms begins led by veterans of the Liberation War. This act is both supported and encouraged by Robert Mugabe.

2001:   Dec 10, Zimbabwe Pres. Mugabe said elections would be held in March.

2002:   Pres. Mugabe enacted sweeping security and election laws to clamp down on critics and limit election monitoring.

2002:   Zimbabwe Pres. Mugabe was declared the winner with 1.6 million votes to Tsvangirai's 1.2 million. The opposition opposed the results and many observers described the process as deeply flawed.

2003:   Inflation in Zimbabwe hit over 600%.

2004:   The Zimbabwe government announced that all farmland will be nationalized and private land ownership abolished. Title deeds of farm properties will be scrapped and replaced by 99-year leases with rent payable to the government

2005:   Zimbabwe announced that 1.5 million people needed food aid immediately.

2006:   Inflation in Zimbabwe touched 914%. Unemployment was estimated at 80%.

2006:   Zimbabwe devalued its currency by 60% and slashed loan rates 550 points to 300%. 3 zeroes were off denominations amid 1200% inflation.

2007:   Morgan Tsvangirai, Zimbabwe's main opposition leader, urged mass protests against President Robert Mugabe's nearly 27-year-rule.

2008: Zimbabwean opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai urged South African President Thabo Mbeki to show some "courage" and pressure Robert Mugabe ahead of next month's elections. Former finance minister Simba Makoni pledged to heal the wounds of Zimbabwe as he unveiled his manifesto for next month's election battle against veteran President Robert Mugabe.

2008: Zimbabwe's inflation rate, already the highest in the world, soared to a new high of 66,212.3%.

2008: Morgan Tsvangirai, Zimbabwe's main opposition leader and presidential candidate in March 29 general elections, said that the voters' register was filled with tens of thousands of ghost voters

2008: Zimbabweans lined up for hours to vote in elections that present President Robert Mugabe with his toughest political challenge in 28 years in power

2008: Zimbabwe's opposition said it had won the most crucial election since Independence, but President Robert Mugabe's government warned premature victory claims would be seen as an attempted coup.

2008: Zimbabwe's opposition Movement for Democratic Change and President Robert Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF were on level-pegging, as the results trickled in from a weekend general election. The MDC's own tally of votes in 128 of the 210 parliamentary seats showed that its leader Tsvangirai had secured 60 percent of votes against 30 for Mugabe in the presidential race.

2008: Zimbabwe's ruling party geared up for a final battle to keep Robert Mugabe in power, saying it was ready for a presidential election run-off with opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai.

2008: President Robert Mugabe vowed that the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) would never rule Zimbabwe and that he was prepared to fight to keep them from taking power. Zimbabwe opposition's number two leader appeared in court to face a treason charge, while police again detained opposition chief Morgan Tsvangirai ahead of this month's presidential run-off election.

2008: President Robert Mugabe and the opposition reached an accord in which they will wield equal power in a unity government aimed at ending Zimbabwe's protracted political crisis and economic meltdown. One source said Mugabe would chair the cabinet, while Morgan Tsvangirai takes charge of a national security council that consists of 31 cabinet ministers.

2009: Jan 19, In Zimbabwe Southern African mediators tried to forge a compromise between Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe and his rival Morgan Tsvangirai, in a last-ditch effort to save a power sharing deal. The power-sharing talks ended without a deal and

opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai said no progress was made on what he called the "darkest day of our lives."

2009:   Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe was re-elected as ZANU-PF leader for the next five years, urging supporters to work for the survival of the party. Mugabe said the unity government is short-lived and he plans to regain his hold over the country.

EXPLANATORY NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The largest "*Coloured community*" in southern Africa is in South Africa, which by 2010 was approximately four and half million. Followed by Angola with over 200,000 and Namibia (125,000). Zimbabwe has the second largest Coloured community in Anglophone Africa, after South Africa. The results of Zimbabwe's 2002 census revealed that the Coloureds were at 32,000 or 0.3% of the overall population. This figure could be an underestimation, given the unreliability of census records and that according to the 1980 census, the Coloured population stood at 28,000 (Muzondidya, 2005).

The term *Coloured* describes those who are entitled, on the basis of their being regarded as persons of mixed racial origin, to admission to various specifically and officially designated separate (from those of other racial groups) Coloured institutions (schools, residential areas, hospitals, etc.) and who also regard themselves as Coloured both in the genetic and social sense of the term" (Mandaza, 1997). "black," "African," and "Native" refer to the Bantu-speaking majority of Zimbabwe. "Europeans," or "whites" refer to the white settler community in Zimbabwe. All of these terms are racial terms and do not take class or ethnic affiliations into consideration.

The term *category* refers to one of the four racial categories legally and historically defined in Southern Rhodesia: Black (meaning Shona or Ndebele), White (meaning of European descent), Coloured (of mixed European/African descent) and Asian (primarily of Southeast Asian descent). Often times during white rule the categories Coloured and Asian were collapsed into one category.

Chapter One: A Description of People and Place

Introduction

"Coloureds are either gullible or still grateful for the minimal privileges that the government allowed them as second-class citizens; several notches above the rest of us…but perhaps the motivation goes deeper: they simply can't place the black man above whitey in their esteem" (Maimane, 1995). Assertions such as this one, brings into focus a broad consideration of what it means to be Coloured.

Coloureds, although historically marginalized by their second-class status in the colonial government, provide an interesting lens into the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. By examining Coloureds in Zimbabwe over time and space, I reveal that they offer insight into the often devastating, mechanisms of a government in the process of evolution, politically and economically. Coloureds remain relegated as second-class citizens in the postcolonial context as well, and it is against this backdrop of marginization that I examine who and what Coloureds are.

This chapter examines the significance of Coloureds in Bulawayo and more peripherally, Cape Town, South Africa, as well as some of the complexities other researchers have either revealed or ignored. In reviewing the literature, most studies only focus on Coloureds tangentially or in short monographs. While I explore the theories and findings of several anthropologists in this chapter, the most important studies on Coloureds are James Muzondidya's *Walking a Tightrope: Towards a Social History of the Coloured Community of Zimbabwe*, Ibbo Mandaza's *Race, Color, and Class,* both of which deal with Zimbabwe*;* Zimitri Erasmus' *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* and Mohamed Adhikari's *Not white Enough, Not black Enough: Racial Identity in South Africa's*

Coloured Community, which both deal with South Africa. I also outline the methodology used in collecting data for this dissertation in this chapter. Data was collected primarily in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe (especially in the Coloured suburbs of Barham Greene and Thornegrove); but was also collected in Elsies River, Cape Flats, Cape Town, South Africa.

The transformation of Zimbabwe from Southern Rhodesia[11] is a complex process that involves the reversal of separate and unequal development socially and economically, and the forging of a sense of national unity to overcome the legacy of deep racial division. Colonial policy not only established categories or groups based on race, but also, discouraged intergroup contact via residence, education, and employment schemes, which in turn fostered a group consciousness. For Coloureds, this group consciousness is defined both ideologically within and in opposition to blacks. In many ways, the Coloured community in the postcolonial context remains as it was under colonialism, an official category, as they were marginalized in both the white centered colonial government and the black centered postcolonial government. Yet, what makes it a community and not a category is that the former is based on an ideological status that is based on a sense of a common ideology or consciousness, while the latter is based on a legal status that was imposed by the colonial government that gave Coloureds privileges in employment, residence, and education above blacks, yet below whites.

The notion of ideological difference is what drives the "latent but rising ethno-nationalistic sentiments" of late (Ramsamy, 2002) within the Coloured community in South Africa as well, despite the fact that the history of resistance to apartheid reveals a strong tradition of cooperation among different groups in spite of the state's attempt at racial segregation (Jackson, 1999; Ramsamy, 2002; Frederikse, 1990; Reddy 1991). Bruce Kadalie (1995) exposes a renewed interest in ethnicity raised during elections in South Africa in 1994, finding that this

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[11] Colonial name.

interest can only be understood in terms of the politics of colonialism and its subsequent system of fixed racial boundaries that are now being contested. Coloured support of the National Party (NP) in South Africa, and the Rhodesian Front (RF) in Zimbabwe, reignited concern over the lasting divisions around race, culture, ethnicity and identity from the previous regimes. And while activists and academics alike see this as a motive for Coloureds who "are trying to be different" from their fellow black Africans based on imposed colonial nonsense, there is indeed a strong sense of "Brown Nationalism" (Jackson, 1999) emerging from within the Coloured community. Brown Nationalism focuses on expressing cultural difference, reclaiming and reifying repressed histories, and celebrating a sense of unity in being a mixed race group; a view that has been met with resentment as when the African National Congress (ANC) lost 65-70% of the votes to the NP, Nelson Mandela said after the elections,

> In the Indian and Coloured areas you find as much as seventy percent of the population voted against an African government. They decided to be part of a past, which had divided us, created conflict, hostility, instead of being part of the future. We have had the most difficult task in the government of National Unity because of the fact the Indian and Coloured communities have identified themselves with the oppressors, and have created problems for me in promoting a spirit of reconciliation and the building of a nation, which will be the joint activity of all South Africans[12]

Yet Brown Nationalism has strong roots in South Africa and can be traced back to earlier discourses on "Hottentot[13] Nationalism", as some Cape Coloureds in this study trace their lineage to the Hottentots. According to Robert Ross (1997) Hottentot or Khoikhoi nationalism found its origins not only in the encounter between Europeans and the Khoikhoi, but also, in the missionary work of the London Missionary Society (LMS) who arrived in the Colony in 1799. As a result, "…Supposed distinctions of ethnicity were intertwined with economic, political, and,

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[12] Speech in Tongaat, October 21, 1994.
[13] European name for the Khoikhoi, a population indigenous to Southern Africa since 5 AD.

in this case, ecclesiastical dichotomies" (*Kronos*, 24, 1997: 96) but these alliances became

tangible by both LMS Superintendent John Philip's initial campaign against discrimination

towards the Khoikhoi[14] and the Khoisan Kat River Settlement. As Ross (1997) points out, the

Kat River was a place where Khoikhoi could live freely and express themselves openly (even in

Afrikaans) and Kat River was "much more than a district, it was a symbol of freedom, it was the

promise of a better life" (http://newhistory.co.za). It was also a place where the Khoikoi saw

themselves as different from their neighboring Xhosa, Thembu and Mfengu because of their

evangelical status. When the Vagrancy Act (1834)[15] threatened this way of life, debates against it

"provided the first major exposition of Khoikhoi nationalism or ethnic consciousness. That

consciousness, like most such, entailed the recognition and articulation of a shared past, and the

construction of a programme for the future and remains as a symbol in Coloured memory" (Ross,

Kronos, 24, 1997: 98).

In Zimbabwe, while there is no tie to Khoikhoi nationalism as there is for Coloureds in

South Africa, here "Brown Nationalism" reflects the "need to express cultural difference freely,

reclaim and reify repressed histories…and open up the process of exhibiting and celebrating a

sense of belongingness or identity that was historically denied to mixed-race groups" (Jackson,

1999:3).

Massive land resettlement campaigns and racial divisions marked the colonial era in

Southern Rhodesia. Similarly, the post-colonial era is characterized by massive land

redistribution campaigns and a call for "African" unity, a discourse that centers on eradicating all

forms of colonialism, while promoting unity and solidarity amongst its citizens. While some

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[14] Ordinance 50 (1828): Freed Coloureds or Khoikhoi from pass book laws and established their right as free persons of color to land ownership.
[15] Gave property owners or their representatives the right to apprehend idle or disorderly persons wandering around. Pass books that were once unnessary, were now necessary to show the right to be present on the property.

Coloureds were swept away by the African unity movement and by Mugabe's promises of "drawing a line through the past" in terms of racial divisions and racism, *many hold on to the past*. Mandaza explains, "in the enduring legacy of race and its many consequences there are continued attempts at sustaining interests based on race and color' (1997:794). Coloureds are proponents of these sustained interests and although they represent only 1% of the population[16], they are ethnographically interesting as their unwillingness to assimilate is significant in larger discussions of race, resistance, and African unity.

In some ways the reification of the Colouredness is inspired by the move since Independence to Africanize the primary institutions of cultural production in Zimbabwe. As in South Africa, the metaphor of the "Rainbow Nation"[17] is one that allocates for all expressions of difference, but is "subsumed under the binding trajectory and cross-cutting ties of the nation and citizen rather than ethnic subject" (Jackson 1999:6). Both Africanization[18] and the Rainbow Nation allow the majority to elevate its own cultures and histories in order to counter those imposed by the European minority in the form of a general politics of reversal and a strategic politicization of knowledge. Yet this places many Coloureds in an awkward position as ideologically those in this study believe they are culturally more similar to Europeans than any other group and yet face another source of exclusion when their status as Africans becomes increasingly fragmented and ambiguous. The new Coloured politics of reclamation, then, serves conflicting ends: on the one hand it works to reinforce group identity and inclusion by reviving aspects of the past which differentiate Coloureds from other groups, and on the other hand, it allows them to participate more as equals in the current atmosphere. Attempts by Coloureds to Africanize and/or to essentialize their pasts, however, are continually disrupted by the

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[16] See Appendix E.
[17] A multicultural nation.
[18] Meaning collective African identity.

discontinuity and fragmentation that historically situates them as a marginalized mixed-race group.

Why Coloureds?

As an anthropologist researching this area of study, I have been repeatedly asked *why* are Coloureds important, particularly since they represent such a small percentage of the population and many view them as irrelevant remnants of a colonial past. Like Asians working in Uganda from 1880-1972 as railway builders, artisans, and clerks, Coloureds filled equally important economic roles. Yet it is important to note that Coloureds were not "imported" to work in Southern Africa; but rather, they were indigenous to the colonial context from which they sprang. While Coloureds never established control over commercial trade as Asians did in Uganda, they nevertheless occupied a social and economic position between blacks and whites. Further, like "mulattoes" south of North Carolina in the United States, Coloureds served as a buffer or intermediate class between whites and blacks.

V.Y. Mudimbe (1988) formulates several hypotheses about scientific and anthropological knowledge in Africa. Colonies were not only a place that brought benefits to the metropole, but also, a place where the "savage" (according to Enlightenment social scientists) resided. "During this period both imperialism and anthropology took shape, allowing for a reification of the primitive…From this point, various schools of anthropology developed models and techniques to describe the "primitive" in accordance with changing trends within the framework of Western experience" (1988:17). By the 1800s, natural science began to serve as a model to implement social science. These two factors—"the impact of ideology" and "the model of natural sciences" served as a guide of knowledge in the social sciences since the 19th century. Knowledge or at

least anthropological knowledge was based on an understanding of " the principle of order" (Mudimbe, 1988; Foucault 1973), and it was informed by varying degrees of "ethnocentrism," one that was knowledge based and one that rested on an ideological connection. The former "maintains and sustains anthropology as a system of knowledge and as a developing science" and the latter "explains the ideological changes and struggles in the history and practice of the social science discipline" (Mudimbe, 1988:19). In colonization, "the mingling of these two aspects of ethnocentrism tended, almost naturally, to be complete in both the discourse of power and that of knowledge, to the point of transforming the mission of the discipline into an enterprise of acculturation"(Mudimbe 1988:20). And as an agent of transformation, anthropologists faced the task of "recording the "savage" as an active participant in modern civilization" (Mudimbe, 1988; Malinowski, 1938).

Davies (1999) highlights Hortense Powdermaker's remark in her research on Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) in the 1950's "the Europeans were also within the spectrum of my interests…I did not see how Europeans could be omitted from the study of contemporary urban African life, but at the time I was apparently the only anthropologist in Northern Rhodesia with that view" (1966: 203). Clearly, her comments challenge the very notion of who were the subjects of the Africanist anthropologists gaze. Anthropologists have long ignored the potential for ethnographic research among populations other than "native" populations in Africa, particularly in settler colonies. Yet in settler communities to ignore populations other than the native is virtually impossible, given the racist rhetoric that pervades. In Zimbabwe, in particular, the question of race becomes in many ways, culture, as it dominates most aspects of social and political life from the very mundane to the larger issues of land distribution and government.

Others have questioned the very notion of Coloured identity as an invented or so-called identity. The "invention of identity" approach has permeated studies on Southern Africa as discussions have historically focused around two "major" races—blacks and whites, and their social, economic, and political experiences both colonially and post-colonially. Coloureds in this sense are often conflated with blacks, as there is no "real" difference between them other than the fact that Coloureds were given "privileges" within the colonial structure to make up for European moral failings. Macmillian (1968:10) writes: "The fortunes of the white and Coloured races are inseparably linked, and the two stories cannot be divorced." Marias (1968: ix) echoes: "The history of the Coloured people is the history of the contact of aboriginal Africans with Europeans...The historian of the Cape Coloured is at every stage in their evolution brought to face with the European—the missionary who sought to convert and civilize them, the trader who often debauched them, the Government official who tried to fit them into their proper place in an ordered society." Finally, a speech by former South African First Lady Marika de Klerk, repeats this sentiment,

> Coloureds are a negative group. The definition of a Coloured person in the population register is someone that is not white and not black, and is also not Indian, in other words, a non-person…they are left overs. They are the people that were left out after nations were sorted out. They are the rest…The Coloureds were always under the wing of whites. They have never been on their own. They have no history of governing themselves…they must be supervised. (Scheper-Hughes, 1994)

Clearly these attitudes are reflective of fear that later shaped subsequent attitudes that white Rhodesians and South Africans developed towards "the other" within the colonial system. The fear was not only in the flight from the Old World to the New, but also in the hope of a limitless future, made more appealing by what was left behind. "With luck and endurance one could discover freedom; find a way to make God's law manifest; …the habit of genuflection would be replaced by the thrill of command. Power—control over one's destiny—would replace

the powerlessness felt before the gates of class, caste, and cunning persecution. One could move from discipline and punishment to disciplining and punishing; from social ostracism to social rank" Morrison (1992:35). It was this kind of power—the power to make a fearful impulse into law and that was in turn appropriated into tradition. Miscegenation was perhaps the settler's greatest fear, one that served as an ideological tool for whites to stigmatize Coloureds. Geoffrey Cronje, an influential contributor to the grand theory of apartheid, suggests that keeping Afrikaner blood pure was a "national" responsibility and that Coloureds in particular were the enemy. If the "problem" was not dealt with then "whites will cease to exist" (Coetzee, 2008:8). Thus it was an Afrikaner duty to protect South Africa from "bastards" (Coloureds), "as for the European (read Afrikaner) in Africa has everything to lose by bastardization. With regard to blood-mixing, the Coloured presents the utmost danger for the European race in South Africa. Only total segregation will forestall disaster" (Coetzee, 2008:9). According to Cronje, Coloureds exist only at the hands of treacherous blood-mixers—Jews, foreigners, mentally retarded whites, and other low-grade whites who have no self-respect or racial pride. Therefore, in many ways rejecting miscegenation became synonymous with Afrikaner national identity.

Coloureds, when documented as or referred to, are described as "so-called" (Wallerstein 1991) Coloureds, in an effort to reflect unity in a "new" Zimbabwe. Yet the attitude that Coloureds are not "true" Africans is also augmented by a particular interpretation of the "meaning of African culture and community which privileges an organically defined group boundary actively subsuming the symbiotically bounded individual" (Jackson, 1999:8). Coloured attempts to establish themselves as a separate community and reify the Coloured "category" is a response to a set of historical conditions inherited from the fixed nature of categories within the colonial government, which will be addressed in chapter three of this dissertation. Further, since

Coloureds are understood by some as being privileged during colonialism, "they are placed below Africans in the privileges defined by Affirmative Action policies and are a sort of postcolonial chain of being" (Jackson, 1999:8).

As a result, Coloureds have been studied only peripherally. "For the most part Coloured history has been confined to short monographs, anecdotes and passing references" (Muzondidya, 2005:11). Yet recent studies in historiography, particularly in the works of Alexander, McGregor, and Ranger, respectively, challenge this trend, accepting the complex interaction of external and internal factors in the construction of ethnic identities (Muzondidya, 2005).

Academic Perspectives on Coloureds

Said's (1978) third type of Orientalism describes Europe as a corporate institution that administers control over the Orient—making statements about it, authorizing views of it, teaching it, describing it, having authority over it. In this way one must understand the systematic discipline that European culture[19] had to exercise to manage and produce the Other in every way imaginable. The relationship between Europe and Africa has always been one defined by power, by domination, and by varying degrees of hegemony, thus racial categories were created out of this relationship. While "Said traces the Invention of the Orient back to the Western quest for the Other; Mudimbe (1988) traces the invention of Africa back to similar Western explorations" (Mazuri, 2005). The Orient and Africa in this sense is perceived as exotic, intellectually retarded, emotionally sensual, culturally passive and politically penetrable.

In early studies on Southern Africa, much like studies in the United States, discussions circulating around socio-political and economic experiences were dominated by the two major

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[19] Here meant to be used as wide range multiple cultures on the continent that had significant influence on intellectual, religious, and scientific philosophies globally.

binaries: settler and native or black and white. This is linked to European dominance and control,

as there has always been an accepted system of theory and practice created for filtering

knowledge about Africa to the West (Said 1978). References to Coloureds were passing and

often peripheral in relation to the center. Muzondidya (2005) highlights the work of Ibbotson

(1942), Wheeldon (1969), Dotson and Dotson (1963), among others as the first attempt at

capturing the political and social experiences of Coloureds. Ibbotson focused on describing

Coloured socio-economic conditions in Harare (then Salisbury) and Bulawayo during the 1940s.

The Dotsons followed in the 1960s with their analysis of other colonial subjects—mainly

Indians, and some Coloureds—in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. They focused on Indian

interaction with Coloureds and how these interactions shaped race and ethnic relations.

Wheeldon followed in 1969 with a chapter dedicated to Coloureds in Harare, which looked at

how civil organizations—churches, sports, and clubs functioned as agents in promoting Coloured

socio-economic interests (Muzondidya, 2005).

However, most of the available extensive literature on Coloureds is drawn from South

Africa, where "the largest body, if not all, of this work consisted of localized studies which

rarely dealt with communities outside of the Western Cape…[and] most of these studies

concentrated on the nineteenth to mid twentieth century" (Muzondidya, 2005).

"The dominant themes which charactize accounts of Coloured history as well as the

Coloured experience can be generalized in terms of their various attempts to make sense of

hybridity, ambiguity, and the contradictions of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion enacted

against a field of racial practice and culture" (Jackson, 1999:99). The majority of these consist of

frontier-historical accounts covering topics like the indigenous Khoikhoi (Schapera 1930, Marks,

1972, Elphick 1985, Guelke and Shell 1992), the history of slavery in the Cape (Ross 1983,

Adhikari 1989, Worden and Crais 1994, Shell 1994), the formation of the Muslim community

(du Plessis 1948, Davids 1981, Jeppie 1998), comparative religion and reports gathered from

Coloured mission stations (Sales 1975, Bredekamp 1992, Chidester 1996), and more

contemporary studies of township life and forced removals (Brindley 1976, Western 1981,

Jeppie and Soudien 1990). In addition to these, there is an interesting narrative of the role of

Coloureds and blacks in the Anglo-Boer War (Nasson 1991). And, Mohamed Adhikari (1993)

has provided an important survey of the role of education and the teaching profession in the

formation of Coloured identity. There have also been efforts to disengage Coloureds and

representations of Coloureds from the accumulated stereotypes that circulate in literature and

popular discourse such as those provided by van der Ross (1979), and February (1981). Those

attempts in the past to write about Coloureds directly or in terms of the specificity of their

experiences primarily focused on their formal political activism and organized responses to the

economic and social policies that distinguish them from other groups (Patterson 1953, Goldin

1984, 1987; Lewis 1987, du Pre 1994).

Recent work on Coloureds in South Africa focuses on Coloured history, and the

Coloured elite. Erasmus (2001) stresses the ambiguity and fluidity of Coloured identity

formation, and argues that these identities are based not so much on race mixture, as on cultural

creativity, creolized formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery,

segregation, and apartheid. Their identities are cultural formations derived from appropriation,

dispossession, and translation from the colonial encounter, with various elements of different

cultures appropriated, translated, and articulated in complex and subtle ways. The fact that

sexuality, sexual encounter, and shame have become central tropes in organizing the narration

and ritual invocation of the Coloured past, shows some consciousness of the fact that the

Coloured category itself originated at the intersection of different cultures, or different worlds. Any version of Coloured identity or history betrays reduction to any one side of the colonial encounter. But this does not eliminate the values attached to the integrated model of self or self-enclosure, and the depth of identity achieved through historical continuity and coherence. A nuanced analysis of Coloured identity requires some review of the interstices and ambiguities of colonialism in order to make sense of the tensions that are now refracted through a simultaneous mobilization of symbols of indigenization and critical responses to modernization and Africanization as paths to national transformation. The current politics of Coloured identity rest heavily on reclamation of a past, which is understood as native on one hand, while others focus on the fact that this same past is overwritten and contaminated by European colonial interests. This active reclaiming of a seemingly lost or obscured narrative of the past is allowing many Coloureds to participate more self-consciously in the teaching and disseminating of their own understanding of themselves as distinct from other natives (Erasmus 2001; Ryan, 2010; Stadler 2011).

Adhikari (2005) argues that the Coloured elite deliberately fostered Coloured identity in their attempt to carve socio-economic space for themselves and their community in the racially stratified society of South Africa. Moreover, Adhikari (2005) asserts that Coloured identity is primarily a product of its bearers, and that a separate Coloured identity was asserted late in the nineteenth century, as a result of the mining industry and the subsequent competition for jobs and power.

Literature on Coloureds in Zimbabwe, however, is more precarious, which is what this study seeks to both challenge and expand upon. James Mandaza (1997) and Ibbo Muzondidya (2005) have published two studies on Zimbabwean communities. Mandaza's (1997) work takes

the "invention of identity" approach on Coloureds. Mandaza in *Race, Color and Class* (1997) explores both the parameters and content of the Coloured community[20] and indicates the extent to which the existence of this community is *resolved* both ideologically and politically with the establishment of black majority rule in Zimbabwe. In other words, black majority rule resolves the *problem* of the Coloured category by absorbing it into the "African" community at large. This *solution* is both problematic in that it assumes the willingness on the part of Coloureds to be absorbed; and significant, as although the historically defined racial categories of the past are no longer the basis for the rationalization of the paternalistic type of authority[21] that the colonial government once mobilized, racial conflict poses a serious threat to inclusive visions of a united Zimbabwe (Ramsamy, 2004). My work directly challenges this stance as I reveal that Coloureds indeed do not want to be absorbed into a wider African community and for this resistance, they are not allowed a Zimbabwean identity.

As the first detailed account of Coloureds in Zimbabwe, Mandaza correctly reveals Coloured identity as a creation of the colonial government (Muzondidya, 2005). Coloured identity is part of the colonial toolkit, a tactic to divide and conquer. Within this toolkit, race and ethnicity are political identities because they are both legally enforced and institutionally reproduced. Thus, if the law recognizes one as a member of a racial or ethnic group and the state institutions treat one as a member of said racial or ethnic group, then one's relationship to the state and other legally defined groups is mediated through the law and state. Political identities are a consequence of power (Mamdani, 2001).

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[20] "Denotes persons who are Coloured in the social sense of the term and are therefore regarded as a community distinct from other racial communities (white, black, Asian) in terms of the white settler ideological conception of racial hierarchy" (Mandaza, 1997).

[21] van den Berge, 1970: Chapter 1.

Yet Mandaza (1997) does not move beyond this idea and his work ignores Coloured agency in constructing Coloured identity, and does little to reveal the complexities of Coloured identity beyond a state imposed categorization. In fact, his work ultimately "portrays Coloureds as little more than collaborating dupes or naïve and gullible people manipulated by the colonial government" (Muzondidya, 5). Muzondidya (2005) attempts to dispel the many misconceptions and assumptions made in Mandaza's (1997) work, by offering a more balanced view of Coloureds as both social identities and political identities. The former is shaped by Coloureds themselves (which is discussed later in this dissertation), while the latter is shaped by the state.

Paramount to all these studies is the fact that Coloured identity cannot be considered in an ahistorical context. The history of the colonial period both in South Africa and Zimbabwe remain central to the way in which Coloureds imagine themselves today. Yet as Shannon Jackson (1999) notes, " the ambivalent identity of Coloureds has left them with interesting possibilities in terms of cultural expression" (9)—one that fluctuates from identifying with their understanding of "black American hip-hop culture", to "an ethnographic self-fashioning" (Wicomb 1998; Jackson, 1999) that requires adding an "authenticity" to the prescribed governmental category. With this in mind, I focus on how Coloureds have been historically defined, and how they, themselves, define their cultural and social identity, by exploring how Coloureds have aided in constructing their own image, in both the past and present.

In discussing identity I am concerned with how Coloureds define themselves, separate and distinct from others. As identity is constructed around how one views oneself, how others view one, and how one wants to be viewed by others, my discussion goes beyond individuals to consider the construction of Coloured identity by the state. I will explore how the modern day Zimbabwean government defines the debate on race and citizenship, ascribing a particular role

and identity to Coloureds.

What makes Coloureds unique and different from other ethnic groups is that they are *both* a racial and ethnic group. Coloureds are often described in racial terms, yet it should be understood that as a people they have constructed layers of racial and cultural meanings that provide them with a shared ethnic identity. This racial and ethnic identity is what has historically and contemporarily constituted the category Coloured. Yet it should be made clear that while Coloureds exist as both an ethnic and racial group, it does not mean that other ethnic identities within the group/category are excluded. For example, Coloureds can also identify ethnically and racially as Asian, Afrikaner, and British.

Methodology

This dissertation is based on ethnographic data collected to analyze why and how Coloureds in Zimbabwe sought to reclaim, or perpetuate their historic place (category) within the colonial racial hierarchy postcolonially against an ever-changing political landscape.

In this section, I summarize the design of this study.

To accomplish this, I primarily conducted interviews using participant observation based on the following schedule:

May 2004-September 2004 (Bulawayo)

May 2005-September 2005 (Bulawayo)

December 2005-February 2006 (Bulawayo)

May 2006-September 2006 (Bulawayo)

May 2007-September 2007 (Bulawayo)

May 2008-August 2008 (Bulawayo)

December 2009-February 2010 (Elsies River)

Using snowball sampling, I interviewed informants *who identified themselves* as Coloured. During my time in Bulawayo and Elsies River, I participated in the day-to-day activities—lunches, dinners, church, AA meetings, social gathers and sporting events-- of Coloureds. I also collected a few genealogies, but they proved to be both difficult to obtain and of little use in revealing much about Coloureds outside of residence, profession and migration patterns. Coloureds as a group remain problematic to define from an outsider/academic perspective because of the complexity of their mixed origin and the transient nature of identity.

Fieldwork was conducted both on and in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe and Elsies River, Cape Town, South Africa. LeCompte and Preissle (1993) affirm that the research process occurs in several places—at the actual site, in libraries, and even through the mail. As a fieldworker, I

actively participated in the lives and experiences of some Coloureds in these two respective places. I also researched government documents and following my return to the United States in 2010, I administered additional questionnaires through email. As a researcher, I was aware of my status as both participant and observer, yet based on my previous relationships with many Coloureds in both places, I believe that my informants awareness that they were indeed, being studied, came and went as oftentimes I was treated like a complete participant, which is addressed later in this chapter. Yet because of the fluctuation of my insider/outside status as participant-observer/complete participant, I am again aware of the possibility of "losing the outsider's perspective by over identifying with participants and…losing the insiders perspective by under identifying with them" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993: 97), which remained a challenge during this study.

As a researcher who initiated the study, I am well aware of the risk involved in conducting this type of endeavor. LeCompte and Preissle (1993) note, "participants rarely initiate research and since their lives are being examined, the risks they incur are considered to be the most serious" (106). Consequently the assurance confidentiality becomes paramount. Yet in this study, given the fact that I am attempting to capture who Coloureds are and how and why they are seeking to reclaim their historic place in the racial hierarchy of the past, it was imperative that I reveal who they are, as identity in many ways lies at the core of what it means to be Coloured. Therefore the convention of confidentiality has been side stepped and all participants have signed an informed consent form in compliance with the IRB in order for the use of real names, taped interviews and photographs. Photographs in particular are used in this study to reveal the variation in Coloureds through many so-called "tangible" Coloured attributes such as skin color, dress, style and fashion that display cultural affiliation.

The Site

I conducted research for this dissertation in two places: Bulawayo and Elsies River. My primary and most intensive research was conducted for approximately twenty-two months in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, specifically in the Coloured suburbs of Barham Greene (BG) and Thornegrove, respectively. I chose to conduct research in Bulawayo rather than in Harare for several reasons: my past experience living the area made me familiar with the area and its people (which is discussed in page 46), Bulawayo is a relatively smaller city which allowed for better access, and a recent study on Coloureds was conducted in Harare[22]. During a visit to South Africa, I conducted additional research in 2009-2010 over a three-month period in Elsies River, a Coloured suburb of Cape Town, South Africa.

Bulawayo

Bulawayo is Zimbabwe's second largest city, after Harare with an approximate population of 1.5 million. Most of the participants in this study live in Bulawayo and its surrounding areas. It is located in the southern part of Matabeleland and although most of its inhabitants belong to the Ndebele linguistically and ethnically, most residents speak English as well. Historically termed, "the killing place" it is the traditional capital of the Ndebele Kingdom. It became a British settlement under the rule of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in 1893, with whites occupying the city, while Coloureds and blacks occupied the surrounding areas. Below is a map of Bulawayo City Centre, an area that was designated as a European area until Independence. Upon Independence, the city became racially mixed, yet the majority of

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[22] Muzondidya, 2005.

Coloureds remained in the suburbs. The map reflects the changed street names to match the

names of the heroes in the liberation war of Independence.

http://mappery.com/Bulawayo-City-Tourist-Map
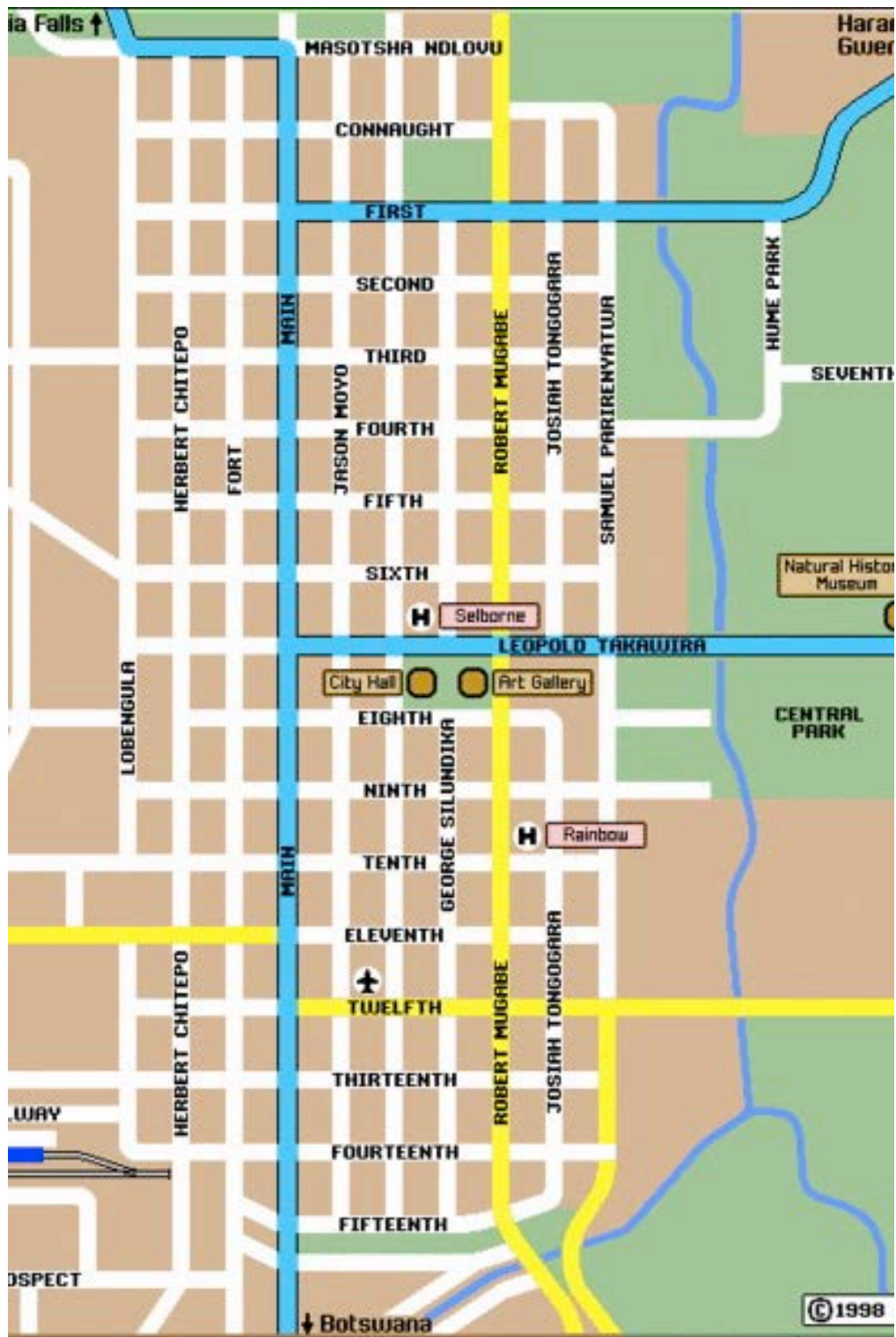
Thornegrove

Thornegrove is a medium density suburb housing low to medium earners. More than one thousand residents occupy semi-detached and detached bungalow type houses. The houses here are run-down and surrounded by burnt-out lawns. It was originally designated a low income Coloured suburb in Bulawayo, and although it remains such, many residents own their homes. Historically, Coloureds who lived in this suburb were low-income earners, who occupied semi-skilled occupations and most were undereducated, not reaching even O-levels. In 1945, the City Council constructed 2 bedroom houses at £300, offered at 25-year mortgages and at its inception there were 66 families residing in Thornegrove (NAZ). This suburb is about 2 miles from City Centre and in recent years there has been an influx in the amount of homeless people due to the economic conditions of the country, which has exasperated the rate of crime in the area. According to Mrs. Mackay (photographed below), a 63 year-old seamstress, who also works at the Thornegrove Soup Kitchen, blacks have moved into the area (allowed in 1986) and although they are "hardworking and respectful," their presence has made many Coloureds move into other areas to avoid living near blacks. Yet to Coloureds who live in Barham Greene, Thornegrove is a place for dark-skinned Coloureds (see photos below) who regularly mix with blacks, which will be discussed later.
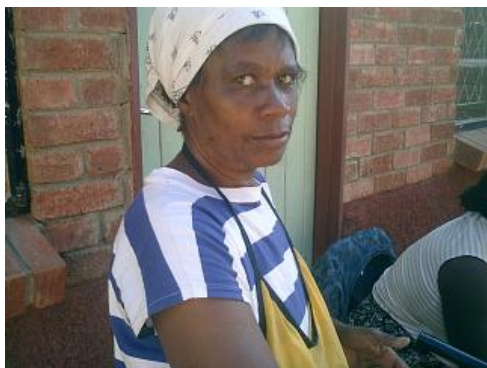
Anita Nyathi of Thornegrove

Elphin Mackay of Thornegrove

Barham Greene

Barham Greene (BG) is a medium density suburb originally designed to house professional Coloureds. Houses here are elaborate in comparison to those of Thornegrove. Residents of Barham Green are medium to high earners, many of whom are teachers, nurses, and or business owners. Historically, BG's residents were well educated by comparison to those of Thornegrove and many had completed O-levels and some even A-levels. This suburb is about 1 mile from City Centre. Almost all of the Coloured participants in this study are from Barham Greene. Barham Greene boasts the only historically Coloured high school in Bulawayo, Founders High, and BG equipped with its own sports fields, swimming baths[23], and other social amenities. Based on participant observation, I was able to identify this suburb as the historic center of the Coloured elite and the center of the Coloured community's social activity in the Bulawayo area (churches, social clubs and the center of all Coloured events).

Those Coloured participants in this study who no longer lived in BG, lived in homes and/or neighborhoods occupied or formerly occupied by whites. While most grew up in Barham Greene, only a few remained in residence there since Independence, opting for the lower density suburbs that were once exclusively white. All of the Coloured homes I visited were typical upper

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[23] Swimming pools

class suburban homes in that the property was elaborately walled and gated. In the lower-middle class areas, homes were merely fenced, if at all. Some were larger than others, like those of Stanley Staddon, whose home boasted a swimming pool, Jacuzzi, three separate floors, and large screen televisions in almost every room; and Chris van Rensburg, a self-employed businessman, whose home was a favorite among Coloured women for its gardens, swimming pool, and décor, in addition to being the site for the monthly tea party. Others were smaller and lacked swimming pools.

All Coloured homes I visited had a detached cement house in the rear of the property, in which their domestics lived. All domestics were black. These houses were usually comprised of one-bedroom and a separate Blair toilet, regardless of the number of domestics who lived there.[24] For example, May and Ray Smith (further described on pages 42-43) employed three domestics and all three and their children shared a one-bedroom cement house that had neither running water nor electricity. Although living conditions were visibly difficult for blacks employed as domestics, many Coloureds enjoyed engaging in discussions about who treated *their blacks better*. Anara Zoolay, a 30 year-old self employed Coloured of Indian descent, was perhaps the most adamant about this as she proudly announced that she gave *her blacks*, "sheets, blankets, a heater, and a television." While Ingrid Hall, a Commercial Gardner, boasted, "I have nine gardeners and I treat them all very well." Throughout my stay I was warned about giving things to "blacks" because according to May, "they were well-taken care of, but greedy." This attitude was exemplified by the fact that May Smith locked all her cupboards and one morning when I gave Ma Ndlovu, one of May's domestics, two slices of toast, May took them away saying, "She knows she cannot have toast, she has mealie meal." When I asked May's domestics Ma Ndlovu

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[24] The latrine was developed in Zimbabwe at the Blair Research Institute and is a *ventilated pit latrine*, basically a hole in the ground.

and Lepee about their work, they replied, "Look how we live. We have nothing. What can we do? This is how things have always been." May Smith's actions and Ma Ndlovu's and Lepee's reaction to my question signal not only the strict racial categorizations that are continued post colonially, but also the outward display of an internally projected Coloured identity and ideology of difference.

The treatment and discussion of domestics are standards replicated by Coloureds within the racial structure of society. Just as Europeans were reliant upon standards of living made possible through the employment of domestic servants, "every white household no matter how poor, employed at least one servant" (Kirkwood, 1984:156), Coloureds too, were equally reliant. Both Whiteness and Colouredness was imbued with an obligation to maintain a certain social status, which in turn was understood to partially exemplify cultural superiority. The notion of domestic standards contributed to racialized perceptions of Coloureds' superior and cultural development.

Elsie's River, Cape Flats, South Africa

The Cape Flats is an area south-east of Cape Town, South Africa, that in the 1950's became a Coloured settlement as a result of the apartheid government's Group Areas Act, which forcibly moved all non-whites from urban areas (which became white areas) into government built townships. All non-whites could work in urban/white areas provided they had a pass, but could not live there. The Cape Flats fan-out from a major highway that connects to Cape Town proper and is a Coloured liminal zone dotted with dead-end streets, cinder block homes. A racially separated white corridor runs along the Flats and ties together the residential zones of Brooklyn, Tygerberg and Bellville. These areas are situated on higher ground than The Flats and

enjoy a more accessible route to the city and to coastlines. Blacks are situated even further out physically, which is congruent with distances socially between blacks, whites and Coloureds. Cape Flats is an area made up of several Coloured townships, such as Mitchell's Plain, Grassy Park and Hanover Park that border the better known black townships of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. My research was conducted at another Coloured township in Cape Flats, Elsies River. Below is a map of the area of Elsies River. The map not only highlights Elsies, but also its surrounding areas, which is delimited largely by industrial complexes, and the airport is nearby. Major highways intersect through the Flats, which is about a 20-minute drive into Cape Town City Centre.

http://www.schenker.co.za/pages/about-db-schenker/route-description.php

My principal informant, Roxanne Clarke, (who is introduced in greater detail on page 42) lived on a main thoroughfare of the Flats, called Halt Road. Halt Road is marked in yellow on the map above and runs from north to south. Many of the homes in the area represent a past glory now faded—cement bungalow type homes, once painted in delicate colors of white and pastels, now dilapidated with paint peeling from the top and dirt from grassless lawns staining the bottom. All of my informants, although well into their 20s and 30s, lived with their parents, even those with children. This was perhaps because of financial difficulties, but while a sense of hopeless permeated, it was tempered with a sense of pride in being Coloured. For example, Roxanne and her two brothers lived with their mother until her death and continue to live together today. The house they occupy is in various stages of decay—some rooms are habitable, some are not. Of the three, Roxanne works only part-time, her brother Byron is not employed and her other brother Alain, works in town. This directly affects the way in which the house is run—more like a college frat house and less like the home of three adults. Food is scarce to non-existent, and there is no television, telephone or Internet. Entertainment lies in the steady array of visitors, who come and go all day and night to sit, talk, smoke and drink under the tree in the back yard. They are all in their mid-to-late-20s and while they struggle financially to survive but also recognize Elsies as home and the place that truly defines who they are—an identity that is historically defined yet redefined and reaffirmed daily in their interactions with others in the Flats and also outside in the country club that Roxanne teaches part-time at in town (pronounced *tan* in Cape Coloured Afrikaans) and the graphic design firm that her brother Alain works at in town (Cape Town). The same can be said of my principal Zimbabwean informants, May and Ray Smith. As older informants, they have a longer historical memory in terms of what it means to be Coloured and while they struggled financially and their children had moved abroad, they held on

to "home" as long as they possibly could. Home here is not only a physical place of residence, but in all ways defines who they are for better or worse, which will be discussed later in chapters three and four.

Key Coloured Informants

Roxanne Clarke: Roxanne was born in Elsie's River, Cape Town. She has twin older brothers and a half-sister. Both her parents are deceased and were Cape Coloured. Roxanne played tennis on a national level in South Africa, one of the few Coloureds to do so. She was educated in the United States earning a BA in Communications at Arizona State University on a full tennis scholarship. When her student visa expired she returned to Elsies to teach tennis.

Ray Smith: Ray Smith was born in Bulawayo. His family is Cape Coloured, descendants of indentured servants from Goa and Europeans and they were historically merchants. His father was one of six children and the only one to migrate to Zimbabwe. His father was a teacher who married a Zimbabwean Coloured housewife. All his uncles and aunts were teachers in Cape Town, although all ties with them are lost. In Zimbabwe, Ray was raised with his three brothers and two sisters. All are teachers with the exception of one sister, Cynthia Smith who was a nurse. Shortly after Independence, all but Cynthia left for Cape Town and the United Kingdom for better opportunities in teaching. Ray was a teacher who graduated from Founders High School and he is married to May Smith (Thornborrow) a former Miss Zimbabwe (1954). They have four children all of whom were raised in Zimbabwe, yet now reside abroad.

May Smith (here with her daughter Nicola): May Smith was born in Natisa on a farm in Matabeleland South, which is a rural area close to Bulawayo. She was born May Thornborrow,

the daughter of a European and a half black (Ndebele) and Chinese mother. She has an older brother, Henry, who still lives in Natisa today as well as a sister who lives in Canada. As a child she was praised for her European features (beauty) and in 1954 was Miss Zimbabwe. After moving to Bulawayo, she married Ray Smith. She is my *only* Coloured informant who acknowledges black ancestry and speaks fluent IsiNdebele in addition to English.

These photographs of my three key informants reveal very little difference in terms of phenotypical variation. Roxanne is Cape Coloured and Ray Smith is of Cape Coloured descent. While May Smith is of mixed descent, they all are representatives of what many see as "truly" Coloured, especially in comparison to Anita Nyathi and Elphin Mackay, who are "dark" Coloureds and look more phenotypically black, which will be discussed later.

Further, although my principal informants in South Africa and Zimbabwe have or are currently residing abroad, their identity as Coloured was fluid. Roxanne was Coloured in Elsies and also in the United States; May and Ray Smith were Coloured in Bulawayo and also in Australia. Coloured as both a national and international identity will be explored later in this dissertation.

Participant Observation

I utilized various methods to collect data for this dissertation. My sample consisted of both males and females and the social network(s)[25] of Coloureds in the urban area Bulawayo. These sites included, but were not limited to, homes, churches, social events and social clubs. Both males and females of different ages were sampled. Age-based opinions were necessary, given the scope of the research question, as older informants provided a relevant window into the past and thus served as confirmation of historical and archival information concerning the

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[25] Networks meaning individuals that either myself or others I met socialized with either via friendship, at social events, or membership in churches, or other organization.

construction of race within the colonial apparatus, while younger informants provided information regarding the current and evolving place of Coloureds. I accessed my sample through a snowball approach.

With the assistance of primary contacts and their respective familial and social ties, I used four initial methods: household surveys, life histories, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, photographs and participant observation. I used systematic observation. I recorded the data via journal entries or field notes in terms of age, gender, family, occupation, marriage, language, and education. I also employed activities, such as tracking questions asked about America in an effort to better understand their interests and concerns. Participants were recruited through the initial contact of May and Ray Smith (two of my many informants and those with whom I had the closest relationship with in Zimbabwe) and others and subjects were selected and interviewed using snowball methodology. I basically spoke to whoever was willing to speak to me. Interviews, both semi-structured and unstructured, were conducted with approximately 95 individuals of various ages. Most of the participants[26] were Coloured, although a few were drawn from other historically defined racial categories in Zimbabwe. Although I did not extensively explore black or white attitudes toward Coloureds, I did collect data on the portrayal of Coloureds in the media and informal discussions with black Zimbabweans about Coloureds. This data helped me to understand the discourses surrounding Coloureds in wider society and the cultural meanings that are ascribed onto Coloureds.

Because of the current political and economic situation in Zimbabwe, I lacked a representative sample of Coloureds aged 22-30. Most people of this age had migrated abroad to places like Bristol in the UK, Australia and New Zealand, respectively primarily with the help of others who had immigrated to these places, which is discussed later. As I needed to get the

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[26] For a list of participants see Appendix B.

perspective of younger Coloureds in understanding the contemporary situation and perspectives

of Coloureds in black centered governments, I interviewed an additional 20 Coloured South

Africans in Elsies River, Cape Town in 2009-2010. [27] These participants were also selected and

interviewed using snowball methodology, through the initial contact of Roxanne Clarke, a 26-

year-old tennis player I met in the United States. My informants in Elsies were young and very

familiar with technology, which allowed me the ability to follow-up throughout this process via

email, Facebook, Whatsapp, and Skype.

Data for the historical aspect of this project were drawn primarily from the National

Archives of Zimbabwe, via government records (education, employment, and residence, census

reports, and newspapers). Newspapers like the *Chronicle* and *The Daily Mirror* also provided

contemporary data, as did online websites such as *The Zimbabwe Situation*.

Life histories were difficult to attain primarily because of the time needed to devote to

them and the unwillingness to do so on the part of my informants, but I did manage to collect

some stories that assisted in understanding the construction of historical meanings of Coloured,

thus building a cultural map of memory. Individual memories may be indeed reimagined, as it is

impossible for personal memories to remain unaffected by time, space or outside influence. Yet,

the different processes involved in the formation of a social, historical memory of Empire reveal

how the past can be both reinvented to fit the present, and the present to fit the past (Ware

1992:123). This is indeed true, as when one picks up a book like *Les Aventures de Tintin* and the

current debate around its use, memories of a happy colonial past on the part of both natives and

settlers, is a cultural representation that resonated in both the past and the present. In fact,

Coloured attitudes towards the colonial past as a "better time," is also a reinvention for the

present, as memory here is a way to "explain" many of the problems facing Zimbabwe today.

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[27] See appendix

The ubiquitous presence and persistent invocation of the past dictated my examination of the

historical construction of Coloured identity prior to addressing race in its postcolonial context.

My prior experience in living and working in Zimbabwe led me to choose this site for my

dissertation research. As a Peace Corps Volunteer, I spent one year from October 1999, living

first in Lower Gweru in the Midlands region, and then later in Maphisa, in the Matabeleland

South region, before being evacuated due to political unrest. In addition to living in these areas,

I traveled extensively throughout the country, either on business for the Ministry of Education,

Sport and Culture or for personal reasons, such as visiting the home of a fellow volunteer. This

gave me both geographic and demographic knowledge and access to the country as a whole.

While in Bulawayo, I stayed at a local Bed and Breakfast owned and operated by Ray and May

Smith, both of whom are Coloured. We became close and when I returned in December 2001, I

became acquainted with other members of their family and their friends via parties and social

events.

Finally, in addition to my prior familiarity with the country and some of its inhabitants,

my own phenotype proved to be a valuable means of inquiry as well. All Coloured participants

viewed me as "one of their own" (based on my own mixed racial ancestry) and as such,

undoubtedly I was provided with a high level of access that I would not have otherwise enjoyed,

for being "one of them," participants were more inclined to speak freely about being Coloured in

Zimbabwe. The feeling of being "one of them" brought about a high level of internal turmoil as

well. This was further exacerbated by the fact that although I was considered Coloured, I could

not ignore my identity as a black American woman, who was philosophically and politically

partial to Black Nationalism in Zimbabwe. On one hand I had never felt so accepted in my life.

Since all of my everyday interactions were within the "Coloured community," I always felt a

strong sense of self and of belonging. There was never a question of who would or would not

like me because the very fact that I was Coloured insured my place in all social activities. On the

other hand, I had never felt such racism outside the comfort of the Coloured community. This

was perhaps most evident when one evening in 2006, I went to a party in Bulawayo with Shabir

(Shabs), a 41-year-old self-employed Indian man and his wife, Anara Zoolay, a 30-year-old

Coloured woman. We were the only people of color present, other than those who were

responsible for cleaning up and serving food and drink. Other than the three of us, all guests of

the party were white. Anara knew one of the guests in a professional manner, as she and Shabs

own a car hire business in Bulawayo. When I went to request a song of the DJ, I was rudely told

that, "This party is not for you." This was followed by an incident on the dance floor with a

white woman who told me not to dance near her children. My anger was immediately present

and I demanded an explanation from her. I was told, "Don't worry about it." And I responded

with, "I am going to worry about it, because either you are calling me a pedophile or you don't

want your children near me because of my skin color, and either way it is offensive." She then

told me that she didn't have to explain anything to me, which led me then to shout various

obscenities, before being pulled away by Anara. Anara then explained that this was how things

were here and that I had to learn to ignore it, adding that no matter how they treated her, she was

"just happy to be friends with them." Although I did not realize it at the time, my inability to

ignore how I was being treated could have implications for my research, as it could have

jeopardized my relationship not only with Anara and Shabs, but also with other members of the

Coloured community as well, since being accepted as one of them, I was also expected to

understand both "my place" and "how things were" there. This incident clearly gets at some of

the complexities surrounding Coloured identity. Here Anara viewed being invited to this party as

a privilege, one that was perhaps awarded because of her Colouredness, yet at the same time despite being invited was still seen by others as Coloured and therefore expected to "act" accordingly. Further, although I was accepted based on phentotype and mixed ancestry, I had not fully understood ways of remaining in my place or acting in the same way that these Coloureds had.

Although the Coloured population was my main focal point from which to generate data, I interviewed people from other racial groups to validate my findings. Participant observation was conducted throughout Bulawayo and the surrounding suburbs at numerous locations, particularly in the homes of my participants. Participant observation was also conducted at various social events, such as soccer, volleyball and cricket matches, the dance clubs, *Bangalanga* and *Brass Monkey*, church, and also at the yearly fundraiser for *The Rhodes Jubilee Home*, a Coloured home for the elderly in Barham Greene. Observing participants in various settings allowed me to compare and verify what was said in interviews with actual behavior.

My initial perception of the fieldwork experience was hugely romanticized. This is noted early in my field notes:

> I have already learned a valuable lesson about fieldwork. It is not the romanticized notion I had established in my mind. It is not wearing safari clothes with a camera around my neck and a notebook and tape recorder in my pocket, while I am conducting the pre-established and pre-scheduled interviews. I am not on safari, I have a digital camera that fits in my pocket, and no one is scheduled. Fieldwork simply happens, so I must be prepared at all times to write things down. It was pure luck that I had a notebook with me yesterday when I met Danny, Farid and Welcome, otherwise that information would have been lost. I am learning much more about the Coloureds and about anthropology than I would have ever guessed, not that it matters much now. After my wake-up call about my own bias of being able to identify Coloureds based on phenotype, I am instantly reminded of my proposal defense and all the questions that were asked. Is color structural? Can blacks who achieve socio-economic status, then move into the Coloured category? I

don't know the answer to these questions yet, but all I can remember is Professor Bond shifting on his cane and in his seat when I boldly (and stupidly) announced that I would be able to identify whom was Coloured based on skin-color, hair texture, etc. I have however, discovered that it is not a bounded society as such, that there are no longer Coloured schools, churches, or occupations as the government has opened these areas to all—yet it is bounded in some sense because in areas that one has control over, things that are of individual control, i.e., whom one marries, whom one invites to one's home, whom one socializes with, etc., Coloureds tend to stick together and close themselves off from other racial groups, white or black. There are boundaries even within the closed community and these boundaries are based on color above all else, followed by socio-economic status, family history, etc.

These notes themselves speak to my position both as anthropologist and even more importantly as one who has very much been affected by the romanticization of Africa. What I expected was in many ways an European invention, one of exotic beings, remarkable experiences, haunting memories and landscapes—a place that I, as anthropologist, had a right to write about, as I was playing into an already defined field of "us and them" (Said 1978).

Theoretical Influences

My starting point for this exploration of the multiple dimensions of race, ethnicity, and identity is the historical nature of the category Coloured. Current discourse on Zimbabwe has been dominated on one hand by the historical struggle over land and the political agenda of Robert Mugabe and on the other hand by the history of black[28]-white[29] relations which fuel these issues. Thus "both public and official attention has centered on the distinction between black and white to the extent of not only obscuring major differences in each group but also of glossing

[over] important complexities and contradictions about the issue [therefore making it difficult to imagine the existence of other groups]" (Muzondidya, 2005:1).

It is essential to historicize race and racism if we are to understand their continuing significance in the present and the future (Sanjek, 1996). Racism—as an ideology of difference— is new to human history (Cox, 1948) and "prior to the sixteenth century the world was not race-conscious and there was no incentive for it to become so…it was only with the discovery of the New World and the sea routes to Asia that race assumed a social significance" (Linton, 1936:46-47; see also Sanjek, 1996:4). Race is a "fluid, transforming, historically specific concept parasitic on theoretical and social discourses for the meaning it assumes at given moments" (Goldberg, 1992:553). Thus, the notion of "race" was used to identify differences between Europeans—but was certainly not used as a basis for enslavement, exploitation, and conquest. For example, Hippolyte Taine, French critic who had a major influence on French literature, said that race was "the tract root of man," the source of all structures of feeling and thought. As a proponent of social positivism, he believed that in race was a predetermined particularity inseparable from all motions of intellect and heart (Gates, 1985). Later, Kwame Anthony Appiah (2002) uses the term racialism to designate one view often called racism. Racialism holds that inherited characteristics possessed by human beings permit us to divide them into a small number of races so that members of these races share characteristics with each other that they do not share with members of any other race (472-473).

Further, Appiah (2002) asserts that false consciousness or ideology is a set of ideas that prevents us from acknowledging facts that would threaten our position of privilege. This is often a problem with racism (474). And it is a "plain fact" that our species is prone morally and intellectually to distortions of justice that reflect partiality (475). Race is different from caste, as

it is possible to be both dark-skinned and of high caste. Further race is different from ethnocentrism, as it goes beyond the attitude of cultural superiority and race becomes a basis and justification for cultural, intellectual and physical domination, which is outlined below.

Race as "Biological Difference"

Biologically, race means nothing and there is no doubt about diversity, but traditional racial divisions fail to recognize this fact. Biological variability appears to result from the combined influence of human behavior and natural forces that have been at work throughout human evolution. A revival of Aristole's worldview of idealized living forms scaled to fit within eleven grades of development became the most useful way to reconcile such diversity. French scientist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck thought that man represented the highest perfection of nature and other scientists followed with an arrangement of all living creatures on a scale from lower to higher categories. This "Great Chain of Being" concept placed Europeans at the top and newly "discovered" peoples at the bottom. This idea of superiority is illustrated in *Origin of Races*, " As far as we know now, the Congoid (Negroid) line started on the same evolutionary level as the Eurasiatic ones in the Early Middle Pleistocene and then stood still for a half a million years, after which Negroes and Pygmies appear as if out of nowhere" (Coon, 1962:659). The boundaries for these racial divisions were established as much on the basis of geographical distribution as on biological attributes of language and social customs. These divisions were often associated with biological criteria. Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus attributed both behavioral and biological characteristics to each group. He defined Europeans as blue-eyed, gentle and governed by laws; Africans as obstinate, choleric and regulated by customs; and Asians as grave, dignified, and ruled by opinion. These personality profiles together with

physical traits are illustrations of biodeterminism—that certain types of behaviors are associated with certain racial groups. German physician Johann Friedrick Blumenbach classified humanity into five races: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, American, Ethiopian and Malayan. In addition to the already established biological differences, Blumenbach asserted that skull size was also a significant racial trait. Samuel Morton continued this belief, linking skull size not only to race, but also to character and intelligence. As European skulls in his collection had the largest cranial capacity, Morton concluded that Caucasoids were the most intelligent of all races.

These biological "conclusions" are important to this study because it reflects the root of a tangible and legitimate basis of difference between Europeans and the other. Marx (1998) affirms, "describing race as having no basis in science did not dispel its power as myth. Prejudice has continued to serve as a criterion of stratification, embedded in economic relations, political institutions and ideology" (4).

Race as "Physical Difference"

Enlightenment philosophers were more or less united in advocating a more rational and scientific approach to religious, social, political, and economic issues. Prior to this period science was known as natural (as distinguished from *moral* and *metaphysical*) *philosophy* and, as a branch of philosophy, was viewed primarily as a speculative activity. Laboratories had been places where alchemists sought to turn base metals into gold; magicians were still potent figures. Yet the great Renaissance astronomers, Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler, essentially invented the discipline of modern science by basing their findings on verifiable mathematical calculations and repeatable experiments. Intellectuals, inspired by the scientific method, firmly believed that the application of reason could solve all conflicts. The application of reason became in many ways

synonymous with the idea of the Great Chain of Being. This concept can be traced back to the ancient Greeks and was originally used as a hierarchal structure linking natural science (earth) to the highest perfection (God). In English literature, this notion is exemplified in both John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*. In science, long before Darwin, it became a "sacred phrase of the eighteenth century, playing a part somewhat analogous to that of the blessed word "evolution" in the late nineteenth" (Lovejoy, 1936:184). Saul Dubow (1995) locates scientific perceptions of the Great Chain of Being theory being applied intellectually by early European settlers to South Africa in their views of Hottentots. Yet this was often debated as some saw the claim of Hottentots as being the "lowest" race unfounded, while others using Rousseau's view saw them as "noble savages" (21).

"The conception of race as type was strengthened as the study of anthropology—in particular physical anthropology—was institutionalized in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century" (Dubow, 1995:27). Robert Knox (1850) was one of the most important proponents of scientific racism in the nineteenth century. His work was widely received as it linked "anatomical differences and national character"(Dubow, 1995: 27). Knox relied on racial difference in South Africa to make the claim that "race is everything" and "he claimed responsibility for having sent the first "Kaffir crania" to Europe" (Dubow, 1995: 27). In South Africa, the advent of the discovery of early fossils, led to Raymond Dart (1893-1988) to claim that the discovery of his Taung skull (Kalahari Desert, 1924) was the "missing link" between man and higher primates, much to great controversy. "The search for the "missing link" between man and the higher primates had long been a preoccupation in Western thought, stretching back to…conceptualiztions of the Great Chain of Being" (Dubow, 1995: 43). Further, Beer (1991) explains, "The phrase "missing link" figured nineteenth century anxieties, not only about our

relationships to other life-forms, but about a variety of social relations within and beyond European culture" (12-14). The discovery of Dart's Taung skull, not only led to Africa being dubbed "the cradle of life," but also fueled ideas about social evolution.

Developments in South Africa provided raw material for African anthropology and the development of scientific racism. Anthropological discourse on the San and Khoikhoi was critical for evolutionary anthropology. The supposedly "scientific" comparisons of cranial capacities and angles, and a variety of other detailed physical features, resulted in an endorsement by European intellectuals. Yet this too, as Dubow (1995) reveals, was contested in the early twentieth century, because of the arbitrary nature of the criteria that were being used. There was no general agreement on what constituted a proper scientific study of races and as a result, all types of evidence were brought forward to support the general idea of inherent differences.

Race as "Sociocultural Difference"

In American anthropology, Boas' initiated the premise that the understanding of race is not a biological category but a cultural understanding of physical difference (1911). With this understanding, anthropologists have studied variable cultural meanings of racial difference and concluded that categories and boundaries based on seemingly self-evident physical difference are measured, quantified, and policed differently depending on the cultural context of the moment. Race is therefore a cultural construction of a perceived physical absolute. For example, in America a person of African descent may be considered black despite European ancestry, while in South Africa the same individual may be considered Coloured by virtue of said European ancestry. Race is therefore a function of the institutionalization of culturally perceived

differences. Classifications by race still exist but are recognized as being defined by society and not by science.

In the United States the social significance of race was tied to the slave economy. Dutch traders brought Africans to Virginia from the West Indies where Africans had been enslaved on sugar plantations since the 1500s. By the 1700s, slavery was an established institution in the colonies and statutes regulating its practices were erected. In 1705 the Virginia General Assembly declared, "All Negro, mulatto and Indian slaves shall be held, taken, and adjudged to be real estate, in the same category as livestock and household furniture, wagons, and goods" (Russell, 1992). Yet race amongst those of African descent was also tied to color, power, and privilege. Not only was skin color tantamount to privilege during slavery, as those of lighter skin (a product of widespread race mixing due to the shortage of European women in colonial America), generally received work as drivers, valets, seamstresses, but after the Civil War, mixed race societies such as the Bon Ton Society and the Blue Vein Society insured exclusivity based on color. Finally, by the turn of the century a lighter skinned elite had emerged as the intellectual and political leaders of the black community—Du Bois' "Talented Tenth," all of whom were mixed race, with the exception of the honorary, Phyllis Wheatley (Russell 1992).

One of the most important recent theoretical shifts in critical race theory is the examination of Whiteness, pointing out that the absence of a discourse on the construction of Whiteness is in and of itself a product of racial privilege (Davies, 1999; Frankenburg 1994; Ware 1992). This absence is a result of white being seen as a neutral category. "To speak of Whiteness…refers to a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically and culturally produced and moreover, are intrinsically linked to unfolding relations of domination" (Ware 1997).

One of the most important literally works to come out of the United States is *Playing in the Dark* (Morrison 1993). Here Morrison examines the mutually dependent relationship between Whiteness and the existence of an Africanist presence in constructing both black and white identity, which in turn leads to assumptions, views, and intellectual domination in terms of the ways in which knowledge is transformed from invasion and conquest to revelation and choice.

In historical literature on Zimbabwe, Whiteness is made invisible by the common assumption that the category is so self-evident as to be universally understood. In fact, as Morrison (1993) suggests, it only becomes visible when confronted with the *other*. Whites in Zimbabwe have identified themselves within a rigid racial structure and have developed a highly hierarchical understanding based on *place* within the social structure. Coloureds have replicated this as well, which was previously revealed in the incident involving the Zoolay's. This subject is part of a broader problematic discourse in African history, and relates to what Mamdani calls the 'subject races' of colonial Africa. Mamdani (2001:28) describes this issue as follows:

> The subject race experience was marked by both petty privilege and petty discrimination. Elevated to the point that they were governed through civil [means], subject races were at the same time the target of specific forms of racial discrimination under the same law. Theirs was a contradictory experience: on the one hand, they were elevated above natives and treated as virtual citizens, part of the hierarchy of civilized races; on the other hand, they were subjected to racial discrimination, which emphasized their position in the lower rungs of the hierarchy.

Race as "Pseudo-Scientific Difference"

Saul Dubow (1995) offers a full-length study of the history of intellectual and scientific racism in modern South Africa, and links the poverty of academic exploration to the post-war tendency of race theory as being "pseudo-scientific" (3)—one that was myth based and outside the realm of traditional science—and the employment of universalist claims on "Christianity, liberalism, and Marxism" that downplay the issue of race in anti-apartheid sentiments (4). Set

against the rise of apartheid, Dubow (1995) examines the complex relationship between theories

of essential racial difference and the development of white supremacist thinking. Dubow's

(1995) analysis charts the rise of scientific racism and biological determinism across disciplines

in the social sciences, sciences and humanities. By tracing the academic climate developing in

South Africa, light is shed upon the way categories like "race," "culture," and "ethnicity," were

applied in both administrative policies and national governance (Dubow, 1995; Chidester, 1996;

Rich, 1993). According to Paul Rich (1993), the political unification of British and Boer interests

with the resolution of the Anglo-Boer War required a fragmented intellectual community to

participate in the formation of a comprehensive "Native Policy". David Chidester (1996) notes

that this is when science began to replace the mission in providing symbols and images that went

into understanding whom natives were. It was knowledge about the nature and function of ethnic

boundaries that informed the idea of the African subject and this knowledge was then used to

separate and order both Europeans and natives within the colony as "patterns of paternalism and

prejudice have been deeply embedded in the collective mentalities of white South Africans, for

who notions of superiority, exclusivity and hierarchy exist more or less in conscious 'habits of

mind'…which comprise a folkloric amalgam of popular beliefs and traditions in which the idea

of human difference has been accepted as natural and incontestable" (Dubow, 1995:6).

As anthropology in South Africa became linked to ethnology, those who saw ethnicity as

a positive "social organic entity" (Sharp, 1980) came into the public sphere. Jackson (1999)

notes that this is where "the first generation of Volkekundiges…the Afrikaans speaking element

of this new academic sphere facilitated splintering along ethnic lines of nation-building" (18).

Adam Kuper (1988) reveals that anthropology played a pivotal role in the interpretation of

culture for as "Afrikaner anthropologists are committed to the Afrikaner national movement" as

leading intellectuals contributed to the theory and practice of apartheid and brought these debates "within the domain of official discourse, leading scientific legitimacy to universities" (50).

Coloureds remain one of those difficult groups to conceptualize as they have not only been marginalized in history, but also, in most academic and political discourses revolving around Zimbabwe. Yet despite being a small minority, Coloureds have always been an integral part of modern southern African societies, one that far outweighs their numerical significance. "Economically and socially, like Asians in East Africa and the Lebanese in West Africa, they have occupied and continue to occupy an intermediate position between Africans and whites. Politically, Coloureds have often provided a buffer between whites and Africans. Yet like the ethnic Chinese in South Asia and Asians in East Africa, they have been subject to suspicion and at times, hostility from both black and white groups" (Muzondidya 2005). For example, Coloureds were viewed as both instruments and beneficiaries of the colonial system, due to their contradictory status as colonized subject minorities, who received privileges over other groups and preferential treatment under the law. This meant that many ideologically identified themselves with the colonial rulers, in spite of the fact that their experience, like that of other colonial subjects, was marked by limited privileges. Politically, theirs was an experience marked by both collaboration with the colonial regime in recreating or perpetuating the exploitation of black Africans yet an alignment with black Africans in resisting discrimination (Mamdani 2001).

The legacy of such a contradictory relationship with both the colonizer and the colonized (black Africans) leaves Coloureds in the post-colonial period in an equally ambiguous position. Many older Coloureds continue to identify with whites ideologically, and chose to "sit on the fence" during the struggle against "colonial injustices", and have been largely ignored in current debates around citizenship, nationality, and state representation. It is against this "spatial

suspension" that some Coloureds have fought to be recognized first as whites and at times, as blacks. For example, Daniel Rollow[30], a forty-year old self-employed Coloured Zimbabwean, said that "we [blacks, whites, Coloureds and Asians] are all the same," yet revealed that his wife, who is also Coloured, would never allow a black person to visit their home and that they moved to Cape Town, where "Coloureds are treated with respect and dignity by the government and their status as Coloureds is acknowledged there." This desire to be treated with dignity and respect was a sentiment expressed by several Coloureds, as many felt that since Independence, "everything was for the blacks" and the government no longer recognized their status as Coloured people in Zimbabwe, which in turn strengthened the desire of maintaining a cohesive community. Paul Pretorius [31], who is 72-year-old retired teacher (whose father William founded the Rhodesia Eurafrican Vigilance Association (REVA) in Bulawayo in 1928), expressed the following sentiment in a transcribed taped interview:

> Things are much worse for Coloureds now; it's too late for us. We can go nowhere, that's why all the
> children are moving out of the country. There is nowhere to go as a Coloured and Coloureds are not
> counted as part of the population. We are not worth anything now. During the Smith regime, we were
> recognized. But we will not leave because our roots are too deep. I think things will come right here, but
> when, I ask. I cannot become a Member of Parliament; I have no political voice here. A black man will not
> talk on behalf of the Coloureds in BG (Barham Greene). Things have improved for blacks—jobs,
> education, sports, etc. Whether they are qualified or not, they are given things just because they are black.
> If we complain then we are being racialistic. Coloureds feel more superior to blacks. Blacks are like
> children, they can't think for themselves. Coloureds have money here. Blacks commit crimes, not
> Coloureds. In the Constitution, one cannot talk badly about the President. Therefore we are afraid to speak
> out about the injustices Coloureds face. Even ministers of the Church cannot speak for us—Roman
> Catholic, Anglican, Methodist ministers were arrested for parade on Good Friday. Why? Because they are

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[30] See Appendix B.
[31] Ibid.

Coloured. Coloureds must get a license to give a simple party, because the government is suspicious. I will not leave, I have money invested here—if I leave where will my money and property go? My children are gone. That is why we must stick together.

Clearly Mr. Pretorius' comment touches on many complex issues regarding Coloured identity. For example, like May and Ray Smith, the older generation of Coloureds living in Zimababwe very much view their identity as historically rooted in the past, financially, politically and ideologically. Whereas younger generation Coloureds are not as financially invested and are able to pick up and relocate to pursue better opportunities, which is discussed in chapter four of this work.

This is essentially what De Beer (1961:20) expresses as the unfortunate situation Coloureds now find themselves in—between "the hammer of white supremacy and the anvil of Black Nationalism." In a sense, they are "lost" in a type of no-man's land, as they are without a political voice, a silence that is perhaps best reflected in the "00" on all Coloured and white passports (Shona are 01 and Ndebele are 02), which indicates that they are not counted politically.

As a response to this political silencing, the NAACP (The National Association for the Advancement of Coloureds Peoples in Zimbabwe) [32] was established in Harare in 2001. The main goal of this organization was to recognize and maintain Coloured status within a government that no longer recognized them as separate and called for separate programs such as, computer classes and other education initiatives for Coloureds to perpetuate and maintain their status as different from blacks. According to a recent study, "this civic organization seeks to identify and rectify past injustices, understand and remove the negative stigma attached to

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[32] See Appendix A.

Coloured people and rebuild self-awareness and develop a new line of direction for the community. The NAACP stands for the unheard concerns of this minority group over issues of community welfare, human and civil rights, discrimination, gender inequalities, youth concerns, business and economic development, political participation, legal advocacy and intra and inter community communication. The NAACP therefore advances the interests of the Coloured people in Zimbabwe with the overall objective of trying to address the marginalized socio-economic and socio-political position of a people who have been segregated, stigmatized and excluded for more than one hundred years" (NAACP). Further their mission is to:

> Recognize the existence of the Coloured Community, to receive Recognition for participation in the Liberation Struggle, and celebrate Cultural Uniqueness. In an effort to, demystify the myth of Coloured origin and identity, to provide a platform for expression of views and art forms, create value for our members and maintain and represent the interests of Coloured people and children of mixed race marriages, to educate people at large about the historical developments of Coloured people and the impact of the pre and post-colonial period resulting in our present marginalized status, to reconstruct the Coloured experience from the Coloured point of view, and to correct past imbalances and present misconceptions. [33]

A branch was established in Barham Greene in 2003 and headed by Stanley Staddon, a self-employed businessman, who is one of my informants[34]. The government neither recognized, nor supported this organization and member participation in Bulawayo was scattered at best. Mr. Staddon offered that the reason for this lack of participation in the NAACP was "that Coloureds are afraid to fight for their place in this country. But they should not be, because we have our own place here that is different from the blacks and different from the whites." Yet in fact, "in Zimbabwe, the post-colonial debate on indigenization or black economic empowerment has been conspicuously silent [with regard to Coloureds]…[and Coloureds] have been constructed as alien settlers with little or no permanent stake in the country and very limited citizenship rights.

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[33] Copyright 2001 - National Association for the Advancement of Mixed Race Coloureds.
[34] See Appendix B.

Broadly, Coloured identity has had little space to express itself in the postcolonial state and it has continued to be regarded as postcolonial residue" (Muzondidya 2005).

In fact, a study conducted by the NAACP showed that a major barrier limiting mixed race people's access to full participation in Zimbabwean society was their uncertain citizenship status (NAACP 29 Oct. 2003; *The Standard* 23 Nov. 2003; *The Zimbabwean* 22 July 2005), which will be discussed in chapter four. The *Cape Times* reported in March 2005 that the Citizenship Amendment Act of 2001, which prevents anyone whose parents were born outside Zimbabwe from holding Zimbabwean citizenship unless he or she gives up any claims to a second citizenship, has negatively affected many members of the mixed race community, as well as those of Indian ancestry, by imposing restrictions on their legal and civil status within the country (31 Mar. 2005). In particular, news sources of 2005 claimed that mixed race persons are "disproportionately affected by problems of statelessness as a result of citizenship legislation and other legalities covering national registration laws with respect to the '00' status appended to national registration identity cards" (*The Zimbabwean* 22 July 2005; *Cape Times* 31 Mar. 2005). Each national identity card contains a number, digits at the end of which indicate the district or area where the holder was born or from which he or she came (*The Standard* 23 Nov. 2003) and '00' reportedly signifies "alien status" or non-citizen (*The Zimbabwean* 22 July 2005).

In applying these theories my Coloured informants, one can see how identity is constructed from both inside and out. For example, in Bulawayo and in South Africa, drinking defined practically all Coloured social activities. From the outside, laws concerning who could consume alcohol were historically fitted to the colonial ideology of the day, meaning that Coloureds were sometimes considered innately prone to intemperance, while at other times were considered as restrained as whites in their drinking habits (Mandaza, 1997; Martens, 2001).

Policymakers in South Africa while debating the Liquor Bill of 1928 linked drinking habits not only to race, but also to class, and identified both poor whites and Coloureds to be major abusers of alcohol. While many assumptions can made about why drinking is more prevalent in some communities rather than others, the point that I am making here is that Coloureds were viewed a particular way from the outside by the government and perhaps because of this began to internalize this view of themselves through the practice of the heavy consumption of alcohol. The heavy consumption of alcohol by Coloureds in fact becomes a part of identity in how Coloureds view themselves, how they want to be viewed and how they are indeed viewed by others.

In Bulawayo, the consumption of Castle beer and Jameson was prevalent in Coloured homes and social gatherings. I noticed that beer was not being consumed by the case, but by the crate. Further, the consumption of alcohol seemed to prevail over the religious beliefs of some of my informants. For example, both Farid Shahadat, a 32-year-old, self-employed propane tank dealer, and Shabir Zoolay, a 41-year-old, car service owner, were both staunchly Muslim in most regards yet consumed alcohol. While others such as May Smith, a 57-year-old housewife, battled more seriously with alcohol consumption. She says,

> I have battled alcoholism most of my adult life. I have made many friends through AA but have also lost a great deal because of my addiction. I remember when my children were growing up they had a pet goat. They loved that goat, dearly. When they returned home from school one day, the goat was gone. My children cried for days. I felt so guilty because I sold the goat to buy liquor.

In South Africa, my experiences were similar. When I arrived at Cape Town International airport, I was greeted by Roxanne Clarke, a 27-year-old tennis instructor with whom I stayed in Elsies River. Our first stop after going to the house to drop off our bags was to the store to buy

beer—not the average 12-ounce version, but a case of 22-ounce beers. I, along with several members of her family, sat around for the next hour talking and drinking in the yard. In fact, in South Africa, I drank beer every day either in the home I was staying in or in the homes of other Coloureds. Further some, like Roxanne's aunt Ursula, had separate refrigerators that were stocked top to bottom with beer, in addition to a refrigerator that was used to keep food.

Alcohol consumption is very much a marker of Coloured identity, one that spans generations of both old and young. Christian Van Beek, an 18-year-old diesel mechanic, upon hearing my awe at the amount of beer being consumed at a party, replied, "You are not Coloured if you don't drink."

Yet younger Coloureds in this study, specifically those between the ages of 20-35, in both Barham Greene and Elsie's River, also used marijuana, ecstasy, and shrooms (psilocybin mushrooms) in addition to alcohol to "get lifted."[35]

Perhaps drug use and alcohol consumption are a means of escape for what many see as the "trappings" of Colouredness in Southern Africa—the perceived lack of respect in the post-colonial state, the lack of opportunities because of their "non-native" status, or low-class status, but in many ways these things are internalized Coloured practices that are acknowledged and accepted as "Coloured" by both Coloureds and outsiders alike, as Rachel Masakara, a 29-year-old self-employed black woman, said, "Coloureds think they are better than us, but all they do is get drunk and start fights."

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[35] To get high.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined my purpose for examining Coloureds against a post-colonial political landscape. I have highlighted some of the complexities in examining Coloured identity, such as the invention of identity approach, while reviewing relevant literature on Coloureds and Coloured identity. The social construction of race is paramount to this study and by historicizing race spatially and geographically, I have revealed the importance of this study by presenting both a problem and the way in which I collected the data to examine it.

The data generated in this study contributes to the knowledge of the nature of the relationship between racial categorization and the role of ideology as a base for conflict in the wider political and social structures. Racialization is a historically specific ideological process. Omi and Winant (1989:54-55) assert that race is a very real social classification that has both cultural ramifications as well as enforcing a definite social order. Through a nuanced study of the historical domination of the African other and the construction of a *legally imposed* Coloured identity first, and then, an *internally projected* Coloured identity by Coloured themselves, I reveal how colonial power is distributed legally and historically, elaborated on through the creation and maintenance of a series of interests and internalized by the postcolonial Other (Said 1978). The variables used in understanding this relationship are: the historical significance of the category Coloured, the presence of boundaries, the maintenance of boundaries via "cultural"[36] aspects of the category Coloured, and the perpetuation of such a category, which is the focus of the next chapter.

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[36] This term is used by my informants.

Chapter Two: Tracing Cultural and Colonial Encounters

This chapter explores some historical aspects in Southern Africa and the historical processes involved in constructing Coloured consciousness. The purpose of providing a history of Zimbabwe is to reveal how nineteenth century racism was built upon three major elements, Christianity and missionary zeal, European industrial expansion, and evolutionary ideology, all of which informed not only how the settler viewed the native, but also the very notion of Colouredness. As a settler colony, white right reigned supreme and to maintain the ideology of white supremacy, the creation of boundaries within and between the racialized other was central to the construction of nationhood in Rhodesia. Marx (1998) posits that the state plays a role in constructing and enforcing racial boundaries as a tool of domination. Anthropological perspectives on settler cultures can be seen in several social histories of Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi (Mitchell 1969; Wheeldon 1969; Hansen 1989, 1992). These works and others (Stoler 1991) address racial boundaries while illustrating the intersection between local experience and British culture. They explore how identity and experience were shaped by notions of "knowing one's place" and "how to act" in establishing and endorsing colonial power. This chapter examines both ways to act and the creation and maintenance of cultural, physical, and spatial boundaries, through the lens of the racialized other.

Colonization in Zimbabwe is the result of a number of factors from both within and outside of Europe. England's economic crisis led to a subsequent search for new opportunities in Africa, and the discovery of diamonds first, and later gold, brought a steady and overwhelming flow of Europeans into Zimbabwe. The Cape Colony served as a blueprint of sorts for expansionism in Africa and also for colonial practices in Zimbabwe.

To understand the complexities of Coloured identity, one must first turn to its historical roots in South Africa, as Zimbabwe's racial policies mirrored those in South Africa. While many view Colouredness as a modern phenomenon of the state, Coloured identity finds its roots as early as 1652, dating back to Dutch colonial rule. The Dutch East India Company settled the Cape as a refreshment station under Governor Jan van Riebeeck. When the Dutch arrived they initially saw the indigenous Cape Khoisan or Hottentots as trading partners, yet by the last decades of the eighteenth century, the once numerous, cattle-rich and autonomous Khoisans were indigent and construed as negative and inferior. Van Riebeeck's opinion that Hottentots were a "dull, stupid, lazy, stinking nation who were bold, thievish, and not to be trusted" (Holmes, 2009) mirrored that of most Europeans. This attitude served as justification for the Dutch to seize land, ignore grazing rights, and to rape and capture women, forcing them into concubinage and domestic service. It also serves as a "place" where lawlessness exists, where the "controlling arm of the British" comes face to face with "Boer dissent" and "Bastard resistance" and "opens up to the competitive context in which "Coloured" in the form of Bastard was first understood as a unique category" (Jackson, 1999). Yet while Van Riebeeck saw the Cape Khosian as inferior, many of the young South Africans I interviewed saw themselves as descendants of Van Riebeeck. For example, when I asked Roxanne Clarke where she traced her roots from, she replied, "All Coloureds are descendants of Van Riebeeck; he is our father."

The Cape Colony was then seized by the British in 1795 and officially recognized as British territory by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. When the British arrived, they found a colony of 25,000 San, 20,000 European settlers, 15,000 Khoisans and 1,000 free blacks (Holmes, 2009). Khoikhoi, as previously stated, were the indigenous inhabitants of the Cape region, but became so inextricably linked with the Portuguese, Dutch, and finally British explorers and

settlers in the Cape that their own pre-contact ways of life transformed rapidly and extensively

making it impossible to observe or describe them ethnographically. By applying defined rights

and entitlements to the descendants of these contact points, the British colonial government

initiated a process of distinction which would ultimately separate Khoisan and slave out and

away from other subjects of empire, fashioning them into tentative citizens of sorts. But this

application was never universally applied and had to be understood within a discursive field of

debate over the true nature of the colonial subject pursued at the time by scientist and colonial

administrator alike.

The Making of a People: Formations of Coloured Consciousness

The emergence of a full-fledged Coloured identity as we know it today was in part

created by the introduction of large-scale diamond and gold mining in the late nineteenth

century. This industrial revolution in South Africa, not only changed the social and economic

landscape of the continent, but also, attracted a significant number of African migrants to the

colony. The arrival of these "new" Africans to the Cape, were in competition with the

assimilated colonial people of color and these developments "drove acculturated persons of color

to assert a separate identity as Coloured people, in order to claim a position of relative privilege

in relation to Africans on the basis of their closer assimilation to Western culture and being

partly descended from European colonists" (Adhikari 2005).

Coloureds were largely descended from this combination of the racial "other"—Cape

slaves or San, the indigenous Khoisans and other people of color who had assimilated to Cape

colonial society. Yet a distinct sense of Colouredness did not form in South Africa until the

period following the emancipation of both the Khoisans in 1828 and San slaves in 1838 that a

class of workers of color began developing a shared sense of identity based on a common socioeconomic status and a shared culture derived from their incorporation into the lower ranks of Cape colonial society (Ross 1994; Jackson, 1999). The Coloured population of Zimbabwe originally derived from a migrant group of Cape Coloureds from South Africa. This group consisted of skilled artisans and teachers, who similar to their white counterparts had the independent means that enabled them to emigrate. This is found in the family history of Paul Pretorius and Ray Smith. Both were descendants of Cape Coloured parents who migrated to Zimbabwe. Mr. Pretorius says, "My family was born in the Cape. My grandfather was a Headmaster and my grandmother was a housewife. My parents were both born in Cape Town and moved here to work as teachers." These families also represent the elite group of Coloureds who settled in BG initially.

According to Wheeldon, the founding members of this minority group arrived in Southern Rhodesia at the same time as European settlers and "expanded to include new recruits who are the result of local cross-racial unions" (1969:128). Yet the new recruits consisted not only of local interracial unions but also of newly immigrated blacks from South Africa, who were seen as "better" than the local brand of Shona and Ndebele blacks. This is particularly interesting given that my Zimbabwean informants whom were held in high regard by other members of the Coloured community, Ray Smith, Herb Levendale, Paul Pretorius, Yvonne Thornborrow, and Petronella Rahman, all indicated that they were of Cape Coloured descent, while all others stated that they were "Zimbabwean" through and through. Further, being of Cape Coloured descent in Zimbabwe meant that one was deemed elite in comparison to those born in Zimbabwe. Elite status amongst Coloureds in Zimbabwe is directly linked to socio-economic mobility and historic residence in Barham Greene—that is the transfer of education and skills

acquired in South Africa and brought to Zimbabwe—and historic participation in the Coloured political sphere, which is discussed later on in this Chapter.

The construction of the limits of Colouredness was built upon the boundaries of a nation through a shared understanding of who was suitable to be deemed, black, white, or Coloured. Dominant media at the time pitted those who were from the Cape, "Cape Boys" against the "raw black aboriginal savages," and cited the former as a "semi-civilized half caste" whose manners and habits differed from the latter. Both Mandaza (1997) and Muzondidya (2005) note that these black immigrants, along with their mixed race counterparts, worked to set themselves apart from local blacks; and it is against this backdrop that Coloured identity and group consciousness found expression. Participants in this study agree, as many cite "differences" that have made them both more similar to whites and most dissimilar to blacks, which is discussed at length in Chapter Three.

Dickie-Clark (1966) offers one of the few in-depth analyses of the Coloured boundary, by examining Coloured experiences in relation to their relationships with whites and blacks. He concluded that, "Colouredness had no meaning outside these relationships and therefore must be cast in terms of intergroup exclusions, inclusions and antagonisms" (24). As members of an intermediate position both socio-economically and physically, Coloureds were full participants in the dominant culture of whites, but many saw them as suffering from a dysfunction because they were excluded from the whole and fixed categories of black and white. There are ways in which Coloureds are consistently discriminated against, ways in which they are consistently assumed to be superior to blacks, and ways in which they are assumed to be the same as whites. "Their marginal situation of cultural similarity along with incomplete acceptance and

participation in the social system of the dominant white stratum, meant that there would always be both advantages and disadvantages in their situation" (Dickie-Clark, 1966:68).

Jackson (1999) locates this feeling in popular literature at the time in Andre Brink's, *An Instant in the Wind*. Here he shows, "a Coloured character, capable of being loved unconditionally by the white woman doing battle with her own racist upbringing" (96). That Coloureds should be shown sympathy or distain because of their status as "bastards" or "middlemen" is something that shapes understanding of what Coloured is. This understanding continues to be echoed in the early 20th century as well (Jackson 1999; Coetzee 1980). In fiction, Sarah Gertrude Millian's *God's Stepchildren*, describes Coloureds as "a broken tribe who lack race-pride, ever shameful of his increasingly diluted blood-line" (Jackson, 1999). Millian (1951) goes on to say, "those who must always suffer are the mixed breeds of South Africa: the offspring of the careless and casual; unwanted in their birth; unwanted in their lives, unwanted, scorned by black and white alike" (51).

In Zimbabwe, Muzondidya (2005) reveals, "whereas the creation of a Coloured community in Rhodesia dated back as far as the 1880s, for the greater part of these early years of colonial rule, Coloured identity was, however, more of a social reference category…not until the 1900s did Coloured identity assume greater political significance as it become a tool for mobilization of resources" (39). Identity in Zimbabwe has always been constructed at the racial margins, to belong with a group is to know and enforce the shifting borders of membership. Thus for the settler, to be European was to understand and enforce the inferior place of the African. Yet neither the settler nor his counterparts have ever been a uniform group, and the development of a distinctive Coloured cultural identity is rooted in racial distinctions of between both themselves and whites, but also between themselves and local blacks. Thus, Coloured ideology

can only be understood in relation to the historical, economic, political and social development

of the society of which it is an integral part. For example,

> The Coloured community's subsequent growth and expansion was largely due to, firstly cross-racial unions involving whites and blacks and in particular white males and black females (mainly locals), a process that has come to be known as 'miscegenation',[37] and secondly due to the widespread endogamy among Coloureds themselves. In 1911, the Coloured population of Zimbabwe was 2 042 and by 1956 it had shot to 8 079, an increase of 295%. In the same year (1956) the Coloured population for the whole Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland stood at 10 855. This means that Southern Rhodesia had by far the largest Coloured population size in the Federation. The 1969 Population Census shows a Coloured population of 15 153 and by 1974 the Coloured population was estimated to be at 19 500 (NAACP_bls_0308.doc).

The quote above reveals the historic tie that Coloureds have to the economic and political

development in the country. As stated earlier, Coloureds understood the ways to "act" within the

colony and also recognized themselves as different from blacks, which is why they have been

historically endogamous. Further the economic success of the Federation (discussed on p. 101),

meant that Coloureds thrived as their intermediate status allowed Coloureds to, as Petronella

Rahman says, "enjoy a comfortable life, with more opportunities for work, education and

progress."

Christian Missionaries in Africa

Christian missionaries were the earliest representatives of European expansionism. This

pattern was indeed a major feature in British colonialism. Comaroff and Comaroff (1997) reveal

that missionaries were not only bearers of Christian ideology, but also, bearers of a Western lens

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[37] See M. Mushonga, "white Power, white Desire: Cohabitation and marriages between white-men and African women in pre-colonial and early colonial Zimbabwe: The Pace-setters of Miscegenation", Seminar paper, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1999; "Miscegenation 'madness' in Southern Rhodesia: An analysis of the case of Patrick Matimba within the colonial and white Rhodesia settler racial ideology, 1956-1959", Seminar paper, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1998; I. Mandaza, Chapter 3 in Race, Colour and Class.

to the world that would have powerful consequences on native populations in Africa. This method of spiritual warfare would "engage African communities in a web of symbolic and material transactions [that would forever] bind them to the colonizing culture" (Raftopoulous and Mlambo, 2009). The psychological effects of spiritual warfare is echoed in the work of Frantz Fanon (1961) whose belief "to assume a language is to assume a culture"(1957) would validate Comaroff and Comaroff's (1997) earlier assumption, and in the literary works of Chinua Achebe (1959), Leopold Sedar Senghor, and Tsitsi Dangarembga (2005). In history, the anti-Arab/Muslim sentiment had long permeated British ideology about Africa. As the British had long dominated the slave trade and abolished slavery early as compared to other Westernized countries, they did so purely as a matter of virtue as they very much saw Arabs as one "uncivilized race enslaving another" (Hochschild, 1998:28) and freeing Africans from Arab/Muslim slavery and spreading Christianity (and colonization) was a gift as England was a "representative of the uncivilized races who had broken the chains of slavery and darkness" (Hochschild, 1998:28). One of the most profound examples of the power of Christianity over non- Muslim indigenous populations is in Sierra Leone, which was colonized by the British in 1787.

Traditional historiography has presented Sierra Leone as a country plagued by successive waves of invaders, but the Mende people were one of the few indigenous populations to be continuously settled there over time. They organized themselves in small political units, independent kingdoms, or chiefdoms whose rulers powers, were checked by councils. Secret societies, notably the Poro, also exercised political power and instructed initiates in the customs of the country. The tradition of invasion was still paramount, as groups of freed slaves arrived from America, Jamaica, and England, forming a culturally mixed settlement in Freetown. These

"recaptives" (Kilson 1966) were drawn from all over western Africa and as such lacked any *common* language or culture. The British government therefore introduced a deliberate policy of turning them into a homogeneous Christian community.

Protestant missionaries, along with the black pastors of Freetown churches, worked with such success that within a generation the policy was virtually fulfilled. The (Anglican) Church Missionary Society (CMS) founded Fourah Bay College, in 1876 and the Gbo School in 1906, which produced an English speaking educated elite, who prospered as traders, and professionals.

The endurance and the persuasive quality of romanticizing colonial conquest are evidenced by another "moral" responsibility for Coloureds, one that goes back to the paternalism and sympathy displayed in Brink's and Millian's texts. "The Church, as both Mandaza and Seirlis have correctly argued, played an important role in the creation of a distinct Coloured consciousness" (Muzondidya, 25), one that is still prevalent today and discussed further in Chapter Three. Zimbabwean author, Tsitsi Dangarembga's (2005) book, *Nervous Conditions,* details the role of missionaries in Rhodesia who presented themselves as special:

> The whites on the mission were a special kind of white person, for they were holy. They had come not to take but to give. They were about God's business here in darkest Africa. They had given up the comforts and security of their own homes to come and lighten our darkness. It was a big sacrifice that the missionaries made. It was a sacrifice that made us grateful to them, a sacrifice that made them superior not only to us but to other whites as well who were here for adventure and to help themselves to our emeralds. The missionaries' self-denial and brotherly love did not go unrewarded. We treated them like minor deities. (Dangarembga 1989: 103)

For missionaries, Coloureds were a group that both had and needed sympathy. Erasmus (2001) devotes the first part of her book to the sexual relationships of Europeans and Africans that come about as a result of the absence of European women in Jan van Riebeeck's Cape colony. In Zimbabwe, the paternalistic nature of white supremacy in the colony led missionaries

to blame the existence of Coloureds on the sexual irresponsibility of whites and thus, morally

responsible for their future. Thus,

> Christian missionaries also saw themselves as duty bound to protect Coloureds from both government
>
> neglect and moral corruption by the vices of colonial society, such as sex and drink. Christian missionaries
>
> thus advocated the setting up of homes for abandoned Coloured women and institutional homes for
>
> Coloured orphans and destitute children…the institutional homes and schools that were set up became the
>
> medium through which the culture, which helped to define Coloured identity, was transmitted. The social
>
> bonding that occurred among those who stayed in these homes, at the same time, helped to develop a sense
>
> of group belonging in them (Muzondidya 25).

Zimbabwean participants in this study very much viewed the Church as an important part

of their identity, first as moral and civilized people and second as a historic part of being

Coloured in Zimbabwe. Most of the participants in this study identified as historically Anglican,

though many moved to Pentecostal, Catholic or Seventh Day Adventists churches in their adult

lives. Further because Indians were identified as Coloureds, some of the participants practiced

Islam. The Church, in my ethnography, was revealed as a place of unity for Coloureds—a place

that not only comforted and aided them, but also reified their identity as Coloureds.

LMS

As previously stated, the London Missionary Society (LMS) had roots in the Cape

Colony as early as 1799 (Ross, 1997). In Zimbabwe, although Catholic missionaries from

Portugal had attempted to establish Christianity previously, the LMS was among the earliest

successful Protestant missionary groups to be established in the country. This success was

derived from a personal friendship between Mzilikazi, first King of the Ndebele, and Robert

Moffat, LMS missionary in the 1820's (Reese, http://www.wmausa.org/page.aspx?id=163219;

Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009). When Mzilikazi, whom David Livingstone (son-in-law of

Moffat) called the greatest Bantu warrior after Shaka Zulu, took his people from South Africa to

Zimbabwe in 1840, Robert Moffat later followed and established the first LMS mission in

Inyathi, near Bulawayo in 1859 (Raftopoulous and Mlambo, 2009). The LMS mission had little

initial success in terms of influence in Zimbabwe. Ngwabi Bhebhe (1979) links Ndebele

resistance to Christianity to the Church's teaching about equality of all and one God, while Jane

M. Sales (1971) links Moffat's ethnocentric religious view to Ndebele resistance. Sales (1971)

cites Moffat's "low regard of African traditional religion, his linking of Christianity and

commerce (which was also Livingstone's catch phrase), his emphasis on western civilization for

Africans, and his insistence on heavy-handed church discipline to enforce Christian standards of

conduct, as major barriers in converting the Ndebele to Christianity", yet all of these would

become major tenets in the ideology of Zimbabwean colonization and for formations of

Coloured consciousness and one of the major tangible markers of "cultural difference" from

blacks and similarity to whites, which is discussed in Chapter Three.

Concessions and European Expansion

      In 1870, eager to maintain a "good" relationship with the British and comforted by the

power of his army, Lobengula (son of Mzilikazi) granted John Swinburne the rights to dig for

gold along the Tati River in what was known as the Tati Concession. This was followed by

British South Africa Company (BASC) negotiations to dig in other parts of the Ndebele

Kingdom which Lobengula initially denied. C. D. Helm, an LMS missionary, served as an

interpreter and adviser in the negotiations with the BASC for Lobengula, and in 1888,

Lobengula finally agreed and gave additional concessions to Cecil Rhodes through the Rudd

Concession (so called because Rhodes's business partner, Charles Rudd, was instrumental in

securing the signature). Yet, what for Lobengula was seen as an agreement for the British South Africa Company to only mine gold, was interpreted by Rhodes as turning over sovereignty to the company.

The following year Rhodes obtained a charter from Queen Victoria for the British South Africa Company to rule, govern and police most of Zimbabwe. Lobengula responded in what would come to be known as the First Matabele War which took a devastating toll on his army. The war ended in with his death 1894 and by 1895, the new British colony of Rhodesia was born.

> During this year there was great activity in exploiting Matabeleland, "Stands " or plots were sold at extraordinary prices in Bulawayo. Within nine months the rebuilt town of Bulawayo had a population of 1,900 colonials and in the various goldfields there were over 2,000 colonial prospectors. The construction of telegraphs proceeded with rapidity and by the end of 1895, 500 m. of new lines had been constructed, making about 1,500 in all. A new company, the African Transcontinental Company, had been founded under the auspices of Col. Frank Rhodes, brother of Cecil, with the ultimate purpose of connecting the Cape with Cairo. By the end of 1895, 133 m. of these lines had been laid. At this time too, the railway from Cape Town, Cape Colony had passed Mafeking and was approaching the Rhodesian frontier. This railway reached Bulawayo in 1897. Meanwhile on the east coast the line to connect Salisbury (now Harare) with Beira, Mozambique (then Portuguese East Africa Colony) was under construction and this was completed in 1899.

The Ndebele, as a result of their defeat were assigned to lands in Rhodesian-designated resettlement areas in the Matabeleland North Province. Alexander, McGregor and Ranger (2000) present an early image of land in this region in *Violence and Memory*. Here the focus is on the Shangani Reserve in Matabeleland North. A place revered for its "amagusu amnyama" or "dark forests" among the Ndebele, a place of forced migration, far from the Ndebele state's heartland. The invasion of the Ndebele Kingdom, King Lobengula's subsequent disappearance, famine, political and economic factors led Europeans to, in the Land Commission Act of 1894, declare the "dark," "dangerous," and "empty" Shangani Reserve, as "the ideal homeland" for the Ndebele. This forced eviction was part of the program of institutional violence within the Rhodesian government to "deal with all questions in relation to the settlement of Africans in

Matabeleland" (Moyana 1984). Africans were to be removed, by force if necessary from white land, and forced into the hardship of two waterless tracts of land, the Gwaai and Shangani Reserves. Each white man, however, was entitled to "mark out a farm of 6,000 acres in any part of Matabeleland" (Moyana 1984). This proved to be no easy feat as the Reserve was not enticing as "malaria was present," and the soil was characteristic of the Kalahari sands. Further, these forced migrations caused hardship as, "no man likes to be uprooted and see his home destroyed before his eyes" (49). And for the Ndebele, "home" in this sense was land—the most precious commodity in traditional society prior to European rule. Reasons for the establishment of such Reserves ranged from "to protect the Africans who [were] without the means to purchase land" (Moyana 1984) to the outright racist fears of the settlers, as it was presumed that Africans, living in close proximity to whites, were inclined to steal and contaminate their cattle.

The creation of the Reserves was the first major step in the direction toward land segregation, which continues to be a marked feature of Zimbabwe. Not only did it consolidate a social and economic system of inequity, but it also, affirmed the desire of the settlers to successfully eliminate Africans from any form of economic competition.

The Colonial Period: White Supremacy, Identity and the Formation of the State

The racial ideology of white supremacy has roots in the nineteenth century. Scientific racism combined hypotheses of Spencer's (1864) "survival of the fittest" and Darwin's comparison of the "lowest savages" with European civilization to advance the idea of a duty for "civilized" nations to rule over those whom were "uncivilized". The comparison of societies to organisms has roots in ancient Greece, but Spencer elaborated this idea in greater detail. He emphasized three developmental tendencies shared by societies and organisms: (1) growth in

size, (2) increasing complexity of structure, and (3) differentiation of function. Generally "speaking, larger life forms, unlike smaller ones, have several types of tissues and organs, each suited to perform its own special function; similarly, larger societies, unlike smaller ones, have specialized institutions which perform different functions. Examples include factories, stores, schools, and churches; less concrete institutions such as economic and political systems; the occupational division of labor; and the division of society into rich and poor, powerful and powerless. Spencer applied Darwin's scientific theory of natural selection to social, political, and economic issues. In its simplest form, Social Darwinism follows the mantra of "the strong survive". This theory was used to promote the idea that the white European race was superior to others, and therefore, destined to rule over them.

Europe's sense of itself depended upon an oppositional relationship to an invented primitive savagery (Harrison 1995). This primitive savagery rested in sub-Saharan Africa.

> When Europeans began imagining Africa beyond the Sahara, the continent they pictured was a dreamscape, a site for fantasies of the fearsome and the supernatural. Ranulf Higden, a Benedictine monk who mapped the world in about 1350, claimed Africa contained one-eyed people who used their feet to cover their heads. A geographer in the next century announced that the continent held people with one leg, three faces and the heads of lions (Hochschild 1999:9).

In Africa, new "standards" of knowledge were developed to exacerbate divisions within groups, erase African histories, and plant the seeds for a form of psychological warfare that would later be described by scholars such as Frantz Fanon and C.L.R. James as the alienation of the native. Miseducation would become colonialism's most powerful ally—more effective than physical force in preventing or disabling anti-colonial uprisings. These "standards" were considered to be a "living illustration of the Blessings of Industry and Civilization to Africans long detained Barbarism" (Spitzer 1974:51). Fanon attests to the colonial viewpoint stating,

> It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, which is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler

paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply described as a society lacking

values. It is not enough for the colonist to affirm that those values have disappeared from, or still better

never existed in, the colonial world. The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the

absence of values, but also the negation of values. Values are in fact irreversibly poisoned and infected as

soon as they come into contact with the colonized…that's why we should place DDT, which destroys

parasites on the same level as Christianity, which roots out heresy, natural impulses and evil. The decline of

yellow fever and the advances made by evangelizing form part of the same balancing sheet…The church in

the colonies is a white man's church, a foreigner's church. It does not call the colonized to the ways of

God, but to the ways of the white man, to the ways of the master, the ways of the oppressor (1963:41).

This alienation of the native is ever-present in Coloured ideology as well as blacks are

indeed "painted as [the] quintessence of evil." Further, the colonial system of categorization and

subsequent alignment of Coloureds to whites, served as a "tool of submersion" (Freire 1970)

where the "oppressed" (the Coloureds in that although aligned to whites in some respects are still

considered inferior in others) sustain an existential dual identity being "...at one and the same

time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized" (30). Further,

the fact that many Coloureds wanted to escape into white society as Wheeldon noted, is an

affirmation of what Freire calls an "existential experience [in which] the oppressed feel an

irresistible attraction towards the oppressors and their way of life"(Freire 1970; 25).

Knowledge of course was transported through the exploration of Africa. Explorers such

as, Henry Morton Stanley and David Livingstone fed the Victorian public's belief in Africa as

the Dark Continent. In fact Stanley used "dark" in all his titles—*In Darkest Africa, My Dark

Companions and Their Strange Stories* as he "discovered" the Congo and Livingstone brought

"Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization"[38] to Africa. While David Livingstone combined

geographical, religious, commercial, and humanitarian goals in his exploration journeys, Stanley

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[38] Reads his monument at Victoria Falls.

created the direct link between exploration and colonization. For example, Stanley's *In Darkest Africa* (1890) depicts pygmies who were still mysterious to the outside world. One of the most famous "mysteries" to come out of Africa was Saartjie (Sarah) Baartman or Venus Hottentot. "Saartjie Baartman was born in South Africa in 1789. Her name is an Afrikaans name and, like her surname, pure Creole, the indigenous flowering of a name cross-fertilized by diverse languages and cultures" (Holmes, 2009). She was a slave of Dutch farmers who sent her to England to be displayed as entertainment as her large buttocks and elongated labia were different than those of Europeans. She later became a drunk and a prostitute and when she died her genitals were put on display at a museum in Paris.

The body and behavior of the "Hottentot" ultimately became the focus of experimentation, observation and even popular spectacle bent on forging an analogous link between certain categories of human and the natural world. For example, as previously stated, Robert Knox, substantiated his nineteenth century claims about the relationship between anatomy and character through studies of Hottentots. In 1847 he organized an exhibition for an audience of scientists at Exeter Hall in England to provide spectacular evidence for theories of comparative anatomy making the rounds in popular and academic European circles (Dubow, 1995; Jackson, 1999).

> These displays of Khoisan peoples mark the beginnings of a tradition of sensationalist spectacle and public prurience, which continued well into the twentieth century. Often justified in terms of scientific knowledge, exhibitions of Hottentots provided a ready market for impresarios and entrepreneurs. Such entertainment played an important role in the construction of racial stereotypes: it provided the observer with the means to distance or pathologise the unfamiliar "other" while at the same time affirming or normalizing the familiar self (Dubow, 1995:24).

"Social Darwinists drew on a growing body of data created in the name of anthropometry to substantiate the claims of recapitulation theory which established the Hottentot as being evolutionary equivalent to a European child and/or criminal" (Gould 1991). "To the eighteenth-

century thinkers who speculated on the essential nature of man and his place in the universe, Hottentots became a key reference point and an object for both fascination and horror" (Dubow, 1995:21). Sander Gilman states, "One excellent example of the conventions of human diversity captured in the iconography of the nineteenth century is the linkage of two seemingly unrelated female images—the Hottentot female and the prostitute" (1996:225).

Baartman is a powerful symbol of Coloured history, for "she stands as a reminder of the agonies of the past, of our need to face and deal with history and memory, and of our collective responsibility to resist a desire for historical amnesia" (Martin, 1996). Further explicit connections are made between the physical body of Baartman and the circumstances Coloureds have historically encountered (Wicomb, 1996). The physical shame of Baartman being displayed, measured, and dissected are parallel to the shame Coloureds have endured as being plagued with corresponding stereotypes of contamination and pollution (Wicomb, 1996; Jackson, 1999).

The Frontier-Segregation in Practice

Southern Rhodesia was conceived and developed as a white man's country, in which whites would be the primary participants in its economy. Formation of this colony was seen as a continuation of the British Empire's plan to bring the whole of the "uncivilized worlds under British rule." Cecil John Rhodes, Head Administrator of the British South Africa Company, believed that the English had an inherent right to imperial rule because they were the "first race in the world and therefore the more of the world (they) inhabited, the better it would be for the human race" (Nyangoni 19). White colonization was concerned with maximizing its political, economic and social interests that were legitimized by supposed notions of racial superiority

(Mandaza, 1986:22). Thus, Southern Rhodesia combined permanent European settlement with a large indigenous population and consequently the relationship between the settler and local majority shaped the production of a new social and cultural identity rooted in Europe but created and maintained in Southern Rhodesia. In fact, according to Rhodes, "Darwin's work was a gift to the new prophets of racism…the fate of the black man, will be that his race will be exterminated. The Kafir's time is well-nigh come" (Mandaza 1997: v).

As with many colonial situations, racialized distinctions and differences in Zimbabwe were focused on the physical and cultural positions of the settler and the native. The colonial situation bore not only a cultural or economic identity, but a political identity as well. Political identities need to be understood as a specific consequence of state formation (Mamdani, 1996). White identity was created, validated and maintained in the policing of racial, sexual and social boundaries. Whites were taught how to treat both Africans and Coloureds and Africans and Coloureds were taught to know their place. Racial privilege was the reward of conformity to a system of boundaries built on cultural notions of difference. The following quote is taken from the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) and it reveals the ideology of place:

> Rhodesians believed that they were building a great country for all its people, White and black, but all must pull their own weight. To make it possible for the African to pull his weight his educational facilities are being greatly increased, his health is being improved, his farming methods are being modernized, his housing is being better looked after. In brief, he is being encouraged to believe that a better future is there for him if he fits himself into it. Rhodesians believe that there must be a working partnership between the races. The African has started late in his advancement on Western lines and must for the present and perhaps for a long time be a junior partner (NAZ S927/4 1947-1960).

Settler power was predicated on a shared, racialized understanding and appreciation of colonial superiority that shaped social, economic and political spheres. As a minority in power,

the settlers had to maintain conformity and control within their own ranks by ensuring that understandings of racial difference, between Europeans, Coloureds and Africans, would transcend class distinctions. Racial cohesion revolved around common economic and social goals for whites. These goals were protected through a policy of segregation where class differences were minimized. White workers did not engage in class interests as long as racial alliances provided them with a better standard of living than that of the African worker. Both economic and labor restrictions ensured the degradation of the African, and white identity rested on a constant othering of the African majority. Thus the maintenance and production of a racially exclusive social and economic standing was central to the cultural identity of whites. European society was unified through its support for social and economic segregation and differences between Europeans in Zimbabwe (Afrikaner, British, or Jewish) were also minimized due to their social position in opposition of the black African (Davies, 1999).

Colonial policy before 1950 promoted the notion that Africans were socially and culturally underdeveloped and whites were taught to view Africans as intellectually inferior, morally degenerate and generally incompetent. Africans were understood to be everything that the European was not: uneducated, underdeveloped, under productive, uncontrolled, irresponsible and oversexed. The resulting social structure dictated a cultural identity that emerged from and constantly reinforced notions of difference, distance, and danger in relation to Africans. Social and cultural practices were reproduced through the institutions of settler society including schools, sports clubs, government, the workplace, and churches, which promoted a racialized view.

Cultural lines of difference were clearly drawn and reinforced through commonly held beliefs and the creation of an elite racial status ensured that certain jobs, such as domestic work,

were too menial for Europeans. Thus the presence of Africans in the white home further necessitated the enforcement of moral and social behavior. Fears of sexual and racial pollution bound the white community together in the protection of white womanhood (Stoler, 1991). While the white woman was "protected," African women were not, as African women were viewed as "the other's other" (Jackson, 2002:310). Further Jackson (2002) locates the treatment of black female sexuality directly related to state control and the policing of space in colonial Zimbabwe, as "stray" (unmarried/unattached) women were targeted as carriers of venereal disease (however untrue). Popular belief, common wisdom and historical circumstance suggest that various forms of sexual contact including rape, consensual sexual relationships, and cohabitation existed in Zimbabwe from the earliest days of conquest. Prior to 1900, there was a ratio of three European men to one European woman (Rogers and Franz, 1962), greatly increasing the likelihood of interracial sexual unions between male settlers and African women. The lack of European women, coupled with colonial freedom and power, created a period of at least some fluidity with regard to social sanction surrounding interracial relationships. Rogers and Franz (1962) note that a 1914 Department of Native Affairs survey found 16 cases of European men living with African women on Native Reserves and in a similar survey some 45 years later, that number was documented at 27. However, many of these unions fall outside the realm of historical record, particularly those where cohabitation did not exist. Yet the low number of reported cases suggests that the colonial system of social and economic segregation did not allow for public expressions of interracial unions.

While there is a poverty of information on miscegenation in traditional historical sources, popular fiction of the time appears to illustrate the emerging boundaries of culturally appropriate and inappropriate sexual behavior. Stoler (1991) affirms this belief noting, that the boundaries of

colonial communities were defined through changing patterns of racial inclusion and exclusion that were secured through various forms of sexual control that defined domestic arrangements of Europeans.

European settlement in Southern Rhodesia was molded by an overwhelming awareness of minority status with regard to the numerical superiority of the indigenous population. White power and control was predicated on the colonists' ability to exploit the land and labor of the African majority. The tenuous nature of this situation shaped both identity and cultural practices. Segregation and subjugation were central to both long-term settlement and the inscription of racial identity through everyday practices. Segregation had far-reaching effects, in terms of the division of land, social structure, education, marriage patterns, and in employment opportunities. Gradually this division, playing off "tradition" on one hand and vested interests on the other, became rigid in that ethnic communities became closed in an effort to promote racial purity (Kay 1981). Consequently, colonial society was characterized by a range of tensions, ambiguities and anxieties relating directly and indirectly to the fear of indigenous rebellion. A central paradox of European settlement was that while subjugated African labor was a necessary component of colonial economic development, the presence of Africans created social anxieties that could only be quelled through segregation. Thus Africans were both central to and excluded from white society. It was within this context that a distinctly Coloured cultural identity was shaped.

Coloured Historic and Legal Categorizations: Race, Place and Space in Colonial Zimbabwe

However it is important to understand that sheer perseverance alone did not lead to separation. This process was one that correlated with the Rhodesian government's laws regarding where local blacks could live and work, which assisted in building a group consciousness for Coloureds, particularly in day to day contact with and in opposition to blacks. Thus, being Coloured, was ultimately a flexible category that absorbed and excluded different communities at various historical moments.

Muzondidya (2005), following the analysis of Mandaza (1997) points out, the categorization of Coloured was arbitrary, because there was no easily perceivable phenotypical or cultural traits denoting Coloureds as a group and there was no precise definition of 'Coloured' in the law. The definition in the 1900 Census Act included "all persons of mixed origin, including Malays, Hottentot, Bushmen, Koranna and other South African born Coloured persons." However the ambiguity of this definition was problematic, because it also contradicted the definition of 'Native' in 24 statutes of Southern Rhodesia that defined the latter as "any member of the aboriginal tribes or races of Africa or any person having the blood of such tribes or races and living among them and after the manner thereof."[39]

Therefore, as the Beadle *Commission of Enquiry regarding the Social Welfare of the Coloured Community of Southern Rhodesia* (1945) points out, there was no clear dividing line or distinction between Native and Coloured, and that so far as the statutory definition of Coloured was concerned the term was "not capable of precise definition."[40] One classic case, which shows the ambiguity of this definition, is exemplified in the case of one Mondam Adams who had a

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[39] Southern Rhodesia, <u>Commission of Inquiry regarding the Social Welfare of the Coloured Community of Southern Rhodesia,</u> Vol. 1, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia Gvt, 1945, p.11.

[40] Muzondidya, "Towards a historical understanding…"

white father and a black mother, [and therefore was a Coloured]. When his father died, he left his farm in the names of his 'half-caste' children, Mondam Adams and Diana Adams. The two were denied the right to inherit their father's farm on the basis that the Will left by their father was invalid. Mondam Adams then indicated that he desired to purchase part of his father's farm but was barred from doing so because the European official who presided over the case ruled that "…Mondam Adams lived after the manner of a native and must, therefore, be regarded as a Native."[41] This ruling was based on the fact that the farm was in European designated areas in terms of the 1930 Land Apportionment that barred Africans form acquiring land in areas defined as such. When Mondam Adams applied to the Native Board to purchase land in the adjacent Native Area, his application was again rejected on the basis that "… as he had not taken out a Native Registration Certificate, he could not be regarded as a Native"[42] (NAACP_bls_0308). To further complicate the definition of Coloured, the Rhodesian Constitution in 1969 reclassified Coloureds and Asians as European, and yet they did not have access to land in areas defined as European nor did they have access to land in the African designated areas. As such, the Coloured community[43] was completely dependent upon whites as they were "politically ineffective in the wider society…that is it has no representative assemblies, courts, or independent economic organizations" (Wheeldon 1969:131). Therefore, political processes were confined to internal associations, which constituted a medium of social interaction within the community. "Thus the smallness of the Coloured population, its isolation from other communities[44], and its exclusion

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[41] Southern Rhodesia, <u>Commission of Inquiry regarding the Social Welfare of the Coloured Community of Southern Rhodesia,</u> Vol. 1, p.12.

[42] <u>Ibid,</u> p.13.
[43] Community here is defined as members of both the Cape Coloured community who migrated from South Africa and those of mixed race born in Southern Rhodesia. That is with skin pigmentation different from whites or blacks.
[44] Meaning "white" and "black" or "native" communities. That is people who are believed to belong to the same genetic stock.

on the basis of racial discrimination…are seen as conditions leading to cohesion and community consciousness" (Mandaza 1996: xiii).

Yet, there is evidence to suggest that not all Coloureds sought to be identified as such. For example, I found that some Coloureds were ashamed to be classified as such; a sentiment that is echoed by Muzondidya's exploration of Joshua Cohen, who painted his face black to look like the local Ndebeles in Gwanda (33) as, both Shonas and Nbebeles viewed Coloureds as being "lost" and worthy of sympathy. This phenomenon is also revealed in the media sensation Sandra Laing, who was a Coloured child biologically born to white parents (Stone, 2007; Fabian, 2008). Her story was so sensational that it became a movie entitled, *Skin*. Although of darker skin, she was at birth classified as white like her parents, yet as she grew older and her hair frizzy, she was then classified as Coloured and according to the law, no longer allowed to live with her white family.

When Laing married a black, she was then reclassified as black. There is also evidence to suggest that Coloureds sought to be identified as white. Muzondidya cites the early 20th century case of Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Pearman, who refused to be classified as Coloured due to the fact that they had always lived as and socialized with Europeans and had no "native blood" and therefore should be classified as whites.

In my own research I encountered this as well with the case of May Smith, who because of her white skin, her family pressured her into identifying as white rather than Coloured, an association that provided her with the opportunity to be crowned Miss Zimbabwe in 1955, a decision that today still illicits bitter regret. Wheeldon suggests that their frustration at not being white or black is what indeed leads them to declare a Coloured identity, "Many Coloureds would like to escape into white society but are unable to do so and thus the community, poised between

mutually antagonistic color groups, must necessarily be more close-knit than most urban societies (1969:130). Yet this is simplistic and complete ignores the history of racial and spatial segregation in Zimbabwe.

However great the colonial polarization of race, it has never been a singular identity that alone fully defines the members of a community. Here broader notions of identity can be used to successfully conceptualize both the individual's experience or meaning and the linkages that form, stabilize or destabilize and form or reform the individual's ties to particular groups. Identity is able to offer a more flexible and complex picture than singular considerations of race or ethnicity; thus race evolves from the social, political, economic and cultural context, it goes beyond a single identity to intertwine with other identities to form a medium of expression of both the individual and group placement in society.

Coloured as an Ideal Type

The emergence of a sense of Colouredness was fostered by the production of idealized images or types, first by white settlers and then by Coloureds themselves. For example, as stated before, manners and habits initially differentiated Coloureds from the Shona and Ndebele. Further, a Coloured person of "high status" would present features of membership in a nice family, ownership of a respectable business, possession of white-collar employment for a long period of time, and election to executive positions in Coloured associations (Wheeldon 1969:134). While differences were apparent among Coloureds, they were also apparent in relation to other minorities. Although little published information exists on this in Zimbabwe, Dotson and Dotson provide an extensive study on the Coloureds of Central Africa focusing on the lumping together of Indians and Coloureds for both social and administrative purposes and

the relationship between the two minorities themselves. These relations are located within

colonial stereotypes, such as that Indians are puritanical in principle and practice, hardworking,

and future-minded, whereas Coloureds are individualistic, hedonistic, and present-oriented

(1968:72). Similarly, in Zimbabwe, Coloureds were classified with Asians until the Land

Appointment Act, in which they were classified with whites. Dotson and Dotson push the notion

of class among Coloureds further stating that the persons of mixed heritage in Central Africa live

with varying degrees of success as Europeans and Indians do, for physical characteristics do not

guarantee status within the community. Finally, J. Clyde Mitchell (1969) categorizes Coloureds

as a fourth racial group within a color-caste system, which includes Asians, Europeans and

Africans. This is structure that exists in Zimbabwe today. Mitchell notes that as a group within

the color-caste system, Coloureds tend to form "an endogamous stratum based in the social

structure…one in which social divisions are present" (319).

According to Weber (1947), social status may be applied to either a positive or negative

privilege, leading to social prestige that rests on either, mode of living, formal education and

acquisition of the accompanying modes of life, or the prestige of birth or occupation. Davies

(1975) expounds upon this idea of social status even further, stating that Coloured families were

given assistance in home ownership and letting schemes, since the Constitution of Southern

Rhodesia classified all people other than Africans as Europeans and as such Coloureds were able

to live in European areas.[45]

Coloureds in Zimbabwe can be examined within a Weberian (1947) model of

sociological analysis in that they are a distinct group of social actors "traditionally oriented

through the habituation of long practice of the realization of value" (in terms of the value of

being Coloured within the colonial apparatus) and are rational in that they maintain the means

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[45] Davies, 1975:314.

(cohesion and community consciousness) for the successful attainment of the chosen ends (maintenance of difference in relation to blacks and affinity in relation to whites). Additionally, Coloured categories are status groups since in addition to phenotype, they are believed to enjoy different levels of consumption, to follow distinct lifestyles, and to retain social relations amongst themselves (such as marrying within the group, social gatherings, and participation in social activities). They also have some command over opportunities for income and consequently, the possession of goods. But this framework cannot be accepted without consideration of the "racial ideology of white supremacy that forms part of the general attempt on the part of the colonized to categorize the colonized according to various ethnic and social criteria" (Mandaza 1997:xvii).

This attempt to categorize Coloureds can also be seen as a result of an ideal type (Weber, 1949) of system in that it is traditional or paternalistic (van den Berge, 1959; 1970) and the division of labor is drawn along racial lines. In such a system, "a wide and unbreachable gap exists between the castes, as indicated by living standards, income, occupations, education…there is a horizontal color bar with no intercaste mobility" (van den Berge, 1970; 1959), which is unlike other racially plural societies like Brazil where the socio-economic status of an individual frequently affects his/her racial category. In such societies, "money whitens," and a darker-skinned person may become "white" based on economic status (Hanchard, 1994; Reichmann, 1999; Twine, 1998). In a paternalistic society, racial rules and statuses are sharply defined, endogamy is rigidly adhered to and an "elaborate etiquette of race relations stabilizes the master-servant relationship" (van den Berge, 1970). Finally, race relations are stable in that the "lower caste is accommodated to its inferior status…the upper caste adopts an attitude of

benevolent despotism toward members of the lower caste, whom it treats as perpetual children"

(van den Berge, 1970).

Coloured consciousness is defined by the presence of a "cohesive and community consciousness." One that is based on commonality of bonds of sentiment, experiences, sense of place and purpose, identity, emotional commitments and values along with social networks and regular person to person relationships. [46] This commonality also possesses characteristics of an ethnic group, in that it "has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others, constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order" …and entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signaling membership or exclusion" (Barth 1969:11). Here the criteria are based on phenotype as Fanon points to race as the fundamental divide in settler states (Burgess 1981:615). This group uses ethnic identity to legitimate its own privileges in terms of some superior cultural or biological traits said to be characteristic of the dominant group or some inferior cultural or biological traits said to be characteristic of the subordinate group (Comaroff 1987).

Mandaza (1997) responds stating that Coloured identity represents a 'false consciousness' in which people live in a deluded state about their real interests. In this schema, Coloured identity was created by two major agencies-- the colonial state and the Coloured elite, who then fostered their worldview on the rest of the Coloured community.

> In short, white supremacy defines this *Coloured* term in terms of the racial ideology of white supremacy; and this ideological conception assumes some semblance of reality on the basis of two factors: the articulations of a leadership which are a result of their frustrated class aspirations, at being refused entry into that highest class in society which is almost synonymous with white status; and the institutional structures, laws and economic and social concessions designed to cater specifically for the *Coloureds.* The

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[46] Tonnies, http://hirr.hartsem.edu/ency/Anthropology.htm

important point here is that the Coloured group exists only when there emerges this frustrated class of potential leaders.

Formations of Coloured Political Consciousness

Coloured identity began to align out of earlier political organizations formed in Bulawayo around 1909, with the formation of an affiliated branch of the South African-based African Political Organization (APO) in Bulawayo (Muzondidya, 2005). This was the first attempt at mobilizing on the basis of a Coloured category in Rhodesia. Not only was it molded after the APO in South Africa, but also, many of its leaders were Cape Coloured, which would later become a source of contention between those born in Rhodesia and those who were from the Cape. As Muzondidya (2005) notes, "the APO sought to obtain special concessions from the government and to defend the socio-economic interests of Coloured people...it was concerned with the improvement of Coloured education, a major problem affecting its Bulawayo constituency and the Coloured community as a whole" (40). It was from this pressure that the first Coloured government school (Church of Christ's Coloured School) was opened in Bulawayo in 1917.

Yet the government also faced a pressure of its own—a pressure to fulfill the needs of its ever-growing white population. As changes occurred demographically for whites, Coloureds were threatened with losing whatever employment, educational, or housing opportunities that were previously available. This manifested educationally as the government directed its energy and resources to establishing and funding schools for white children while the only school for Coloured children remained unable to accommodate the Coloured population in Bulawayo (Muzondidya, 2005).

The following two decades marked a heightened period of Coloured political consciousness, as "tensions arising from unemployment, competition for jobs, housing, and educational facilities mounted. These tensions also steadily began to express themselves in racial and ethnic terms" (Muzondidya, 2005:45). For example, the establishment of the Land Appointment Act of 1928 separated many European employers from semi-skilled African employees. Cities were also defined as "European areas" and the majority of Africans were restricted to their rural native homelands. Similar to regulations in South Africa, Africans were permitted to live in urban areas at the discretion of their employers and were required to carry identity cards and to live in segregated communities. Only those in domestic positions such as, housekeepers, cooks and nannies were permitted to live in European areas. All others were required to leave by sunset. Other employment related restrictions were applied. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 legally established an "occupational aristocracy" (Kosmin, 1980) in which only Europeans could be trained as skilled laborers throughout the colony.

Because of policies like these, Coloured "identity became much more than a cultural identity, and a growing number of people appealed to it for purposes of getting access to employment (over blacks), housing, and other social amenities and facilities. Coloured communal organizations also sought to mobilize human and material resources on the basis of a distinct Coloured political identity" (Muzondidya, 2005:45).

Other Coloured political organizations were established to meet the desire for Coloured mobility. For example, in 1928 the Rhodesia Eurafrican Vigilance Association (REVA) was established in Bulawayo following the establishment of the REVA in Harare in 1925. Yet this organization, as with the Cape Afrikander Population of Salisbury (Harare), fell apart due to the push to promote a distinct Cape Coloured identity, one of "pure" Coloureds of South African

origin (Muzondidya, 2005). "Mobilization on the basis of Coloured identity did not completely transcend all the divides in the community which were based on language, class, culture, religion, and geographic location…which led to major divisions between the locally born Coloureds and the Cape Coloureds" (Muzondidya, 2005:64). As a result of these differences many of the early Coloured political organizations were terminated.

Political Orientation and Participation: The Battle for Unity

Muzondidya (2005) highlights the struggles and internal battles for Coloured unity through political involvement. As he notes, the post-war period provided a heightened awareness of political assertiveness among Africans. "Political activists talked about the Atlantic Charter, the New World Order and argued that the rights and liberties in these documents should be extended to all colonial subjects" (83). Colonial ideologies of assimilation had produced a small elite of future black leaders who were educated in Western universities. These leaders were familiar with Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter that called for the autonomy of imperial states through a philosophy of self-determination[47]. It was this knowledge and education that would later lead to the struggle for Independence.

As blacks began to become more politically assertive, so did Coloureds. As black organizations like the Southern Rhodesia Bantu Congress voiced opposition to official urban policy and Coloured organizations like the Rhodesia Teachers League rejected segregation. Others like the Euro-African Patriotic Society also sought to mobilize Coloured opposition by incorporating traditionally marginalized Coloured groups like women and youth in an effort to

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[47] Self determination is the principle in international law that nations have the right to freely choose their sovereignty and international political status with no external compulsion or external interference.

defend and promote their social and economic interests as a group. Yet any attempt at unity was undermined by disagreements and competing factions within the group.

Coloured political involvement should best be understood in the context of Coloured marginalization and Coloured identity which has always been, according to Muzondidya, "…fluid, adaptive and situational…"[48]As has already been mentioned, in the early colonial period, Coloured identity emphasized three things: white culture, non-indigenousness, and a strong South African connection. Coloured politics in those days tended to emphasize the South African connection and especially the Cape Coloured orientation. It is therefore little wonder that early political organizations like the African Political Organization (APO), the Rhodesia Eurafrican Vigilance Association (REVA), and the Rhodesia Cape Afrikaner Association (RCAA) were all led by Cape Coloured leaders (NAACP_bls_0308.doc).

However, from the 1930s onwards, Coloured identity that placed emphasis on the South African connection was being challenged strongly, especially by the first generation of Rhodesian-born Coloureds who felt excluded from such a definition.[49] One such form of challenge was the formation, under the leadership of A. J. W. McCleod and G. T. Thornicroft in 1930 of the Coloured Community Services League (CCSL). This was the first such organization to carry the name Coloured and to bring together both Cape Coloureds and Rhodesian-born Coloureds. The CCSL was very active in the 1930s and 1940s and worked hard to foster the interests and promotion of unity among the Coloured people of Southern Rhodesia, among other things before being succeeded by the Rhodesia National Association (RNA) in 1952. It must therefore be mentioned that for the greater part of the 1940s, there was serious confrontation between the Cape Coloureds and the Rhodesian-born Coloureds with each group fighting for

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[48] p. 87
[49] p. 88

ascendance over the other. Muzondidya (2005) notes, "Explaining the rivalry, Mandaza argues that it was mainly rooted in the competing economic interests of two distinct factions of the same class, who aspired to be assimilated into white society. The Cape Coloured felt that their chances of assimilation for which they had been striving for 30 years prior to the emergence of the politically assertive "Eurafrican" (Rhodesian) petit-bourgeoisie, were in jeopardy. The Eurafricans were keen to assert and maximize their class interests by utilizing the factor of color affinity to whites" (89). Muzondidya (2005) goes on to explain that Mandaza (1997) was correct in his observation of economic factors, but ideological, language, cultural and generational divides were important in causing the rift.

This episode must go down in history as one of the major causes of disunity among the Coloured community in Zimbabwe. However, by the 1950s, the narrower definition which emphasized a strong South African connection began to fade "… as a new sense of group consciousness that …emphasized local roots…"[50] began to emerge. And credit for this must go to two personalities. The first is A. J. McCleod, founder member and leader of REVA as well as President of CCSL. McCleod came from Kimberly and was born of a white father and African mother and was very well known for his dislike and contempt of the white settler administration.[51] The other was G. T. Thornicroft, who was also founder member and President of the CCSL and the RNA. Thornicroft was also born of an English father and an African mother. He is generally seen as the father figure of Coloured politics, not only in Southern Rhodesia, but also in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. As a result of the efforts of these two men, many of the older generation of Cape Coloureds gradually stopped looking to South Africa for political and cultural inspiration. It is important to point out that all Coloured organizations

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[50] Muzondidya 2005:90.
[51] Mandaza 1997: 812.

and others like the Euro-African Patriotic Society (EAPS, founded 1944), the National Association of Coloured People (NAACP) sought to exploit the situation to the best advantage of the Rhodesian Coloured people by appealing to Coloureds for support [52] (NAACP_bls_0308.doc).

By the time of Federation between 1953 and 1963, Coloureds in Zimbabwe, while trying to come to terms with the emergence of African nationalism, were generally reluctant to challenge the colonial state head-on. However, with the intensification of the war in the 1970s, an increasing number of Coloured youths were getting incorporated into the nationalist movement. Thus a number of Coloured leaders threw in their lot with the nationalist movements and in particular ZAPU/ZIPRA and led their followers into them. While others Coloureds joined FROLIZI, some joined ZANU. Thus contrary to public opinion, Coloureds played a role in the liberation struggle. For example, Herbert Foya-Thompson recruited a number of Coloureds and Africans to go and train as freedom fighters. Again, some Coloured leaders were either imprisoned or held in restriction camps. Herbert Foya-Thompson (ZAPU), Frank Bernann (ZAPU), and Cecil Smith, just to mention a few, were at one time restricted to Gonakudzingwa Restriction Camp for their roles in the liberation struggle. On the other hand, a good number of young Coloureds were compulsorily conscripted into the Rhodesian Front Army. To avoid conscription, a good number of them left the country. By the late 1970s, and confronted by the advent of political Independence under African rule, some Coloureds began to turn to their family links with Africans as a means to "…negotiate and legitimize their claims to resources or space in the post-colonial order."[53]Quoting from the Rhodesia Herald of 1979, Muzondidya shows how some Coloureds sought to exploit this link and says that Coloureds were no longer

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[52] Muzondidya 2005:88.
[53] Ibid.

eager to be identified with the minority whites because they were: "children of the majority Africans… [and that minorities were] those people who are deportable because they have somewhere else to go if they are not wanted. Coloureds…have no other country besides that of their birth Zimbabwe."[54]

However, there were those who saw Coloureds as a group of opportunists who chose to sit on the fence during the struggle against colonial rule and as a group of people who wanted to have it "both ways".

> Besides the above-mentioned Coloured leaders, there were also leading political figures of repute within the community. Some of these figures include Gerald Joseph Raftopoulos, who joined ZAPU in 1975 and was a ZAPU delegate to the 1976 Geneva Conference; Cecil Smith, Publicity Secretary of the Harare Province of ZAPU at the time; Herbert Foya-Thompson, a veteran Coloured politician with ZAPU, PCC and then Sithole's ZANU. Herbert Foya Thompson attended the 1979 Lancaster House Conference as an executive member of Sithole's ZANU (NAACP_bls_0308.doc).

In my research I found participants like Stanley Staddon (53), Herb Levendale (69), Ray Smith (59) and Paul Pretorius (72) who were vocal about Coloured politics and Coloured political voice in Zimbabwe, but all four felt helpless in the face of the current situation. Perhaps it is associated with age, as the younger generation of Coloureds did not voice any political concerns whatsoever, as in many ways their very continued participation in maintaining Colouredness in itself was a form of political protest.

Coloured Employment and Education

Coloured employment historically followed the typical pattern: (1) the greater percentage took up unskilled jobs with very few in skilled employment hence very few were in supervisory jobs; (2) that most jobs taken up by Coloureds were those which white workers viewed as "…too

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[54]Muzondidya, 2004.

arduous, distasteful or unrewarding [and were] unlikely to be employed in jobs that were 'visible' or 'audible' to customers or the public in general". While the South African Union Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured population noted that the employability of "…a section of the Coloured people is affected by thriftiness, irresponsibility, laziness and intemperance", the Southern Rhodesia Commission of Inquiry regarding the Social Welfare of the Coloured Community (1945) dismissed this negative stereotyping of Coloureds, pointing out that Coloureds in Southern Rhodesia had not, despite the existing conditions, "… descended to the depths of despair, and that most, if not all, of its members have not become anti-social in their outlook and behavior. It is true that many of their members are in a state of high nervous tension, and are constantly conscious of their color and lack of security in the economic set up in this country, but in spite of this almost pathological state, many of them have shown resourcefulness and moral courage sufficient to overcome their difficulties which is a credit to their race. Much of the material available in these people is basically good, and given reasonable opportunities, there would seem to be no reason for their proving to be other than a real asset to the country."[55] The quota system that some companies used for employment also tended to restrict the number of Coloureds employed. It must also be mentioned that there was very little training offered initially to Coloureds thereby inhibiting their potential. Where proper training programs were in place, Coloureds tended *to perform well* (NAACP_bls_0308.doc). Tables 1 and 2 display the historic pattern of Coloured women from 1931-1941.

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Table 1. Unemployment among Coloured women, 1931-1941

Year	1926	1931	1936	1941
Employed	36%	30%	32%	31%
Unemployed	64%	70%	68%	69%

From the years 1926-1941, Coloured women represented a large number of the unemployed. This reflects the lack of training schemes that would allow Coloureds to progress. Futher, women across racial lines were underemployed, with the expection of those whom were domestics. Yet, Coloured employment increased following World War II. "In the textile and clothing sector, for instance, the demand for skilled labor was so high after 1945 that employers were even contemplating recruiting Coloured workers from South Africa to solve their labor shortage. The number of Coloured women employed in the textile and clothing sector increased by close to 100 percent between 1946 and 1951" (Muzondiya 2005). This is reflected in my data, as Janice Hall and Elphin Mackay both worked in the clothing sector, as owner and seamstress, respectively. Coloured employment also increased in skilled labor sectors such as bridge-building and bricklaying, and also in the business sector as the Urban Areas Act of 1946 applied to Africans only, thus giving Coloureds an advantage in creating self-owned businesses—a pattern that is reflected in my data, as approximately 36% of Coloured Zimbabweans interviewed were self-employed.

Coloureds at this time not only benefited in terms of employment, but also in terms of education. These improvements were made when the government began to respond to changes in the demographic and settlement patterns of Coloureds in the 1930s. There were no primary schools for Coloureds until 1928 when numbers justified it. Before that date and even afterwards,

the education for Coloured children, just like that for Asian children, was provided for in the Education Acts for Europeans.[56]

By 1933 there were primary schools for Coloureds in the main urban centers with education becoming compulsory in the Education Act of 1938 for all Coloured and Asian children between the ages of seven and fifteen living within a radius of three miles from a suitable school. The government noted: "It appears necessary that every Coloured child should be educated and is recommended that compulsory education should apply to Coloured children in the same manner as it will apply to European children"[57], and the passing of the Education Act meant that there was a large increase of Coloured children seeking primary education. Muzondiya (2005:112) reveals this effect in Salisbury,

> In Salisbury, by 1946 St. Johns Coloured School had extended its boarding capacity and its Catholic fathers were building a new establishment, accommodating 120 children, at Martindale Primary School. The number of schools providing education to Coloured and Asian children increased from 12 in 1939 to 16 in 1946, while teachers in these schools increased from 52 to 74 during the same period. Between 1945 and 1950 the teacher to pupil ration in Coloured schools hovered between 1:28 and 1:31, compared to 1:26 and 1:28 in European schools and 1:38 to 1:40 in African schools. Coloured and Asian pupils enrolled in schools increased from 1521 in 1939 to 2190 in 1946 and by 1950 enrollment had almost doubled.

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[56] Muzondidya, 2004.
[57] Muzondidya, 2004.

Table 2. Enrollment of Coloured and Asian Children in Primary Schools

Government Schools	1930	1950
Salisbury	99	552
Bulawayo	240	722
Umtali	37	133
Gwelo	39	149
Gatooma	36	62
Rusapi	-	22
Sinoia	-	29
Selukwe	-	53
Que Que	-	80
Shabani	-	13
Government Aided		
Embakwe	29	357
St John's	132	401
Martinadle	-	164
Sacred Home	-	27
Total Enrollment	612	2764

Table 2 reveals the significant increase in government and government aided schools.

Coloured enrollment was up following the law that primary education was compulsory and

boomed by 1950. This improved financial opportunities available to Coloureds in turn which

also motivated the increase of Coloured teachers. This too, is reflected in my data, as Paul

Pretorius and Ray Smith were both teachers.

However further education beyond the age of fifteen was only available in Cape Town as

there was no secondary school and as a result Coloured pupils were sent to South Africa for

secondary schooling with government aid.[58] This is also why I needed to include a South

African based sample in this research, as not only were opportunities in education limited for

Coloureds, but opportunity for employment was limited as well, which will be discussed later.

As such, the provision for secondary school for Coloureds and Asians lagged behind that

of European children. Up until 1973, there were only two government secondary schools for

Coloureds and Asians compared to 38 for Europeans. Thus this lack of education facilities

should partly explain the high unemployment rate among the Coloured community.

Unemployment was particularly high among Coloured women, as statistics would show for the

period 1926-1941 (NAACP_bls_0308.doc).

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953

With colonial practice firmly in place, Rhodesia began to focus on building itself

economically. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, also called Central African Federation

(CAF), was created in 1953 and consisted of Southern Rhodesia) and the territories of Northern

Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi). Southern Rhodesia was the dominant territory in

the federation as it had the largest population of European settlers in the area. "Despite its

convoluted government structure, the CAF economy was a success. In the first year of the

federation, its GDP was an impressive £350 million; two years later it was nearly £450 million.

Yet the average income of a European remained approximately ten times that of an African

employed in the cash economy, representing only one third of local Africans" (Mason, 1961).

Despite the difference in income, both Coloureds and blacks benefitted from the

economic boom, especially in terms of housing improvements. Home purchase was available to

Coloureds in 1958 in the areas of Barham Greene and Thornegrove (both historically Coloured

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[58] Muzondidya, 2004.

suburbs) at a monthly mortgage payment of 10 pounds. The result was that the majority of

Coloureds now resided in the urban areas of Salisbury (Harare) and Bulawayo because of the

ability to purchase homes. "While in 1946 only 51 percent of the Coloured population was in the

main urban areas, by 1951 this had increased to 60 percent; 64 percent by 1956; and 72 percent

by 1961" (Muzondidya, 2005:143). Coloured educational facilities continued to improve at this

time as well, with the establishment of Founders High School in Bulawayo in 1952 (which all of

my Coloured informants over the age of 30 attended).

The chart below highlights the growth of Coloureds in Primary schools, during the CAF

years. The increase of the number of Coloured educational institutions, not only aided in

providing them social mobility, but also in many ways was acknowledgment from the

government that Coloureds were indeed different and needed to be "developed" with this in

mind.

Table 3. Number of Coloured and Asian Students in Primary Schools

Coloured and Asian Pupils in Primary Schools		
YEAR	NO. OF PUPILS	PERCENTAGE INCREASE
1950	2764	
1956	3708	34.2%
1957	4048	9.2%
1958	4163	2.8%
1959	4340	4.3%
1960	4539	4.6%
1961	4730	4.2%
1962	4984	5.4%
1963	5348	7.3%

This chart shows that there was a large jump in the early years of UDI in the enrollment

of Coloureds in primary schools. Three years after UDI, Coloured enrollment increased by a

staggering 34% and what follows over the next six years is a steady increase of Coloured

schoolchildren being educated. Founders High School opened in 1952, which is also a factor in

the increased enrollment of Coloured pupils in secondary school. Teacher-training and nursing-

training schemes were also introduced at this time, thus increasing the opportunity for social

mobility amongst Coloureds. Education and social mobility are major agents in the creation of

Coloured consciousness and identity at this time, as it becomes a major foundation of the

ideology of difference in comparison to blacks, while at the same time reinforcing both a distinct

sense of Colouredness and a sense of sameness to whites in terms of education, professional

training and social mobility.

UDI also aided in the establishment of a homegrown Coloured elite in Barham Greene.

Prior to UDI, the elite were derived from a pool of Cape Coloureds, yet now the elite were firmly

grown in Zimbabwe. In my findings, several of my participants were the direct beneficiaries of

this training and constituted the elite in BG. For example, Herb Levendale, Ray Smith, Paul

Pretorius, Anita Thornborrow and Yvonne Thornborrow were all retired or current teachers and

Priscilla Ahomed and Cynthia Smith were both nurses. Cynthia Smith, (Ray Smith's sister)

states, "We all benefited from being able to teach and nurse…it was if the government was

finally acknowledging our value in Zimbabwe." Teaching and nursing were Coloured

professions that allowed not only for economic mobility, but also being recognized by the

government was valued ideologically in cohesing Coloured consciousness, which is evident as

Coloured nurses were paid more than black nurses—which was seen as a clear marker of value.

Table 4. Salary Scale in the Nursing Profession

RACE	Pre 1957 Salary in Pounds	New 1957 Salary in Pounds
African	£153	£206
Coloured/Asian	£209	£239
European	£361	£408

Source: NAZ, F383/BR/2/1/5, Non-European Nurses: Grading and Salary Structure 1953-1961

The chart below displays significant change in professional opportunity for Coloureds, which shows that not only were Coloureds becoming better educated, but they were also earning more money. Pay matched educational advancement, which again aided in fostering a distinct Coloured consciousness. Women earned less, which was the standard of the time for the colony, and even for most westernized societies.

Table 5. Salaries of Asian and Coloured Teachers during the Federation

Salaries of Asian and Coloured Teachers during the Federation		
Staff Category	**Starting Salary for Male Teachers (per annum)**	**Starting Salary for Female Teachers (per annum)**
Untrained 2 Years Approved Training 3 Years Approved Training 4 Years Approved Training 5 Years Approved Training	**£**300 **£**405 **£**432 **£**459 **£**513 **£**567	- **£**342 **£**363 **£**384 **£**426 **£**468
Maximum Salary for Asian and Colored Teachers	**£**1071	**£**870

The starting salary for untrained male teachers was £300, while Coloured women who were untrained could not be compensated. With 2 years of approved training, Coloured males enjoyed a 35% increase in salary, earning 15.6% more than Coloured women with the same training. Further, there was incentive to be more educated as males with 5 years of approved training, could earn up to £1071. Coloured females still lagged behind, potentially earning up to 18.8% less than their male counterparts. Although the starting salary for men differed from that of women the political implications for Coloureds during this period are myriad as seen in the chart above. For example, by becoming better educated, Coloureds were able to earn more, in the

same way their white counterparts were able to advance. This in turn also led to the ability to purchase homes, thus changing their perspective on their place within Rhodesia. For example, Pricilla Ahomed, a 54 year-old nurse, echoed Cynthia Smith's earlier statement stating in a taped interview,

> My paternal grandparents and my father were born in Cape Town. My father was a dark Coloured who migrated north to Zimbabwe in 1948. He had a university degree and worked as a teacher, but my mother was born in Zimbabwe and was not educated beyond a 5th grade level. But my mother's education didn't matter because things were good in Zimbabwe for my parents. My father was able to buy a house in BG and [to] educate me, and my siblings. I became a nurse and my three brothers were able to attain university degrees (teachers) and they now live in the U.S. Because of the educational and professional chances were given in Zim, our children were able to be CPA's, to study mechanical engineering, and to be computer scientists abroad. My husband has a MA in theology and although he was born in Mutare, he was able to pursue an education because he took advantage of the opportunities that were given to us early in Zimbabwe. This is why Coloureds are more advanced than blacks. We saw our chance and took it. My son is studying to be a doctor in the U.S.

Mrs. Ahomed's comments represent both an acknowledgement of the opportunities available for Coloureds because of the skills they both brought with them and those they were able to attain at a time when the government allowed for advancement. Yet Mandaza (1997) argues that Coloured political consciousness and behavior were directly impacted and that by pacifying Coloureds with a relative increase in economic and social privileges, the Rhodesian government had successfully bought them off and alienated them from the rest of the colonized. Yet Mandaza fails to realize that Coloureds had always thought of themselves as different from the colonized masses, and with government support, Coloureds were able to make their ideological difference more tangible.

The state initiated these changes to provide extra social and economic props for a

Coloured position that was in imminent danger of being undermined by a fast-developing

African middle class and an increasingly assertive African nationalism. "The federal

era…witnessed an increase in Coloured privileges…Coloured education in particular, became a

Federal matter in all three territories; and this resulted in an increase in the number of Coloured

schools and a level of educational opportunities for Coloureds almost on par with those available

to whites; and from 1958 onwards, Coloured teachers were entitled to the same benefits and

conditions of service as those enjoyed by whites" (Muzondidya, 2005:145). This led to the

withdrawal from Coloured politics of Coloured teachers who had previously constituted an

important element of the Coloured leadership, [as well as further depoliticizing the] majority of

Coloureds whose economic and social position had steadily improved during decades prior to the

1950s to a level far higher than that of the mass black population.[59] Because of the socio-

economic growth Coloureds experienced at this time, many Coloureds began to view themselves

as more like whites in terms of professional goals, social expectations and the like, which is why

many of the informants in this study saw themselves as more "culturally" aligned to whites,

which is examined in Chapter Three.

Muzondidya (2005) responds that although Coloureds seemed to retreat from politics in

favor of socioeconomic gains that during this time Coloured social and political rights were

repressed and further eroded. "The enactment of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949

and disfranchisement of Coloured voters under the Separate Representation and Voters Act of

1956, directly eroded some of the remaining rights of Coloured people while the passing of an

array of apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Population Registration Act

of 1950, which affected all blacks indiscriminately, all invoked as much bitterness and

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[59] Mandaza p. 560

resentment among Coloureds as it did among Africans."[60]

Coloureds were particularly negatively affected by laws enforcing social, residential, and political segregation and continued to fight for their group's interest. Segregation played out in various ways. For example, in the workplace, disparities in salary continued between Coloureds and their white counterparts. In the teaching field, racial discrimination was paramount as white headmasters were appointed to Coloured schools. Finally in the private sector, white jobs were protected and Coloureds were only employed in sectors that did not directly compete with whites. And, where Coloureds were employed, whites did not want to work side by side with them and used methods like boycotting to ensure that white spaces remained white.

Segregation caused great bitterness on the part of Coloured, as Muzondidya (2005) highlights: "Coloureds continued to be subjected to a host of racially discriminatory laws that infringed on their basic human rights. The Immigration Act's restrictive clause on the entry of unskilled labor into the colony, was at times, used to deny Coloured workers the right to bring their foreign spouses into the country" (155).

Coloured communal organizations like the Rhodesian National Association, and other regional communal organizations attempted to represent Coloured interests at large. Yet socially, Coloureds began to grow more cohesive in terms of closing the gap between Coloureds of South African origin and those of Rhodesian origin, favoring a close-knit unitary identity as Coloureds in Rhodesia. In the Bulawayo area, Barham Greene became the residential and social representative of this cohesion—a true Coloured space. For the younger generation of Coloureds, Muzondidya (2005) notes, this cohesion took place in the experience of attending segregated schools such as Founders High.

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[60] Muzondidya, p.150.

Growing Nationalism

Ghanaian Independence in 1959 marked the beginning of the end of the colonial era in Africa. Kwame Nkrumah, first prime minister and president of the modern Ghanaian state, as an anti-colonial leader was united with other Africans in wanting to end colonialism in Africa. As the world moved away from colonialism, the Federation officially ended on 31 December 1963, when Northern Rhodesia gained Independence from the United Kingdom as the new nation of Zambia on October 24, 1964 and Nyasaland gained Independence as the new nation of Malawi on July 6, 1964.

UDI

Southern Rhodesia remained defiant as Rhodesian Prime Minister filed a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Great Britain, as Smith and his supporters felt, "Every patriotic Rhodesian agreed that the country was entitled to her independence, far more so than the black states to the north that had had it thrust upon them with such indecent haste" (http://www.rhodesia.nl/rally.htm). Thus, the conservative white-minority government of Ian Smith declared its Independence from Britain, thus declaring itself a Republic in 1965. Despite economic sanctions, Smith's party, the Rhodesian Front (RF), embarked on a major crackdown on black activity to ensure white control.

> Clearly the RF not only came into power at a time when Africans, particularly those in urban areas, were
> becoming more assertive, but also found in place a government with repressive policies and institutions.
> Against the context of a repressive government, which was less accommodative of black political
> aspirations and their fight for social and economic equality, the RF government set out to build its own
> version of Rhodesia. To use Meredith's words, the RF government "simply refined the doctrine of white

supremacy in more sophisticated terms" and set out to introduce its own version of separate development. What distinguished the RF from its predecessors were its overtly segregationist intentions. The RF has won the 1962 elections on an electoral platform that promised strict segregation and, unlike its predecessors, did not make any secret of its opposition to black advancement. Its commitment to clamp down on all opponents, black and white, was equally unparalled.[61]

Coloureds were already experiencing the impact of segregation and racism prior to the RF's rise to power. Yet RF began to ban Coloureds from virtually all public- spaces they had once shared with whites. The RF denied admission of Coloureds to white schools and banned multiracial sports in both African and Coloured schools. Perhaps most damaging of all was the call for the removal of the limited number of Coloureds living in white areas. White residents constructed their pleas around the idea that Coloureds were "despicable: uncouth and uncivilized [who] used profane language, held noisy tea parties, and were indistinguishable from Africans. Coloured residents were also blamed for the decline in the value of properties and the white residents threatened either to move en masse or forcefully remove Coloureds."[62]

As Coloureds began to see their privileges taken away, they were particularly concerned with the Land Tenure Act that declared them as European, and that the RF would classify them with Africans. Yet despite the RF's harsh policies and Coloured distress, the RF classified them as Europeans in the 1969 Constitution and promised that they would eventually enjoy all the rights and privileges extended to whites in an effort to get Coloureds to "not conduct themselves in manners opposed to the government".[63]

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[61] Muzodidya 1995:203.
[62] Muzondidya 1995:205.
[63] Muzondidya 1995:209.

Coloureds were not, however, convinced as they continued to be marginalized in both education and employment. The following charts illustrate this:

Table 6. Students Who Received Government Aid.

Number of Students Who Had Received Government Financial Assistance to Pursue University Studies, by Race, 1963-1970[64]				
Year	Asian & Coloured	African	European	Total
1963	3	33	265	301
1964	5	28	226	259
1965	3	33	276	312
1966	2	43	289	334
1967	6	53	309	368
1968	1	61	316	378
1969	5	58	300	363
1970	12	47	306	365

Table 7. Registered Apprentices

Apprentices Registered between 1963 and June 1971 by Race				
Year	Asian & Coloured	African	European	Total
1963	9	18	349	379
1964	8	19	364	391
1965	7	16	419	442
1966	9	3	368	380
1967	5	4	405	414
1968	17	2	466	485
1969	49	10	451	510
Jan 1970-June 1971	80	43	799	922

These tables reveal the empty promises of the RF and in many ways serve as statistical evidence of the recurrent feelings of ambiguity some Coloureds have historically experienced. UDI marked a decline in Coloured access to education and employment, as Table 6 illustrates that assertive blacks were gaining increased advances in both categories, while whites dominated more than ever before. Smith's plan of strict segregation clearly benefits whites in both Tables 6 and 7. But these tables also reveal a growing black agency and assertiveness in education and

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[64] Muzondidya 1995:211-212.

employment, which would have tremendous consequences later. Coloureds, who just ten years before were thriving in Zimbabwe, now found themselves being devalued and pacified with reclassification and promises of a better future. Yet, Coloureds, who were both classified as European and promised rights as Europeans, were never given all the rights and privileges extended to whites the 1969 Constitution. In Smith's desire to make Rhodesia a white man's haven forever, Coloureds were severely restricted in their ability to receive government aid. Although classified as European, the RF made the distinction clear: Coloureds were not white. Even blacks fared better than Coloureds at this time and this has significant consequences in the post-colonial period, as blacks would continue to dominate Coloureds in terms of educational achievement. Educationally, it is clear that Coloureds were indeed marginalized as late as 1970, as only 12 Coloureds (in Table 6) had received assistance from the government for educational purposes.

Table 7 echoes the sentiment that Coloureds were indeed not white, although classified as European in 1969 and Coloured access to aid was as low as 5 whereas access to occupy a second class status professionally increased to 49. Again the message was clear: Coloureds were not whites and their access to socio-economic mobility revealed that. Yet the other message that remains clear is that Coloureds were able to successfully increase their numbers in the employment sector from 1966-1971, which is why Coloureds continue to place value in employment over education.

As the data in the charts reveal, Coloureds faced increasing marginalization in this period, which too, fostered a sense of Coloured identity and consciousness. Disillusioned by the RF's promises, destitute, unemployed and with limited opportunities for educational advancement and continued segregation, the Coloured community began to express their

discontent. This was particularly the case with younger Coloureds. Those in my study are products of this discontent. In both Zimbabwe and in South Africa, drinking and fighting always defined social gatherings of young people, so much so that to outsiders looking in, it was seen as a Coloured trait. For example, Rachel Masakara, a 29-year-old widow, who is black and Shona, remarked, "Coloureds think they are superior to us, but all they do is get drunk and fight." Nicholas Ngwenya, a 50-year-old deputy headmaster, who is black and Ndebele, stated, "Although we are brethren in Christ, Coloureds think they are better than us, but they are uneducated and I pray for them." Finally, David Jamesson, a 21-year-old white 4th year university student, said, "Coloureds are a rowdy bunch that drink too much and who don't care about higher education and they fight too much." Yet younger Coloureds seem to see this not in the way that the colonial administrators saw it (Coloureds as irresponsible) or as missionaries saw it (they drink because they feel sorry for themselves) but as a way in which they are taking ownership of their choices—to drink, to fight, to be heard, which in essence is internalizing what some consider a defining trait of Colouredness.

Others rebelled by delinquency, and gang violence, which is rampant in Cape Flats. Muzondidya (2005) also locates this rebellion in the language of Coloured youth at the time. In Zimbabwe, "Coloured youth began to develop a language of their own, "Kabid," a variant of English, which in a way challenged the dominant values within the Coloured community and Rhodesian society at large. The new language was an expression of resistance and defiance and its developers and users disregard for the formalities of colonial culture, as expressed in their disregard for English grammar, was precisely meant to achieve just that."[65] This rebellious image is what many outsiders see Coloureds as embodying.

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[65] Muzondidya 1995: 216.

The list[66] below is an example of this change in language by some Coloureds in Zimbabwe. Some of the meanings like "bout" for "fight" are obvious. Yet, I have selected certain terms for two reasons, one, these were words uttered by some of my participants and two, because many of these words are also used by younger Americans, thus suggesting some borrowing of culture. For example, the terms "crib", "dope", "whack", "jack" and "gank" are all currently used in urban slang in the U.S., while words like "honkey" and "rap" are older slang terms rarely used. Further, while "tight" is used here to describe difficult, in the U.S., it is used to describe something as "nice" or in other cases, "angry."

Boggs: Toilet

Bop: Dance

Bout/Bumpaz Fight

Bunjee/Bunjy/Bhai owne Indian person

Cabin/Crib/Digs/yard : House

Chibba : Chick

Close: To cheat someone or beat up someone

Dope/Lekker: Nice/Good

Dry/Tired/Wack boring or useless

Dwass Stupid

Ek se: I'm saying (taken from Afrikaans)

Goffel owne/Goffal owne: Coloured (Mixed race) person

Grapht/Graft: Study/Work

Graze: Eat

Honky owne: White person

Harlem Arcadia

H-Town : Harare

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[66] Goffal Slang Dictionary. http://www.bebo.com/BlogView.jsp?MemberId=581129674&BlogId=9612563208

Item Chick or anything else literally! e.g "I stood up my item coz I had to go to item to get that item"

Jack: Nothing/Zero (not to be confused with stealing)

Jack/Huck/Gank Steal (our favourite passtime)

Owne/Oke: Guy (or a girl who might as well be a guy since she has masculine features!)

Queen: Mother

Rap: Talk

Skies: Bulawayo

Tight: Difficult

The rejection of proper English represents the new way in which younger Coloureds began to view themselves. In many ways their common saying—*"Jou ma se poes"* (Fuck your mother or your mother's cunt) to the government and accepted social grace is a direct response to the treatment of Coloureds by the government and even, their parents reaction to that treatment. Generationally, they were no longer like their parents or grandparents who clamored for acceptance from whites—through the use of "proper" English and social grace, they now saw themselves as distinctly different from those Coloureds before them. They began to express their frustrations in the same way that younger African Americans did in the United States through hip hop style, music and culture. While in the United States, hip hop anthems like, "Fuck tha Police" and "Gangsta Gangsta" by NWA (Niggas with Attitude) outlined the frustrations of being young and black in America, Coloureds used similar methods of rebellion in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Haupt (1995) notes "Black South Africans, long enamored with African American culture…have been slow to get behind hip hop…Coloureds, however, the majority of which live in conditions very similar to South Central, Compton, Inglewood…and whose fathers and grandfathers may have been gang members, have more widely embraced the music and culture."

There were other influences as well that came to signify Coloured resistance. Most notably, the Black Power Movement (1960s) in the United States, which emphasized racial pride and the advancement of black cultural values through the slogan, "Say it loud, I'm Black and I'm proud," which in many ways was a progression of the earlier Negritude Movement's (1930s)— belief that "Black is Beautiful." In this way "I'm Coloured and I'm proud," became a mantra of many young Coloureds who began to assert themselves in acts of defiance more than ever before. In fact, all of those interviewed for this study expressed this sentiment. Not one was ashamed of being Coloured, as missionaries had located Coloured identity in the colonial period; not one was representing a made-up or so-called identity as some academics had framed it; but all on a very fundamental level were Coloured and proud to be so. It was from this political climate that the NACP (National Association of Coloured Peoples) was born, paying homage to its US influence. The NACP (est. 1968, by Herbert Thompson) was far more assertive than any Coloured organization previously. It was complex in that it reflected the ambiguities of Coloured identity and the influence of its members both old and young. Like other Coloured organizations, it sought to protect and promote Coloured interests.

Muzondidya (1995) reveals that changes in Coloured political behavior began to manifest themselves in a heightened number of Coloureds participating in the mainstream national protest movement by African nationalists. Sporadic acts of sabotage in the early 1960s indicated an increasing African impatience with the Rhodesian government. In 1962, The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was banned, and most of its leadership was restricted for three months. The People's Caretaker Council was created as a temporary replacement inside Rhodesia, but ZAPU maintained its existence externally. In 1963 the breakaway Zimbabwe African National

Union (ZANU) was formed under the leadership of Ndabaningi Sithole, reflecting tensions concerning the pace of the nationalist struggle under Joshua Nkomo.

By the 1960s, Coloureds were not only becoming more radical but were also becoming a significant component of the growing national protest movement. Coloureds provided moral, material and financial support for the movement. Yet not all Coloureds felt this way. Others who watched the political Independence of Malawi and Zambia were worried that with Independence in Rhodesia, the Coloured category would be abolished as it was in the former CAF countries. Further, most Coloureds were disturbed by the rhetoric of African nationalism, as championed by ZANU[67] and ZAPU[68], that spoke about African rights, not black or Coloured rights.

The revitalization of African politics not only helped to revive political confidence among both Africans and Coloureds but also presented Coloured activists with an opportunity to join the national protest movement. African nationalism found much support among the frustrated urban underclass whose unemployment, accommodation, and transport problems were worsening in the 1950s. The growing dissatisfaction of the peasantry over the same period, caused by the implementation of the Native Husbandry Act of 1951, also began to mobilize African political leaders with another base for political mobilization. For the most part Coloured support for nationalism remained underground, due to feelings of marginality and fear of state reprisal. Yet it was also hindered by the contradictions inherent in their historical placement within the social structure. Coloureds by occupying positions of authority (as teachers and supervisors) over Africans came to be seen as colonizers themselves (Muzondidya 2005). They were seen as working with the Rhodesian government rather than working against.

"Partly influenced by such feelings of marginalization from both the state and African

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[67] Zimbabwe African National Union.
[68] Zimbabwe African People's Union headed by Joshua Nkomo.

nationalism, many politicized Coloureds, who also happened to be conscious of their minority group status, began to feel politically squeezed or trapped. Thorncroft summed up Coloured feeling…" (Muzondidya 2005:179).

> For the Coloured community to side with the European would draw opprobrium on itself
> from the African. Were it to take the opposite course and identify itself with the African people would be to
> risk or jeopardisation of its interests vis-à-vis the Europeans who to a large extent were responsible for the
> employment of Coloured people.

Coloured Interpretations of Colonial History

I have outlined colonial history and have argued that the Coloured category was formulated both by the state and perpetuated or defined/redefined by Coloureds themselves. As a mechanism for state control, "domination [was] officially encoded in racial terms…and the state constructed and enforced the institutional boundaries of race" (Marx, 1998: 4). From its early beginnings, Coloureds were subjected to the institutional boundaries of race whether through the LMS and other religious missionaries or through educational or professional access. For some Coloureds, theirs is a history that is biologically linked forever to Europeans and that their mixed blood has given them not only a biologically tangible difference over other colonial subjects, it is something that has been reinforced by the categorical status and benefits given to them by their "metaphorical father" (the colonial government). Given the complex and often complicated, constantly shifting definitions of Colouredness, it is expected that some Coloured participants in this study have very much internalized many of the beliefs and explanations of not only how Coloureds came to be but also who and what Coloureds are, while others have reinterpreted history altogether.

Stanley Staddon is a Zimbabwean of Cape Coloured descent. His father was born in Bulawayo and his mother was born in Cape Town. He can be "traced to the Boers of South Africa." He is 53-years old, widowed, and the highest level of education he achieved is Form 4. He is self-employed. His children (photographed above: daughter is a lawyer, son is at the University of Cape Town) were both born and raised in Zimbabwe but educated after O-levels in South Africa. He has ten siblings and all of them live in either Botswana or South Africa. He speaks English only and has several black (Ndebele) servants. He belongs to many social organizations, most notably the Matabeleland Cricket Association and he is Chairperson of the NAACP in Bulawayo. He is Catholic and all of his friends are Coloured. He only socializes with Coloureds (usually at Brass Monkey) and feels that "Coloureds are like whites but were rated as second class citizens both during and after colonialism. Since 1980, many (he estimates about 30,000) left because Coloureds are classified as aliens. We have a rightful place here, as Coloureds and we must fight for it to be recognized."

Leiselle Pragji is 31-years old and owns her own business. She was born in Bulawayo, speaks only English, and has completed her A-levels educationally. Her parents were born in Bulawayo as well. She has 2 siblings and one lives in South Africa and the other in Mozambique. Her husband is Hindu, which is like marrying a Coloured, since Asians were classified with Coloureds as a distinct racial group. She only socializes with Coloureds or Indians and is not religious. She says, "We are most like whites in terms of our backgrounds, but we are not treated with respect in Zimbabwe." She now lives in Pietersburg, South Africa.

Lynne Staddon is 20-years-old and is currently completing her A-levels, with hopes of becoming a psychologist. She speaks English and was born in Harare. Her father is British who was working in Gweru under contract and met her mother there. When his contract was over he left. Her mother also has 3 other children with a Greek man who was also working in Harare. Her mother is an alcoholic who dates black men and she lives with her uncle, Stanley Staddon, because "Coloureds belong with Coloureds." She only

socializes with Coloureds and she says that when her mother dated black men she was teased by other Coloureds and even by a white woman who was insulted by idea of her mother dating a black man and called him "a kaffir." "My life is much better now because I live with people just like myself. I would never do what my mother did and date a black man." The young man in the picture is her Coloured boyfriend.

All three of the above-mentioned informants have in some way internalized what it means to be Coloured. The colonial government set very specific guidelines as to what was considered white, black and Coloured behavior. All three of these informants exemplify and perpetuate this behavior either through their attitudes towards blacks, through their inter-group socializing or through their dating/marriage patterns. The Staddons also demonstrate the belief that Coloureds are un/undereducated, as Mr. Staddon only finished Form 4 and Lynne Staddon, while studying for her A-levels dropped out and became an unwed mother. But Lynne Staddon's mother also incorporates two additional Coloured "traits"—alcoholism and promiscuity, which again has been externally applied and internally projected. Others revealed a similar internalization, with varied interpretations:

Table 8: Interpretations of history.

Government/Academic/Media Explanations	Coloured responses in this study
Descendants of a distinct Khoisan identity	None responded with this answer
Descendant of Governor Jan van Riebeeck and indigenous Khoikhoi	"All Coloureds are descendants of Van Riebeeck; he is our father."[69]
Those who must always suffer are the mixed breeds of South Africa: the offspring of the careless and casual; unwanted in their birth; unwanted in their lives, unwanted, scorned by black and white alike"	"Coloureds have their own culture. We have our own way of doing things, our own way of speaking, acting, even holding a fork. Everyone wants to be like us."[70] "We have to be *lekker* because everyone looks up to us for the latest fashions."[71]

[69] Roxanne Clarke
[70] Ulyth Levendale
[71] Anara Zoolay

"Cape Coloured semi-civilized caste"	"Coloureds are hard-working and civilized. Now, everything is for the Blacks."[72]
For missionaries, Coloureds were a group that both had and needed sympathy; paternalism: Coloureds were the moral responsibility of their metaphoric white fathers.	"Coloureds are Christians"[73]
Blacks are indeed "painted as [the] quintessence of evil."	"Blacks have animal instincts"[74] "Blacks know that Coloureds and blacks live differently, which is why a black would never invite a Coloured to visit his home."[75] "These fucking Kaffirs are so uneducated."[76] "Coloureds and whites are the same. We are civilized. Blacks are uncivilized and annoying."[77]
Many Coloureds would like to escape into white society but are unable to do so	"Coloureds have their own culture, their own way of doing things."[78] "We [blacks, whites, Coloureds and Asians] are all the same,"[79] "We have our own place here, one that is different from the blacks and different from the whites."[80]
Coloureds are individualistic, hedonistic, and present-oriented	"Coloureds behave differently from blacks. It's not that Coloureds have a cultural difference from blacks; they behave like whites."[81]
Because of the socio-economic growth many Coloureds began to view themselves as more like whites in terms of professional goals, social expectations and the like, which is why many of the informants in this study saw themselves as more "culturally" aligned to whites.	"Coloureds are brought up more toward white values and traditions, not so much in the Black tribal way of custom and extended family."[82] "Coloureds are like whites culturally," or "there is no difference culturally between Coloureds or whites"[83]
They are courteous, respectful, and hospitable, and their manners are exceptionally good."	"Coloureds are loud, raw, fun-loving and hard drinking"[84]

Clearly there responses reveal both an internalization (from a religious, cultural and racial perspective off blacks) and a reinterpretation or rejection of history (from the perspective of being a people deserving of pity). This reveals that what it means to be Coloured is something that is malleable and while certain aspects of it remained fixed (views of blacks), other aspects

[72] Paul Pretorius

[73] Parnell McKop

[74] Nicola Smith

[75] Paul Pretorius

[76] Roxanne Clarke

[77] Brian Sweetman

[78] Uylth Levendale

[79] Daniel Rollow

[80] Stanley Staddon

[81] Joyce Chidno

[82] Pernell McKop

[83] Yvonne Thornborrow

[84] Christian Van Beek

have become a place of a distinct Coloured pride and experience, which is discussed in Chapter Three.

The Second Chimurenga[85]*: Zimbabwean Independence*

The heightened guerrilla activity beginning at the end of 1972 presented the RF government with the possibility of war. For the first time in the history of Rhodesia, the government was confronted by an organized and successful physical assault on white hegemony. This, coupled with economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia since UDI, placed the RF in a very vulnerable position. As the war began to escalate, a growing number of whites fled the country. That Zimbabwe was being created, with a democratically elected African leader in Robert Mugabe, was the immediate consequence of one man, one vote was an astonishing revelation to white Rhodesia. It was a case of a propaganda victory sealed by a political defeat. In researching white reaction to the election, memories of fear, horror and surprise were paramount. Stories of extreme shock at the election results seemed relatively universal (Meredith, 2002).

The possibility that the white population was so totally unaware of the major political currents in the country seems retrospectively extraordinary but was attributable to the structures of colonial power and propaganda. Colonial relationships between blacks and whites were often cast through webs of controlled misunderstandings and misinformation. Whites believed their own propaganda, not only about the war, but also, about their own coercive control over the black population. As Frederikse (1982) has noted "Any uprising of the indigenous blacks against the white settlers inevitably shook the mythology to its core. "We Know Our Africans" was the central belief, chorusing throughout this century. But Rhodesians did not know black people. They knew the 'girl',

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[85] a Shona word for "revolutionary" struggle.

who cooked and cleaned and looked after their children and the 'boy' who gardened on their lawns and labored in their fields. Or they thought they knew them" (Frederikse 18). The paternalistic infantilizing of Africans in Rhodesian ideology prevented whites from looking beyond the polite assurances that their former laborers and domestics offered when faced with political questions. whites chose not to look beyond what they were told. They took what they heard at face value, because to think otherwise was to step outside the familiarly paternalistic rhetoric.

> When a white man tells you something you listen. This is where the past regime lost out. They never got to understand the African because we know how to play polite. No matter what someone says, even if we don't agree with it, we pretend to agree. This is where the whites lost out. They believed things were working, while they were not. As blacks we knew that if we resisted, we'd be detained, so the easiest thing to do was to show you agree, you believe-finished. Then you're safe. But deep down, you're boiling (Frederikse 1982: 19).[48]

Africans utilized these stereotypes in daily practice but they seized the political victory, leaving whites asking, "What went wrong?"

White flight had a negative effect on the National Army and from 1973 onwards, the government began to enlist all Coloureds and Asians, thus shifting the burden of defending Rhodesia from whites to Coloureds and Asians. Yet other Coloureds continued to protest, joining forces with ZANU and ZAPU.

A withdrawal of South African military aid in 1976 marked the beginning of the collapse of Smith's 11 years of UDI resistance. By 1977 the war had spread throughout Rhodesia. ZANLA[86] operated from Mozambique while ZIPRA[87] remained active in the north and west,

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[86] ZANLA was the armed wing of ZANU, headed by Shona Robert Mugabe.
[87] ZIPRA was armed wing of ZAPU led by Ndebele Joshua Nkomo

using bases in Zambia and Botswana. With this escalation came increasing sophistication and organization. The white minority finally consented to hold multiracial elections in 1980, and when Independence became a reality (April 17, 1980), Mugabe stated he sought to eliminate the oppression and racial inequalities of the past by allowing equal access for all in the new political and social system. Yet equal access for all would impact the Coloured community tremendously, as the racial categorizations and subsequent privileges of the past held no real value in the new government's shift from white centrism to black centrism.

Gukurahundi[88]

At Independence, the government had decided to integrate the three armies, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), Zimbabwe People's Revolution Army (ZIPRA) and the Rhodesian Forces into one single national army. In November 1981 fighting started between the ZANLA and ZIPRA guerrillas who were encamped at Entumbane in Bulawayo. More than 300 ex-guerrillas were killed before the fighting ended (Alexander 1991). In 1982, arms were discovered on ZAPU-owned farms and in other places in Matabeleland, which led to the expulsion of ZAPU's leader, Joshua Nkomo, from the cabinet by President Mugabe. Following this, many ex-ZIPRA soldiers deserted the newly integrated national army and went back to the bush.

Unity between the two parties effectively broke down with the expulsion of Nkomo. In January 1983 the government sent the Fifth Brigade, a unit of the national army, to Matabeleland to deal with what had become to be known as 'the Matebeleland Conflict' (Chimbu 1997). Just how ruthless ZANU-PF was prepared to be with ordinary black people became more evident

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[88] "The rain which washes away the chaff before the spring rains." Translated from the Shona

than ever during the Gukurahundi--the campaign of the fearsome Fifth Brigade against

Matabeleland dissidents in 1983-87. The Fifth Brigade used almost every imaginable means of

terror against the civil population. The most typical technique was to gather villagers at assembly

camps where the Fifth Brigade soldiers would flog and beat them while making them sing

ZANU-PF songs all night long. These sessions would go all the way to and beyond physical

exhaustion and would usually climax with the public torture and execution of that day's selected

victims. Generally between one and twelve people were executed but the record was set at

Lupane where 62 were executed in a single public ritual (Suzman 2000). The Fifth Brigade

inflicted pain and terror on the Matebeleland people almost akin to that inflicted on the people of

Zimbabwe by the Rhodesian state. Instead of engaging in dissident hunting, the Fifth Brigade

carried out massive killings of innocent people, in Matebeleland and Midlands, as indicated

below:

> Reports indicated that often they visited villages with lists of PF-ZAPU officials
> and sympathizers, who were singled out and killed. They made little attempt to
> engage the "dissident" militarily. There was an ugly strand of tribalism in the
> behavior of the Fifth Brigade: the Ndebele were being punished for crimes their
> ancestors were supposed to have committed against the Shona (**Africa Watch
> Report** 1989: 12).

President Mugabe, reacting to international pressure, withdrew the unit in mid-1983 and a

Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate the abuses carried out. Although the

Commission submitted a report to the government its findings were never made public. The Fifth

Brigade was redeployed to Matebeleland South at the beginning of 1984 and the pattern of abuse

continued. Killings, rape, torture, mass arrests, mass detentions and other atrocities were

committed against innocent people. The government even went ahead and introduced a 24-hour

curfew covering most of Matebeleland South:

> Stores and shops were closed, traffic was stopped from entering the curfew areas, villagers were restricted to within 150 feet of their own homes and drought relief food supplied to the people in the affected areas was stopped. A news blackout was imposed on the operations of the army in the curfew areas. It appears that the local population was systematically starved ... (Ncube 1991: 162).

Although the Fifth Brigade was once again withdrawn at the end of 1984, the damage had already been done. By early 1985, as a result of the pre-election and post-election tensions between the two parties, a new pattern of human rights abuse emerged. Hundreds of people throughout Matabeleland and Midlands "disappeared" and up to this day they remain "missing". All those who disappeared were Ndebele and PF-ZAPU supporters.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and the Legal Resources Foundation[89] published their authoritative report on these atrocities in, *Breaking the Silence: Building True Peace*. They document in shocking detail the victims' story: of those they interviewed all had suffered psychological torture of one kind or another; 99 per cent had been beaten, 97 per cent severely, 73 per cent had suffered severe beatings of the head, 54 per cent electrical torture, 34 per cent extreme physical exhaustion, 33 per cent severe climatic stress, 29 per cent asphyxiation, 29 per cent beating on the soles of the feet, 20 per cent severe beating of the genitals, 19 per cent "submarine" drowning torture and so on. Many were tortured by having burning plastic dripped onto their bodies and inevitably there was a great deal of hut burning and rape. At least 5,000 died. The Mugabe government has never acknowledged, let alone apologized for, this campaign of atrocity against its own population (Suzman 2000).

The result was the mass traumatization of rural Matabeleland, a condition that persists to the present. Rural Ndebele are still mortally terrified that a word against ZANU-PF might bring The Fifth Brigade knocking at the door next day. But, of course, word of the Gukurahundi also

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[89] Taken from the *Report on the 1980's Disturbances in Matabeleland and The Midlands,* 1997

spread through the rest of the population and ZANU-PF's fearsome image was reinforced by outbreaks of violence at every election. Only 21 per cent of voters believed that no one in their community was frightened of ZANU-PF. 13 per cent said a few were, 16 per cent that some were, 33 per cent that most were and 8 per cent that everyone was frightened. Only 30 per cent felt confident that they could criticize the government freely without harm befalling them. 61 per cent said they would be worried about joining a demonstration even if they agreed with it and 52 per cent said it would be difficult, very difficult or impossible to vote differently from the way the police, security police and Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) wanted. Without any doubt at all these figures would all be far higher today and in that sense a free and fair election has, for some time now, been impossible (Suzman 2000).

Coloured Reactions

Mugabe's ZANU was clearly an African organization, more importantly a Shona organization. It was "tolerant" of non-blacks, yet many felt that Coloureds and whites were not considered to be part of the African Nationalist Movement. The Lancaster Agreement[90] established a cease-fire and officially instituted the constitution of Zimbabwe. For Coloureds, given Mugabe's views of African nationalism, and looming sociopolitical changes, they found themselves in a tense situation. Coloured responses were diverse. Some saw African nationalism as a blessing and accepted their new cultural and political allegiances willingly. "Coloureds drawn from this group were ready to reconcile themselves with any possible changes in government. They increasingly identified themselves with African nationalism and urged other

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[90] Granted Independence to Zimbabwe.

Coloureds to identify with and support African nationalist aspirations."[91] Post-colonial Zimbabwe certainly provided new, though limited, openings for Coloureds at socio-economic and political levels, as well as the greater sense of dignity that accompanied the end of settler colonialism. This view was expressed in a letter to the *Herald* from Robert MacNamara, who exhorted Coloureds to stop complaining and to embrace the goodwill of the independent government. In his words:

> So-called Coloureds must understand that the present Government has got nothing against them, real or imagined, because we have always been together as black people fighting one common enemy, the white man.[92] (NAACP_bls_0308.doc)

Others rejected Coloured identity as a separate identity altogether. I did not encounter anyone in my study that rejected Coloured identity. Yet Muzondidya (2005) notes that some Coloureds embraced African names and identity and with the expectations of a non-racial meritocratic society, and saw themselves in a position for better social and economic advancement based on their possession of marketable skills. In light of this, they too, welcomed change. MacNamara echoes Mandaza's (1997) perspective on Coloured identity observing in strong terms that: "There is no identity crisis at all except some silly creation by some of us who want to hang on to a stupid past. In fact, I hate every drop of white blood in me as it represents murder, rape, plunder, uncouth behaviour et al" (NAACP_bls_0308.doc).

While yet others were not easily convinced as they saw themselves as closer in racial and cultural affinity with whites than with blacks. All of the respondents in this study expressed this belief. Many saw their future as intertwined with white rule, that their preservation as a group

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[91] Muzondidya 1995:270.
[92] The Herald, Harare,11th May 1997.

was only protected with white rule. They feared that their economic and social plight would worsen, as ideologically they had adopted white perceptions of blacks as, irresponsible and unable to rule. Partly influenced by such perceptions, older generations of Coloureds were especially apprehensive. Conservative leaders saw Africans as "rabid political opportunists seeking their own self-aggrandisement" (Muzondidya, 2005)

Without adequate knowledge of the ideologies of ZANU and ZAPU, most Coloureds were also suspicious of African nationalists' political intentions. For most Coloureds, there was the fear that African majority rule was simply going to replace white domination and Coloureds were going to be the victims of African racism. Coloureds were fully conscious of their minority status and felt that their interests had been ignored first at not being invited to participate in Lancaster House talks, then being excluded from the common voters roll—they continued to be marginalized in Zimbabwe as they were in Rhodesia.

To think that Coloured identity, or the Coloured community would somehow be absorbed or become less resonant with the emergence of Black Nationalism, was based on misconceptions. Firstly, as the research discussed above has noted, Coloureds have not just been defined from "outside", but have also been defining themselves in changing situations, from the inception of the emergence of this group. The category has become a "lived identity", with the fluidity, instabilities and contradictions that characterize many forms of identity. Secondly, nationalism itself is a contingent ideology that has varying periods of weakness and strength, and an uneven ability to incorporate, or live with competing identities. This feature has been no less apparent in the Zimbabwean context.[93] Moreover as the political crisis in Zimbabwe has deepened since the late 1990's, and the nationalist discourse of the state has become more

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[93] Brian Raftopoulos, 'Problematising Nationalism in Zimbabwe: A Historiographical Review.' Zambezia, Vol 26 No. 2, 1999.

authoritarian and exclusive, the resonance of more particular lived identities, such as Colouredness, has grown (NAACP_bls_0308.doc).

Yet even for this emerging Coloured elite (those in my study who reside in Barham Greene), notwithstanding their desire to play down their Colouredness, the lived reality of Coloured identity remained the dominant modality through which they were perceived, and in which they related to the new state. For even those Coloureds who had a background in the liberation movement, or sought to enter the structures of ZANU-PF were confronted with blockages attendant to their Coloured identity. In 1998 five Coloured ex-combatants were initially denied their rights to be registered as war veterans for the purpose of receiving compensation. In their appeal to the government the ex-combatants stated that: "We have been unjustly denied registration as war veterans on the sole basis, as stated to us, that The War Veterans Act is for 'Africans and not for Makaradi.'"[94]

After a successful appeal to the relevant Minister the five ex-combatants were eventually given war veteran status. Other blockages have been experienced in the political arena,[95] and in the process of economic indigenization.[96] For hundreds of others, the combination of devastating economic decline and a growing sense of 'not belonging,' led to the emigration route, largely to the countries of the Old Commonwealth, namely England, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.[97] As immigrants in these different countries the identity of Coloured provides the basis

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[94] Herald, 24th February 1998. The five individuals were: Alexander Galloway, Thomas Zerf, Arthur Wolfenden, Bruce McThuizen, and Cecil Murtagh.

[95] In 2000, ruling party officials in the area told Paul Chidzero, who wished to stand as the Zanu PF candidate for Hatfield in the general elections, that 'there is no Zanu PF member who is Coloured.' Daily News, 22nd March 2000.

[96] Daily News, 19th November 1999.

[97] The Zimbabwe Mirror, 22-28th January, 1999.

from which they seek to negotiate their lives in different societies, where issues relating to the 'mixed race' people are also present.[98]   (NAACP_bls_0308.doc)

African Unity: The Push for Assimilation and The Coloured Question

> "Who are the Coloured people? If your father was white and your mother was African, then you are my nieces and nephews. So as far as I am concerned, you are not Coloured, you are simply African."[99]

African unity developed as a response on the part of Africans to imperialism and its racial ideology of white supremacy. It represents a reassertion of African dignity and self-respect after years of oppression. Yet African attitudes in this study towards Coloureds are quite different from European attitudes towards Coloureds, as in theory some Africans view Coloureds as Africans and any separation of Coloureds in terms of categorization and status are simply continuations of colonial racist ideologies of the past. Ultimately, African unity calls for Africans to come together to fight the continued exploitation of racial dehumanization and powerlessness. It requires the coming together of all on the basis of a common ground (race), a common problem (racism), and a common history.

The meaning of African identity and the new agenda to Africanize its public sphere and public institutions is a subject many Coloureds avoid. For Coloureds it is the simultaneous awareness of the invented and socially constructed dimension of the Coloured category itself and the desire to give it fixity and historical continuity in its public expression or representation that frames their own discussions of themselves. For blacks it is the simultaneous agenda to reverse

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[98] Clare Gorham, 'Will mixed-race Britons ever find acceptance in that society?' Mail and Guardian, 14-19 March 2003.
[99] Herb Levendale. See Appendix C.

the primacy of European culture and knowledge in favor of African versions while at the same time creating a definition of African that includes everyone which complicated their discussions of themselves and alienates specific others from their conversations. The overall tension here, between competing understandings of identity and between groups who exclude each other reflects the fact that the past hovers over the public sphere of debate around the meanings of categories of difference. This past contains the values associated with certain models of subjectivity sustained and reified by the colonial and apartheid past. The values remain, but complicate and confound projects like non-racialism, equality, and democratic transformation. Both Coloureds and blacks suffer from what Fanon calls the psychological effects of being rootless as both were excluded from full participation in this model and set values, so these continue to guide the actions of those seeking full participation in the public sphere and full expression of their rooted selves.

African unity thus became paramount in the demise of the category Coloured, yet at the same time forced Coloureds to take stock in Coloured identity more than ever before. Based on participant observation, I am able to say that Coloureds in Zimbabwe have internalized the value of being Coloured through the habituation of long practice of being historically defined as such. Yet this value is ideological at best because it has no real meaning in the current social and political structure in Zimbabwe today, other than the ideological difference from blacks. Based on participant observation, I believe that they do not enjoy either a socio, political, or economic status above blacks as a whole, in spite of the ideological belief that as Coloureds they should be ascribed such status. Further, their ideological belief in the value of being Coloured historically, a value that is denied in present day Zimbabwe, perpetuates the Coloured category itself, as in

addition to phenotype, they enjoy and maintain similar levels of consumption, similar lifestyles, and retain social relations amongst themselves.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the ideology of white supremacy, while tracing its origins to European philosophical thought. I have also analyzed how that ideology played into the establishment of Rhodesia as a state and the various methods of inclusion and exclusion that were needed and executed in order to create the Coloured category and to establish Coloured identity. In this chapter I have shown that Coloureds both benefitted and suffered under various forms of white rule. While during CAF Coloured socio-economic interests improved, but they still suffered age-old trope of marginalization namely, segregation. After UDI, Coloured interests decreased while segregation increased and Coloureds responded much like their black counterparts by becoming both more politically assertive and more politically involved. While some Coloureds participated in the Black Nationalist movement, their forced participation in the

RF Army and their historic classification with whites left them in yet another ambiguous position in the postcolonial era. Coloureds in the postcolonial era went from being marginally recognized to not being recognized at all.

Chapter Three: The Goffal Speaks[100]

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[100] Term used by Coloureds in Zimbabwe to describe themselves.

It is late afternoon, and Bulawayo is fairly dead at this time since the shops close at noon. I am sitting in a café known as Haefley's, which is considered "Western" by African standards. It was a favorite amongst Peace Corps volunteers when I lived in Zimbabwe because for many of us it was one of the few reminders of home. The café also boasts a pizzeria as well as a sidewalk café. I ordered a cappuccino to escape the boredom of the staple hot drink here—tea—and took it outside. I attempted to fantasize about all the things I would collect while there, when three men approached me, two were Coloured and one was black. One was visibly Coloured, meaning that he was phenotypically lighter skinned, while the other Coloured man was rather dark by comparison and also by what I considered Coloured people in Zimbabwe to look like. They quickly introduced themselves as Farid Shahadat, Welcome Ncube, (whose Ndebele name is

Qhubani), and Danny Rollow. I told them what I was doing in Zimbabwe and how I lived here before. Actually when I lived in Maphisa it was not too far from Welcome's home area; an area from which they were forced to leave and move into the Gwaayi River Reserves to make room for the white colonizers.

Farid Shahadat

They were all very friendly and eager to share their stories and histories. Danny was the most phenotypically (light-skin, light eyes, hair texture) Coloured of the two. He is a forty-year old Coloured man, who although admits his Coloured ancestry, self-identifies as black. In fact while sitting at the table he says, "we are all the same," meaning blacks and Coloureds, yet as I begin to ask questions about his lineage, background and values, I don't know if that's true. Perhaps this statement was made just to pacify the presence of a black man. While Danny thought that Coloureds and blacks were all the same, Farid did not. He had very strong feelings about being both Coloured and Muslim. When discussing black-white relations, he did not speak much about whites, but did comment that it is important for his children to marry Coloured because both blacks and whites "have a different culture" than Coloureds do. This is fascinating to me because when pushed to define culture, he could not. For him, the Coloured community is one that must be preserved and differentiated from the black community because they are both historically and culturally different from the Coloured experience. He also spoke about Barham Green (BG), which is a Coloured suburb of Bulawayo where he grew up, and how most Coloureds with money have since moved out of BG into the more affluent suburbs of Hillside and Burnside. He lives in Hillside (Fieldnotes).

The purpose of this chapter is to examine why and how Coloureds have sought to reclaim, or perpetuate their historic place (category) within the colonial racial hierarchy in the

postcolonial context. In Chapter One of this dissertation, I presented the relevance of this study by plotting the importance and complexities of Coloured identity. In Chapter Two, I provided a nuanced study of the history of Rhodesia and the construction of a *legally imposed* Coloured category, by revealing how colonial power was distributed. I also revealed how postcolonial power was distributed in an independent Zimbabwe.

As previously stated, many Coloureds viewed themselves as "overlooked" in the postcolonial context as Africanization became paramount. This has led to a romanticized resurgence of returning to "the good old days" when Coloureds were respected and had a place in society. In this chapter, I focus on the notion of an *internally projected* Coloured identity by Coloured themselves, which is elaborated on through the creation and maintenance of a series of self-imposed "cultural" boundaries, in an effort to reify their historic (colonial) place within society.

The Perception of Difference: The Coloured Community as Self-perpetuating, Self-imposed, and Rigid

"Coloureds belong with Coloureds. Blacks are unattractive physically. I don't mix with non-Coloureds at all, not even socially at school, because if I do I will be shunned by my friends and family"[101]

In the colonial context, racial identities were created and confirmed in the policing of boundaries and practices. Both whites and Coloureds were taught how to treat Africans and Africans were taught to know their place. Coloureds placed their race and identity alliances above all else, including class. Racial privilege was the reward of conformity to a system of boundaries built on cultural notions of difference. In the postcolonial context, Coloureds assert the boundaries of identity in an effort to seek recognition and entitlement and to reclaim an indigenous history. Identity is a creative negotiation of the imagination circumscribed by the external limits of power and the internal limits of lived experience. Erasmus (1997) notes that "identity" best captures the very fluid boundaries that constitute Colouredness.

> There is some basis in fact to the link between the term Coloured and the
> Apartheid racial classification. However this one-sided way of thinking is not
> helpful in understanding the construction of any identity, including various
> constructions of Coloured identities. It loses sight of the reality that as subjects we

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[101] Quoted: Carla Thornborrow in the photo.

do not simply internalize what dominate ideologies say about us. Instead, in our struggles against various forms of domination including racism we define and redefine our own sense of self. It is this subjective aspect of the construction of Coloured identities that make it valid and worthy of exploration and examination (Erasmus, 1997:5).

Yet it is the struggle for identity that becomes truly the focus, as "identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (Mercer, 1990:43). Doubt and uncertainty in the postcolonial context is triggered by a black centered government that challenges the long held beliefs about what is fixed, coherent and stable—especially with reference to who and what Coloureds are.

Participant observation while in the field proved a viable method to examine the notion of Coloured identity in crisis and the ways in which perceived differences in status become the organizing boundaries for a fixed, continous and common identity which the individual abstracts away from in order to build the shared boundaries of a cohesive and community consciousness. This consciousness is one that was indeed based on a number of features such as, commonality of bonds, sentiment, and experiences particularly in opposition to blacks.

Herb Levendale

For example, one of my most passionate and vocal participants, Herb Levendale, a sixty-one year old retired teacher, stated flatly that he was against "mixing" in all forms, as Coloured culture and consciousness needed to be kept pure. Most of the Coloured participants in this study, when asked how they determined who was Coloured and who was not, made ideological assertions that it was based on the way one looked and behaved, as "Coloureds have their own culture, their own way of doing things." Certain refinements of language—of speaking, dressing, and acting-- were the kinds of publicly performed subtleties that Coloureds used to distinguish themselves from blacks. Kinky or straight hair, as an integral aspect of prevailing racial stereotypes, became an important distinction between the "natural" and "the civilized", or between "the native" and the "European." Coloureds, as a result, came to consider hairstyles one of the crucial distinctions separating them from blacks. Growing up in households where such distinction as straight or bushy hair took on a legal consequence and helped determined one's place on the racial continuum meant conscious vigilance was constantly in place to establish one's "Colouredness." In my own research, hair was of supreme importance, especially amongst younger female Coloureds, who made great pains not only to straighten their hair, but to also, to dye it blonde.

All participants in this study noted phenotype above all else to be the defining factor, but other considerations based on the white colonial view of Africans were made as well. For example, May Smith suspected her black gardener, Mense, was of Coloured lineage. Although phenotypically and culturally defined as black, he had what she called Coloured attributes of "being kind and honest." Archival data supports May Smith's claim as a government document describes Coloureds as, "Pleasant to deal with and although inclined to suspect one of an ulterior motive they are neither resentful nor suspicious if one's meaning is clearly and frankly explained

to them. They are courteous, respectful, and hospitable, and their manners are exceptionally good."[102] In Cape Town, phenotype not only was used to determine who was Coloured, but it was also used to determine who was "good-looking." For example, at the popular nightclub Bar Mooda, lighter-skinned Coloureds like South African recording artist Chad Saaiman were viewed as more visually appealing, much like the way in which American media outlets promote lighter-skinned black women like Halle Berry, Rhianna, and Beyonce as the most beautiful black women in America. This is perhaps generational as younger Coloureds held little to no value in manners or respectability the way the older generation had.

Chad Saaiman

In Cape Town, Coloureds also used language as a defining factor. Here not only do Coloureds speak Afrikaans, but they also speak a Coloured version of Afrikaans, which is colloquial. All of my informants in Elsies River, Cape Town spoke Afrikaans in this way

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[102] NAZ MS/308/54

amongst each other. Again, language is generational here as there is neither need nor desire to speak a high form of Afrikaans, especially since the community is closed to outsiders.

But responses were by no means fluid and uniform, contradictions existed as well. Daniel Rollow is a forty-year old Coloured man whom I interviewed for my study. He is self-employed and shared this view, "we [blacks, whites, Coloureds and Asians] are all the same," yet revealed that his wife, who is also Coloured, would never allow a black person to visit their home and that they moved to Cape Town, where "Coloureds are treated with respect and dignity by the government and their status as Coloureds is acknowledged there." This desire to be treated with dignity and respect was a sentiment expressed by many Coloureds, as many felt that since Independence, "everything was for the blacks" and the government no longer recognized their status as Coloured people in Zimbabwe, which in turn strengthened the desire for maintaining a cohesive community. This is echoed in Paul Pretorius' previous statement in Chapter One about "sticking together" as not sticking together would marked the end of the Coloured community. This is confirmed in Rua Marsh's belief that after Independence, "Coloureds are much worse off…in fact we are better off dead than alive." Her sister Margaret Marsh, a 58-year old unemployed divorcee, responds, "Coloureds are not treated with respect since Independence. Opportunities have opened up for Blacks, but for Coloureds it has gotten worse. And because the economy is bad, the Coloured community is now fragmented because Coloureds now live in other neighborhoods outside BG and even worse, in other countries."

Rua Marsh

Margaret Marsh

Ulyth Levedale, Herb Levendale's 41-year-old daughter and owner of a timber company, validates Margaret Marsh's comment, adding "many people have become very successful after Independence, but there has been great deterioration in the values of the Coloured community, especially in the younger generation." Yet others, like Christine Duplessis, a 49-year-old, dark skinned Coloured woman, who supervises Farid Shahadat's business, The Gas Centre, said that things were the "same" in the colonial and post colonial context for Coloureds. Yvonne Thornborrow, a 61-year-old housewife who is the sister-in-law of May Smith, said, "things are better now because there are more opportunities and we are all equal now…[but] was also quick to note that despite this equality, that "blacks always criticize Coloureds." Finally Zelda McKop, a 40-year-old sales and marketing manager stated, "things are better because there are more opportunities for work and education and people are able to move around."

All of the sentiments expressed by my informants reveal an effort from within to reinforce their difference from blacks based on colonial imposed beliefs or self-perpetuating prejudices of whom and what Coloureds and blacks were. It is not simply that they are different based on appearance, but it is also based on manners, being respectful and good. Daniel Rollow expresses many of the mixed feelings that Coloureds have in current Zimbabwe. By expressing that we are all African, he is acknowledging that they are essentially the same, but in the very next sentence, he explains that there is indeed a difference, yet it is not so tangible. Above all, Coloureds want respect. Yet the respect that they want is one based on the same respect given to whites—one based on race and "perceived difference." But there is more. These responses also reveal that while there are some gains in the postcolonial context, overall the loss is much greater. The loss is one that is most evident in the fragmentation of the Coloured community to greener economic pastures of other countries, and this is discussed in Chapter Four.

This is essentially what De Beer (1961:20) expresses as the unfortunate situation Coloureds now find themselves in, between "the hammer of white supremacy and the anvil of Black Nationalism." As a response to this situation, the NAACP (National Association of Coloured People) was founded in Bulawayo in 2001 and headed by Stanley Staddon, a fifty-three year old self-employed Coloured man. Further investigation revealed that a branch also existed in Harare. The main goal of this organization was to recognize and maintain Coloured status within a government that no longer recognized them as separate and called for separate programs such as computer classes, and other education initiatives for Coloureds to perpetuate and maintain their status as different from blacks. The NAACP received no governmental recognition or support and participation was sporadic at best. Mr. Staddon felt that the reason for the lack of participation in the NAACP was "that Coloureds are afraid to fight for their place in

this country. But they should not be, because we have our own place here, one that is different from the blacks and different from the whites."

The notion of "purity" had a double meaning within the Coloured community, as it was on one hand, the racial purity that Mr. Levendale referred to, but it was also another kind of purity in terms of color. For example, Christine Aresca is a 37-year old Coloured woman who was born in Hwange. She married an Italian railway builder and they have two children. Her son is engaged to a dark Coloured and she is very upset by that, as she is proud to be Coloured and considers it a blessing and reward that her parents were mindful enough not to marry outside of their racial group. In fact, she promised her mother before she died that she would marry a white man who was not from Africa. She said that her parents made sure that they preserved their light skin and she had to do the same. She was certain that her daughter would do the same, but was disappointed that her son would consider marrying a "dark Coloured… whose children would surely have awful hair."

Christine Aresca

While some of my informants expressed similar sentiments like those of Christine Aresca, in terms of differences in skin color among Coloureds, there was a sense amongst most that skin color of Coloureds within the community was less important than being able to identify as Coloured and subsequently and often proudly, being able to justify that identity by way of European ancestry. For example, all but one of the Coloured informants in both Zimbabwe and

South Africa interviewed traced their ancestry either to European, Boer and/or Hindu roots.

When asked how they indeed became Coloured, those informants responded that they were

either descendants of Cape Coloureds, Europeans, or South East Asians. May Smith, her brother

Henry Thornborrow, and her mother Annie Thornborrow were in fact the only Coloured people

whom I both observed and interviewed, who acknowledged African ancestry. Annie

Thornborrow was perhaps the catalyst for such admission as she was still alive at 93 and is of

Ndebele and Chinese ancestry. Further, May, Henry, and Annie are the only Coloured

informants who spoke Ndebele.

Annie Thornborrow

Henry and Yvonne Thornborrow

The Articulation of Difference: The Maintenance of Bounded Society through "Cultural" Difference

      Coloureds in Zimbabwe who were interviewed aligned themselves with whites in terms of cultural affinity. According to Dickie-Clark (1966), Coloureds are culturally tied to whites and have no distinctive Coloured culture of their own. Of the ninety-three informants interviewed, only Christian Van Beek, and Ulyth Levendale stated that they were not most like whites in terms of sentiment, political affiliation, dress, speech and behavior. This is particularly interesting given that Coloureds in this sense seemed to adopt image of their metaphorical father. Metaphoric because for as much as Coloureds see themselves most like whites, they also have little interaction with them.

Christian Van Beek

Ulyth Levendale

Pernell McKop, a 39-year-old football coach, stated, "Coloureds are brought up more toward white values and traditions, not so much in the Black tribal way of custom and extended family." While others offered the standard, "Coloureds are like whites culturally," or "there is no difference culturally between Coloureds or whites"[103]. Brian Sweetman, a 27-year-old unemployed former salesman from BG, offered, "Coloureds and whites are the same. We are civilized. Blacks are uncivilized and annoying." Petronella Rahman, a 45-year-old Investment Manager from BG, stated, "Coloreds don't have their own culture, they adopted white culture. Although whites remain racialistic towards us, they treat us better than blacks. We have a different culture and upbringing than blacks, but this is changing too as blacks are becoming more Westernized."

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[103] Yvonne Thornborrow.

Pernell and Zelda McKop

Again, although the initial response of most Coloureds in this study was a marked

cultural similarity to whites and cultural dissimilarity to Blacks, there were some who offered

other responses. For example, Zelda McKop stated, that "it is not about race or culture anymore,

in the last five or six years, it has become about class distinction. Race is an excuse for

difference. The things we point to as things of difference—talk, dress, residence—are all defined

by class." Joyce Chidno, a 50-something, housewife from Thornegrove, said, "Coloureds behave

differently from blacks. It's not that Coloureds have a cultural difference from blacks; they

behave like whites." Finally, Henry Thornborrow, a 67-year-old farmer (and May Smith's

brother) from Gwanda (lives now in Natisa, Matebeleland South) expounds, "It's not about

differences in culture. It is about differences in class and social structure, just like any other

country."

What is most interesting about these comments is that Coloured themselves, while on one

hand tend to disagree about what the "difference" or "similarity" is, on the other hand, they all

seem to agree that *something* exists. Whether racial, cultural or even class based, these

differences are all informed by a historical past. Further, *behavior* adds yet another dimension to the complexity of Coloured identity.

Christian Van Beek, 18-year-old mechanic, and Ulyth Levendale believed that they were Coloured, through and through, without the influence of either blacks or whites. Others expressed cultural difference between themselves and blacks by the sentiment that blacks were like children and were irresponsible in the ways that they managed their finances and family, as Paul Pretorius did. Nicola Smith, who upon hearing that I had given a black woman a ride, stated, "Don't you know blacks have animal instincts, they will kill you?"

Coloured informants in Cape Town also expressed these sentiments. Cape Flats, a Coloured suburb of Cape Town proper, is much more economically depressed than those of Bulawayo. Trash litters the streets, houses have fallen into disrepair, and housing projects such as Bishop Lavis are reminders of Coloured economic struggle. Yet upon driving through the black township of Gugulethu, while listening to music by American hip-hop artist Snoop Dogg, Roxanne, one of my Cape Flats informants, announced, "This is exactly the right music for our drive through the ghetto." Further, when we were lost trying to find Mzoli's (a very well-known barbecue restaurant) we pulled over to ask two young black women for directions. When Roxanne asked for directions, the two women did not respond and simply looked away. As she rolled up the window, Roxanne countered, "These fucking Kaffirs are so uneducated." Yet when I asked, the two young women were quick to give us directions. Perhaps it was our American accents that prompted them to assist us, yet clearly this incident not only highlight Coloured opinions of blacks, but also black opinions of Coloureds.

Ulyth Levendale, when asked what she considers the major differences culturally between blacks, whites, Asians and Coloureds, stated, "Coloureds have their own culture. We

have our own way of doing things, our own way of speaking, acting, even holding a fork.

Everyone wants to be like us." Online sources in South Africa echo this opinion, Tiger 1 posted

on bruin-ou.com,

> Being a bruin-ou is the best thing ever. We have invented a way of life that every other race wants to
>
> follow. Everyone wants to be just like us! Our tongue (slang) here (in South Africa), there isn't one person
>
> who knows a word of it. Our dress is unique and undoubtedly the freshest and hottest on the market. Life
>
> clothing for Coloureds made for Coloureds. Everybody wears these clothes, mostly because they've seen us
>
> wearing these items. All Stars, Pointer t-shirts, Dickies pants, Chuck Taylors, Jack Purcell. Name one
>
> person you know who hasn't owned one of these items in their lifetime. Peeps, we are special, no doubt!!!
>
> I'm bruin-ou up to my eyeballs and daaammmmmmmm proud of it. (April 20, 2006).

This opinion of Coloureds "having their own culture" is also evident in South Africa

through historically Coloured events like the Kaapse Klopse or Coon Festival. While this

festival does not take place in Bulawayo, it gives credence to Uylth Levendale's and Christian

Van Beek's belief in a distinctive Coloured culture. The New Year's Carnival is according to

Jeppie " an expression of primeval Coloured ethnicity" (1990:41). It is a ritual practice

associated with Cape Coloureds, similar to Mardi Gras in New Orleans. "Freed slaves in Cape

Town developed their own cycle of festivals in December and January, among them the Tweede

Nuwe Jaar ("Second New Year"), which is celebrated on January 2nd and is a kind of

Independence Day for the Coloured community. When American minstrels arrived at the Cape in

the mid-nineteenth century, the styles and sounds of vaudeville were incorporated into local

celebrations, and the Coon Carnival was born. The word "coon" was borrowed but its pejorative

and racial connotations were ignored, so that it came to refer to a member of a minstrel troupe

and nothing more" (Trotter). According to Jeppie one of the reasons it has remained a cultural

tradition in the Cape is because for a couple of days it gave Coloureds control over urban spaces,

which for the rest of the year had control of them. "Today, the minstrels continue to borrow from a variety of cultural sources. One of this year's favorite troupes, for example, is called the Pennsylvanians; another is known as the Fabulous Mardi Gras. And while the minstrels' repertoire largely consists of folk songs, they also perform Broadway show tunes and dance to hip-hop and Latin tracks as they parade through the streets of the city" (www.henrytrotter.com).

While Coloureds in this study either maintained that there was a unique Coloured culture or one similar to white culture, all determined that blacks were different culturally, with particular reference to food and expectations in gender relationships. For example, Paul Pretorius stated, "blacks know that Coloureds and blacks live differently, which is why a black would never invite a Coloured to visit his home." He also noted that the existence of extended families was a major difference between Coloured and blacks. Blacks who lived in "town" (Bulawayo) worked there, while their families remained in the rural areas. Further, blacks were often polygamous, which was something that Coloureds were not. He did, however, disagree with Ulyth Levendale's earlier statement by saying, "there is no Coloured culture, just a way of living." Which is perhaps to say, especially based on his earlier statement that Coloured culture is produced by colonial culture, and although the colonial period is long gone, Coloureds still remain within the colonial gaze (Fanon, 1963; Said, 1978).

This way of living is perhaps most important, as according to one government source, "the great majority of Coloured houses express a feeling for culture and attractiveness. Pillow covers, bedspreads, and tablecloths are cleverly embroidered, and walls are painted in attractive colors. In almost every home there are flowers and pictures and brightly Coloured curtains."[104] I do not have data to speak to whether or not Coloured themselves believed this, yet based on my living in and various visits to Coloured households, I am able to say that this is true. Yet as I only

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[104] NAZ MS/308/54.

visited two white households and one black household during my stay, I am not able to compare them effectively against Coloured households and thus am unable to confirm the "uniqueness" of Coloured households. I can however say that the Coloured households visited are similar to the white households visited in terms of space and design. Space meaning that each child of both white and Coloured parents had his/her own bedroom, unless both children were of the same sex and/or very young, whereas in the one black household I visited, children shared spaces according to age. This perhaps plays into the notion of cultural difference, as most of my Coloured informants stated that the major difference between themselves and blacks was cultural. But it is also historical, as blacks have been historically denied large homes. Culture in this sense was equated with the existence of extended families in black households and presence of ties to the rural areas. Both of these things were considered black cultural traits and were believed not to be present in neither Coloured nor white culture. While visiting the one black home I was able to access during my research, I found the existence of such extended families, as Rachel Masakara, s self-employed Shona widow, who shared a house with her deceased husband's second wife and their seven collective children. The notion of space can also be attributed to income, as Coloureds were "thought" to have money based on Paul Pretorius' statement and also that most of those interviewed for this study own their own businesses.

Participant observation revealed that other differences existed as well. These differences were primarily in terms of physical appearance, language usage, and food preferences. For example, all of my Coloured informants, other than those who lived in Thornegrove, dressed in what Anara Zoolay referred to as "stylish, westernized clothes." These clothes ranged from khakis, jeans, and sports jerseys to the latest name-brand (Nike, Diesel, and Adidas) footwear. This desire to be fashionable was maintained by both the "desire to not look like a black,"[1] the

ability to purchase this type of clothing via trips to South Africa and Botswana respectively, and the desire to be recognized as "*lekker*"[105] within the Coloured community. Anara and Shabs Zoolay confirmed this sentiment, stating, "I (Anara) go to Botswana every month to buy clothes for Shabs and myself...We have to be *lekker* because everyone looks up to us for the latest fashions." [1] My Coloured informants in Thornegrove were more "native" in appearance (see pictures on page 36) as they were unable to either purchase or make the trip to Botswana or South Africa for clothing. Their clothing consisted of headwraps, long skirts and t-shirts or the occasional sweater, accompanied by the cheap black "takkies"[106] sold at Bata Stores[107] throughout the country.

The photos below display this difference in clothing both generationally and culturally perceived. Photos 1-3 are of (younger and older) Coloureds, photos 3-5 are of (older and younger) blacks and photos 6-7 are of older dark-skinned Coloureds who "look black."

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[105] From Afrikaans: Good or nice. Fashionable.
[106] Sneakers or tennis shoes.
[107] Cheap shoe-store chain in Zimabawe

Photo 1

Photo 2

Photo 3

Photo 4

Photo 5

Photo 6: Anita Nyathi of Thornegrove

Photo 7: Elphin Mackay of Thornegrove

Clearly there is a difference in the style of dress. However, the "native" clothing was, I found, more a result of poverty rather than culture, as not all black women wore headwraps or cheap takkies, and there were some black men, like Welcome Ncube and Nicholas Ngwenya who wore, "stylish, westernized clothes." Yet, some of this difference in dress is generational rather than ideological as is true across several cultures.

English was their primary language of all Coloureds interviewed for this study. Others spoke Afrikaans and Hindi in addition to English. Yet only three spoke an African language indigenous to Zimbabwe. This is interesting given the fact that Ndebele is a required subject in schools in the Midlands and Matabeleland provinces. When asked why they could not or did not speak Ndebele, responses ranged from, "I speak a little," and "I have forgotten what I learned in school," to "I am an Englishman, I speak English," and "That is not *my* language, it is theirs."

In South Africa, for members of the Coloured community, their use of English is associated with the grammar of non-native language speakers, with more working-class members often displaying second-language proficiency and grammatical interference from Afrikaans. This is very similar to African American vernacular and in the same way, language becomes a form of self-differentiation that fosters group membership and group pride. In fact UNESCO recognizes Coloured English as a specific variant of South African English (Bosch).

Finally, in all Coloured households I visited and in which I received a meal, other than that of May and Ray Smith, *sadza*[108], the staple food of Zimbabwe, was not served. Further in Cape Town, while this was also the case, Cape Coloureds were inclined to serve lamb or chicken curry indicating ties to Indians. When asked why sadza was not served in various households, I was told, "We don't eat sadza; it's for blacks."[109] This is perhaps the general sentiment among Coloureds, as all those interviewed except those who lived in Thornegrove, employed at least one black domestic whose monthly allowance included one 10kg bag of mealie meal for which they could make sadza, in addition to their wages.

The chart below explains variables of difference indicated by Zimbabwean Coloured informants in this study. As stated before, most saw "difference" only in relation to and these differences revolved around visible things such as food, clothing and language, as also ideological things such as manners, living standards and class.

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[108] Cooked corn meal that is the staple food in Zimbabwe.
[109] May Smith.

Table 9. Variables of Difference Between Coloureds and Blacks.

CATEGORIES OF DIFFERENCE FOR COLOUREDS AND BLACKS	Manners	Food	Clothing	Language	Living Standards	Class
Defined difference by Coloureds Themselves	X	X	X	X	X	X
Perceived Coloured difference by Whites	X			X	X	X
Perceived black difference by Coloureds	X	X	X	X	X	X

For Coloureds, tangible differences from blacks revolved around manners in that because

many saw themselves like whites, it was assumed that they possessed similar manners. This is

particularly interesting given that whites and blacks, view Coloureds as completely unlike them

with regard to manners. Both whites and blacks saw Coloureds as loud, rowdy, and prone to

drinking and fighting, while Coloureds viewed themselves as having "proper" manners.

Coloureds saw food as another major point of difference between blacks and themselves, as

Coloureds again thought themselves to eat like whites and like Coloureds of mixed ancestry—

enjoying British staples like meat pies and fish and chips, but also the more locally flavored

Indian curries, while blacks were eating sadza with every meal and often times without meat.

Clothing was yet another marker of difference, as many of my informants both in Elsies and

Bulawayo thought of themselves as the most fashionable people on the planet. This is in

comparison to both blacks and whites. Whites were viewed as dressing like "Rhodies" (proper

dresses or shorts, polo's and boots for men) and blacks were viewed as dressing to "native" (in

head wraps and garments of various color). Language is perhaps the most importance of these

differences, as most Coloureds in this study spoke either English or Afrikaans or both. This is

something that again aligned them with whites and created an ideological distance from blacks.

Fanon (1961) stated, "to assume a language is to assume a culture," and it is clear that through

the acquisition of Afrikaans and English language, Coloureds view themselves through the lens

of those languages, which also affects the way in which they view themselves socio-economically through living standards and class. Clearly this reveals both an externally projected notion of Colouredness by the government (used here interchangeably with whites) and an *internally projected* Coloured identity by Coloured themselves, which is elaborated on through the creation and maintenance of a series of self-imposed "cultural" boundaries, in an effort to reify their historic (colonial) place within society. This suggests that Colouredness was first defined by their place within the three-tiered social structure and the subsequent ways of acting within it, and second, internalized and maintained by Coloureds themselves.

While perceptions of cultural differences permeate Coloured notions of identity, so do other differences as well. Residence is in many ways at the crux of what it means to be Coloured.

The Affirmation of Difference: Patterns in the Perpetuation of a Category
RESIDENCE
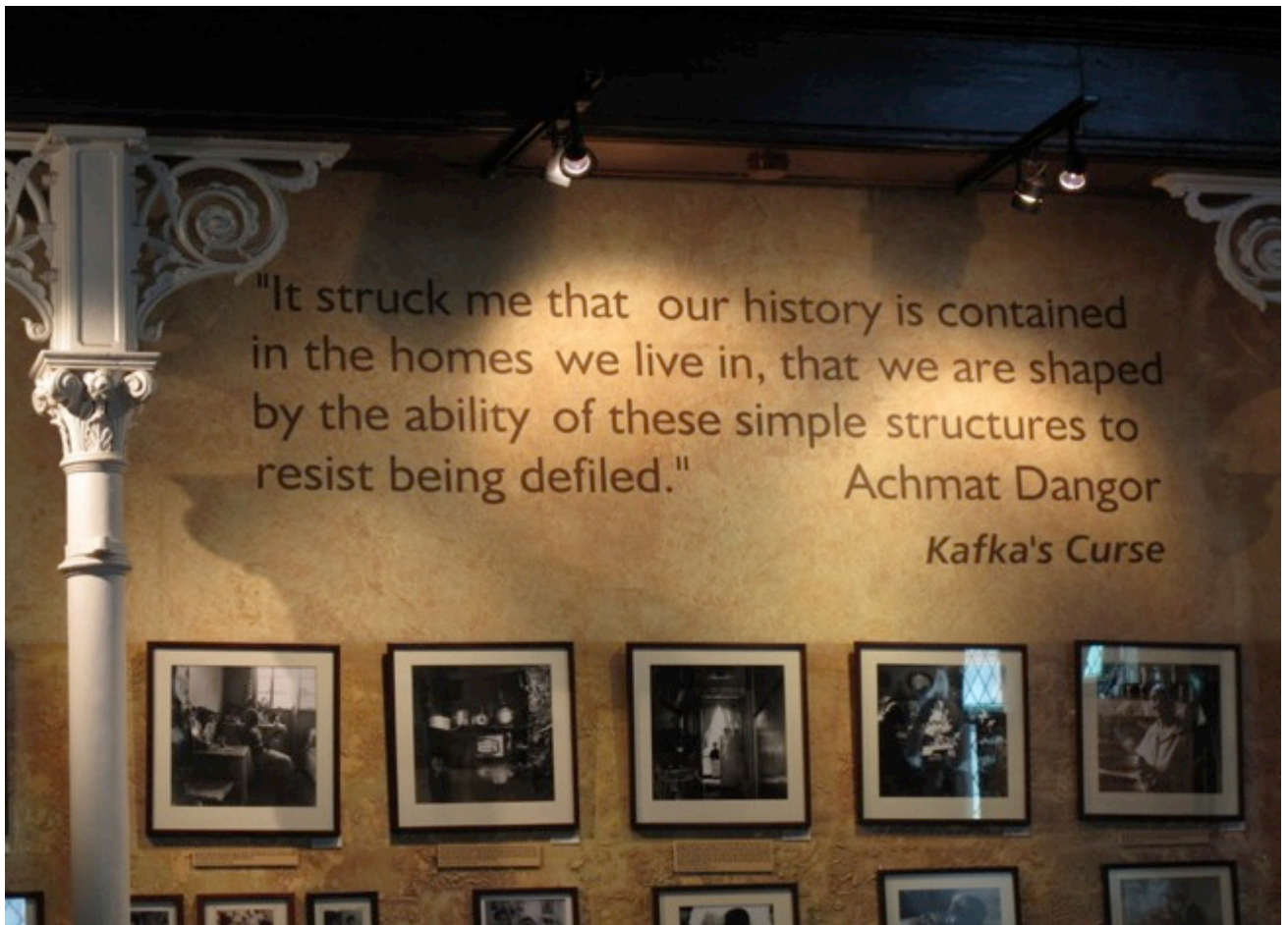
District Six Museum, Cape Town

The photo above is from the District Six Museum in Cape Town. The District Museum is a testament to Coloured life and loss in South Africa and in many ways speaks to Coloured life in a larger, Southern Africa. The following quote, taken from the Bulawayo Municipality in 1950, details Coloured residential status in Zimbabwe:

> It is the popular belief in this colony that there exists here three distinct living standards, the lowest standard of living being that of the Native, the highest standard being that of the European, and the third standard being that of the Coloured man which is somewhere between those two standards. It must always be borne in mind that since the Coloured person's standard of living is

somewhere in the middle, this standard might not be a choice, but rather, a circumstance which

has been thrust upon him. The Commission inspected a number of Coloured homes and found that

they adopt exactly the same standard of living as the European. They wear similar clothes, east

similar foods, like the same type of houses with similar furnishings and enjoy similar luxuries, but

provisions should also be made to enable Coloured persons to purchase or lease housing in the

designated Coloured areas of Barham Greene and Thornegrove." [110]

The spatial division inscribed onto the postcolonial cities of Southern Africa reflects their

histories of rigid segregation. For Coloureds, space in Zimbabwe, as in Rhodesia, continues to be

infused with cultural understandings of race, identity and proximity.

European Land Settlement

As I have outlined in Chapter Two, European identity, culture, and community were

founded on the subjugation of the black majority. Thus, historically white settlement was

infused with moral connections between people, place, and purpose. Europeans were taught that

they were the rightful inheritor of the land and that they alone were suitable custodians. A moral

language of racial hierarchy, combined with perceptions that blacks had done nothing with the

natural environment, created a Rhodesian national discourse through which the connection

between blacks and the places they occupied, were rightfully displaced by Europeans. Thus

blacks could be forcibly displaced or restricted while Europeans land claims advanced.

The history of cities and towns in Zimbabwe reflects the central colonial concerns of

segregation, separation, and distinction. Urban areas were conceived and planned as European

centers—they were to be spaces of and for whites. From the earliest period black and Coloured

labor was to be restricted to the periphery of these emergent cities and towns. Indeed prior to

1945, the colonial state worded hard to prevent the formation of black families in the areas

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[110] Financial principles of the housing scheme put forward by the Bulawayo Municipality, 1950.

adjacent to the European cities. Bulawayo follows Smout's (1980) model for Anglo Southern African town development. Smout's model illustrates the evolution of spatial structures in urban sub-Saharan British colonies. His model illustrates the transformation of urban African colonies from their inception through to the postcolonial period: the center is a well-planned low density settlement built for whites, medium density suburbs for Coloureds, and a high density dormitory for blacks (Davies 1997).

Bulawayo is an excellent example of this model. As stated earlier, Bulawayo after the Rudd Concession became linked to British control and political power. By 1902, the railway linked Bulawayo to South Africa in the south, Botswana in the west, and Harare and Mozambique in the east. The city was built around a central business district and as in many settlements the railway line provided a social boundary. The social boundary was custom built on the notion of segregation. Pass laws and Native Registration Laws dating from 1890 restricted the free movement of blacks and ensured the status of cities as European spaces. Blacks were restricted in where they could live and how they could move about in the towns. Passes and regulations became a daily practice that reminded blacks of their place in the networks of power in Rhodesia.

While blacks remained mobility constricted, whites enjoyed the freedom of a city of wide streets lined with tall flowering trees. Bulawayo as the second largest city in Rhodesia had less of the urban feel that erupted in Harare, but spacious and attractive nonetheless. It was a place where one would bump into people one knew, a place of business, set up much like a small British town.

Unlike most cities, public transportation was never extensively developed for whites as most had access to private cars. This is a pattern that continues today for both Coloureds and

whites—only blacks use public transportation. Yet in terms of "feeling" like a town, author Doris

Lessing notes, "Within a short time there was a town with banks, churches, hospitals, and

schools" (1992:3). The physical geography of the space and the familiar architecture of

provincial England reassured new settlers that they weren't really that far from home.

African Residential Settlement

As European expansion grew, the need for cheap African labor increased as well. As I

have discussed previously, colonial society was based on twin notions of superiority and

segregation.

> Inequality in Rhodesia was reflected in the discriminatory manner in which the local government and
>
> housing were financed. Rhodesia's own blend of apartheid consisted of, firstly, defining people as
>
> belonging to distinct races; secondly, formulating laws which gave different races differential access to
>
> resources; thirdly, forcing a geographical or spatial separation of the races in terms of place of residence,
>
> land ownership, and work; and fourthly, adoption of the principle that services and other benefits for
>
> Africans should be financed by the township residents themselves (Musekiwa 1993:54).

As stated earlier, a number of legal restrictions divided the urban landscape into racial

spheres. Laws like the Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act facilitated urban

segregation with provisions for urban African housing combined with stricter mobility

restrictions (Wild 1991). The Act provided for the housing of employed black men and their

wives, provided that they were employed for continuously for two years and demonstrated a

legally recognized marriage. Yet as the presence of blacks in town became more increased

whites feared that the "future of business, industry and social and moral life may be seriously

jeopardized" (Wild, 1991: 180). This fear partially resulted in what whites saw as the failure of

the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 that was designed to, "protect Europeans against a horrible infiltration of blacks with the ultimate reduction of the civilization and refinement of the white people who built up the colony from the wilds" (Wild 1991).

Wild (1991) goes on to offer a further justification for segregation stating, "The particular reasons for white resentment varied…the mayor was concerned with the image of the town, the businessman was angry that his shop windows had fingerprints…the homeowner was worried about the possible depreciation of his property…the European urban community as a whole felt uneasy."

However, a central theme that underlines these concerns was a shared cultural perception of the racial hierarchy and social pollution blacks embodied. The African population was transforming, with the establishment of families in urban areas and the government faced enormous pressure to recognize this fact. While the response was the establishment of high-density black townships like Makokoba where cheaply constructed houses were built on tiny plots, Jim Crow[111] type laws were instituted to police segregation. Blacks were simply not permitted to participate in Bulawayo social life, as whites viewed the city as their "own."

Coloured Residential Spaces

The concept of racial separation was applied equally to both blacks and Coloureds, although they were subject to widely different legal restrictions. The development and expansion of Coloured neighborhoods was also the function of a growing urban populace, as is shown in the table below. The City Council Commission presented a housing scheme to accommodate Coloureds, based on the fact that Coloureds were living in conditions that would damage their character and breed crime (NAZ). Their situation was described as,

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[111] tk

Coloured children play in small dirty yards or in the street, the only place available to them. Furthermore, as is only to be expected certain persons of general moral instability tend to gravitate to this type of dwelling and their behavior provides a thoroughly bad example for the children who inevitably witness it…A number of families living in these undesirable dwellings are not doing so because they cannot afford better homes but because they cannot get better accommodation anywhere else…the remedy of course can be expressed in a few words: to quote the recommendation of the Southern Rhodesia Parliamentary Select Committee on the Relief of Poverty, it is the provision of reasonable houses (NAZ).

This reads very much in the paternal fashion that missionaries assisted their struggling children. It is written as the watchful eye of the father who sympathizes and understands Coloured residential plight. It goes on further stating,

The Coloured people dread any form of territorial segregation and it is undoubtedly the fear of this that makes many of them oppose living in dwelling in the same area. The right of the Coloured man to live where he pleases should not be interfered with. There are numerous advantages to be derived from housing the Coloured community together in the same area where eventually they could have their own schools, swimming baths, sports fields, community centres and other social amenities. The layout of the Coloured housing scheme should, therefore, be based on that principle (NAZ).

Although no legislation prevented Coloureds from living in white areas, "a combination of economic, social and cultural ties and pressure has led to a concentration of both Coloureds and Asians into localities such as Barham Greene (BG) and Thornegrove" (Kay 1977).

Coloureds were pushed not only into BG and Thornegrove, but also Forrest Vale, Morningside, and Queens Park.

Table 10. Estimated Coloured Population as at 30 June, 1974

Town	Population
Bulawayo	7 300
Masvingo	300
Kadoma	200
Gweru	900
Kwekwe	300
Harare	6 600
Zvishavane	100
Mutare	500
Hwange	100
Others	3 200
Total	19 500

Source: Mandaza, <u>Race, Class and Colour,</u> p.702.

At Independence in 1980, the Coloured population of Zimbabwe stood at about 27 000 while the 1992 Population Census puts the figure at about 29 000. See Table (ii) below for the Provincial Profiles of the Coloured population as at the 1992 Population Census. These figures show that the Coloured population is one of the fastest growing section of the Zimbabwean population mainly due to high birth rate among the Coloureds as well as the incidence of miscegenation especially for the colonial period.

Large numbers of Coloureds were concentrated in and around the urban areas of Bulawayo (southwest) and Harare (northeast), and to a lesser extent in Gweru (middle of the country) and Mutare (east). In the south, this is a result of the historic migration of Coloureds

from the Cape, while the other cities are major hubs of industry. While the government did not express either the sentiment or tensions "inherent" in the possibility of blacks living near whites when discussing Coloureds, the government did however seek a "neutral" approach in city planning. This approach used "economic difference" as a basis for separation rather than a racial one. This perhaps aids in first accepting and later, perpetuating the Coloured ideology of difference. For example, older participants in this study revealed that BG was the place where educated or skilled Cape Coloureds settled and became a sign of upward mobility and status for Coloureds born in Zimbabwe. The table above reveals that most Coloureds lived in the major cities of Bulawayo and Harare, due to earlier movements of Coloureds seeking work and through the lobbying of earlier Coloured organizations such as the APO, which was discussed earlier. Although Mandaza's (1997) table is from the 1974 census, all Zimbabwean participants in this study with the exception of Henry and Yvonne Thornborrow (farmers who live in the rural area of Natisa is Matabeleland South) and those who immigrated internationally, continued to live in the metropolitan Bulawayo area. In fact, what initially started as a migration for work, in many ways today reflects what it means to be Coloured in Zimbabwe. For example, many participants in this study linked living in the major cities of Harare and Bulawayo to being Coloured. Yet, at Independence, there was a shift in Coloured residence as previously "white" areas were now open to all whom could afford it. The tables below display this shift:

Coloured Colonial Residence in Rhodesia

- Barham Greene
- Thorngrove
- Rural Areas of Matopos (Natisa) Gwanda Hwange
- Woodlands
- Various Suburbs of Bulawayo

14%
5%
9%
6%
66%

Table 11

Coloured Post-Colonial Residence in Zimbabwe

- Barham Greene
- Thorngrove
- Hillside
- Morningisde
- Illanda
- Malindela
- Rural Areas
- Various Suburbs

3%
5%
16%
3%
27%
11%
11%
24%
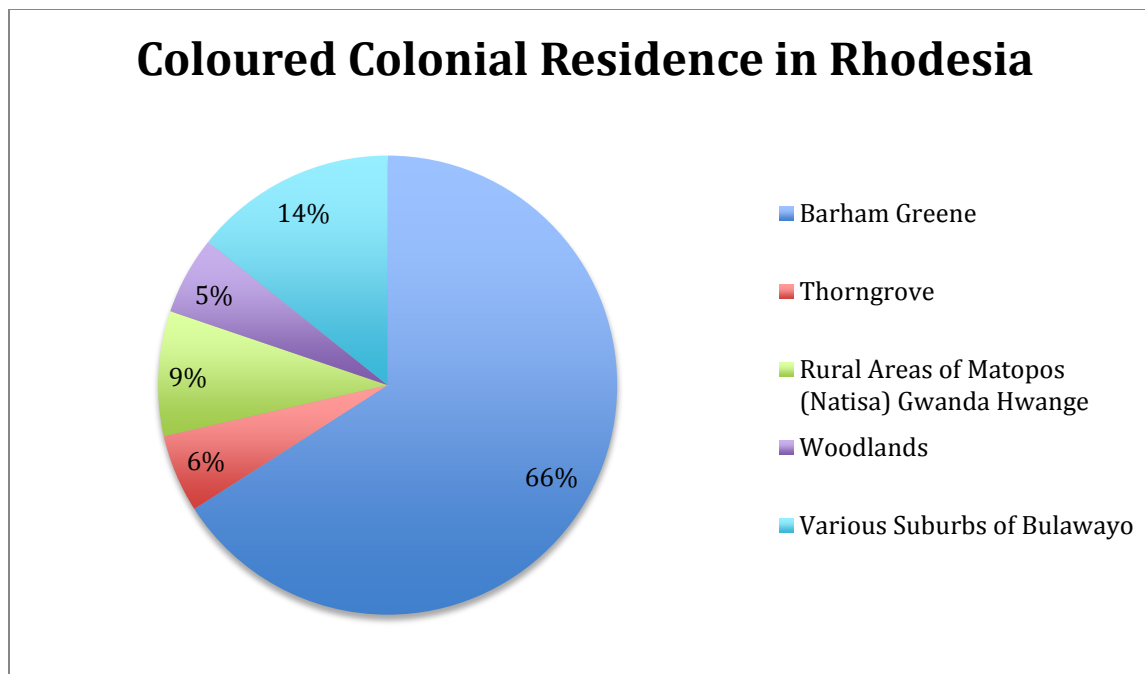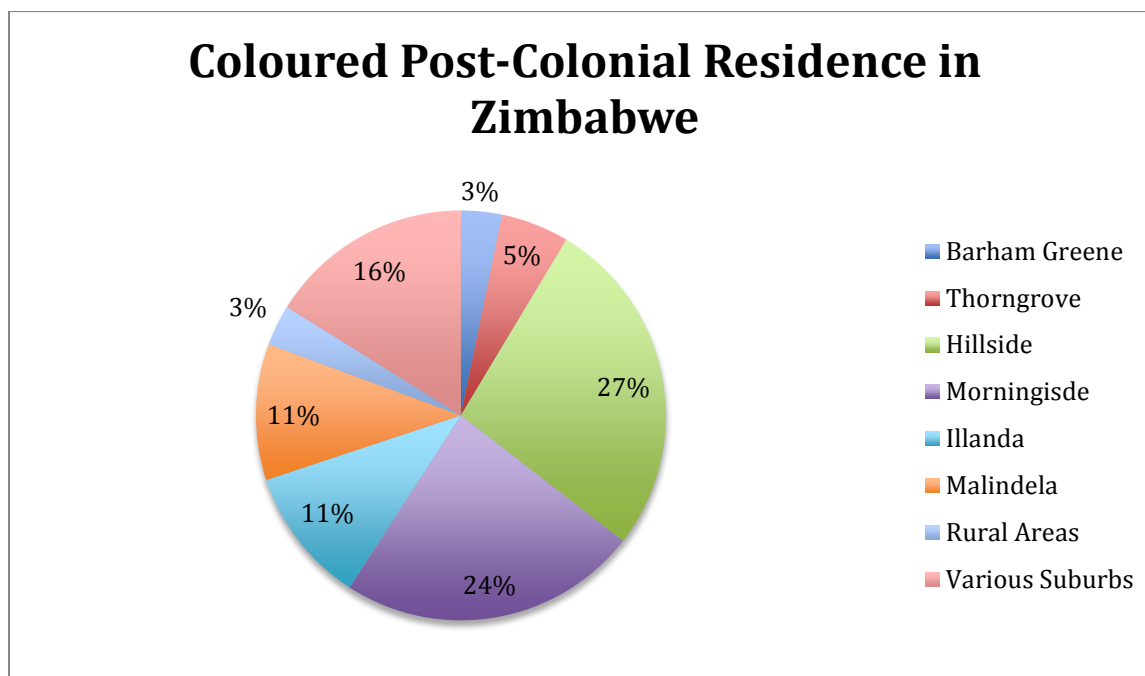
Table 12

In the colonial period, 66% of my participants lived in BG. After colonization, that number drops to 11%. It is interesting to note, that only two older members of the Coloured elite, Priscilla Ahomed and Herb Levendale, remained in BG after Independence. Priscilla Ahomed

and Herb Levendale viewed the move as "unnecessary"[112] as BG is the "center of Coloured life in Bulawayo."[113] This move can partly be seen as a desire to live in areas that were previously restricted for Coloureds, and partly because the associated status of living outside of BG. Coloured colonial residence reveals not only a pattern of Coloureds historically living in BG, but also a pattern of Indians (who were sometimes deemed Coloured by the government) living in Woodlands, and a static pattern of Coloureds living in Thornegrove. Further, older Coloureds such as Christine Aresca, Yvonne and Henry Thornborrow, and Joyce Chidno lived in the rural and semi-rural areas of Hwange, Natisa, and Gweru respectively before moving to the city. Younger Coloreds, like Nicholas Weber, Tamia Shahadat, Nicole Aresca and Robin Davids were born after Independence and never resided in either BG or Thornegrove.

Though the primary focus of this project is Zimbabwe, Coloured residential spaces were examined in Cape Town, South Africa, as well as I previously stated, the colonial construction of racial and spatial order in Zimbabwe was modeled after South Africa. Elsies River is one example of a Coloured suburb outside of Cape Town proper. It is important to this study as some of respondents resided there, but also because it is in many ways a physical reminder of a painful past of loss and what it means to be Coloured in a broader context. For Coloureds living in Cape Flats in South Africa, residence is particularly interesting. The Coloured regions of the Cape Flats emerged as a result of whole urban communities being individually divided up, fragmented, and then relocated to over-crowded, cement slab council flats that mark apartheid-era relocation schemes. It has recently been pointed out that the ambiguity and alienation that Coloureds feel is a direct cause of the gang related activities that take place in the Flats. Friedman writing for *The Saturday Star* (March 28, 1998) notes that contemporary life in the Flats is defined by violence,

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[112] Priscilla Ahomed. See Appendix C.
[113] Herb Levendale. See Appendix C.

graffiti, and rap, the innovations and imitations of African-American culture, which in many ways defines Coloureds and the Cape Flats to outsiders.

For many who were forced out of the city of Cape Town under the Group Areas Act during apartheid, it remains "home." Many in the Western Cape see the Group Areas Act as the one piece of apartheid legislation that created the most suffering for Coloureds. "[It] impoverished Coloured people; killed them economically…killed many of them physically" (du Pre 1994:82).

This Act was designed to indelibly tie specifically demarcated populations to land assumed to hold traditional meaning for them—it was the Act that divided South Africa into homelands. It affected blacks and Coloureds differently because it was mapped into the already established segregation policies. The Act limited African property rights only indirectly, as they had already been subjected to harsher body of law separating them from whites long before the Group Areas Act; but Coloureds were directly affected as they were forced to move from District Six (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987).

> That District Six afforded its occupants a deep sense of place and belonging became increasingly clear as the pace of removals was accelerated, accompanied by an outburst of embittered literary and vocal response. Although its edifices have literally been crushed, an inimitable image and identity remain intact—in the words of an ex-resident, "You can take the people out of District Six, but you'll never take District Six out of the heart of the people" (Hart, 1990:123)

District Six was a neighborhood located in the center of Cape Town, built in the early nineteenth-century and then leveled in the 1960's. It evolved into a diverse low-rent area initially occupied by freed slaves and Cape Malays, and ultimately by Cape Town's working-class poop. District Six, because of its poor, mixed-race character, its proximity to Cape Town, and choice

view of Table Mountain, was specifically targeted for demolition and the forced removal of its

residents and its businesses to make way for a white residential corridor. Because the space had

become associated with crime, poverty, and unhealthy living conditions, its predominantly

Coloured residents also became associated with these qualities. It was decided that District Six

posed a health risk and obstacle to Cape Town's growth into a modern city and was eventually

bulldozed to make room for a more sterilized region, which, ironically, never materialized. It

remained an empty lot until 1996. District six is almost always remembered as a vibrant space

and social context. Hart (1990) describes it as "a paradox of warmth and variety, dirt and rubble,

gaiety and sadness…of respectability and rascality, of poverty and decent comfort; of tenements

shamefully neglected and homes well cared for and well loved" (122).

The District Six Museum began as a small exhibit of excavated street signs of the past.

The District Six Museum is housed in one of the area's few remaining original buildings, the

Central Methodist Mission. It is described as "a space for others to express themselves…in a way

reaffirms the identity of District Sixers and restores their pride in the past" (Prosalendis, 1996).

The museum is mostly a private initiative started by former residents who formed the Museum

Foundation and began raising money to renovate the church in 1994. They received R200, 000

from the Department of Arts and Culture and have relied on donations for the rest. It is estimated

that 100,000 people have visited since 1994 (Jackson 1996).

The District Six Museum is dedicated to the shared experiences and memories of being

Coloured. Pinnock (1987:31) adds,

> The shared experiences of District Six and prison, the social structures of the ghetto sharpened by contact
>
> with the 26s [a prison gang], the shebeens, the Coon Carnival, the poverty and the imposed images of
>
> 'Colourdeness,' these are in face the very fabric of moment to moment relationships, of world-view which
>
> is unimaginable to residents in the quiet, leafy mountain suburbs of the suburbs of the city.

Finally, because the District Six Museum is located in an area with crosscutting linkages to urban life, the ghetto, Cape Town, and apartheid's Group Areas Act, it offers powerful associations for contemporary Coloureds who recognize the connections between themselves and the specific spaces, social practices, and laws that framed the apartheid era. This is central to the museum's mission statement: "The area is still a powerful reminder of things that happened and must never be allowed to happen again. The District Six Museum ensures this memory will not diminish."

Entry to the District Six Museum

Notification of the Group Areas Act

Coloured Streets "lost" to forced removal.

During this time removals were not only being implemented in residential areas designated for 'whites' only. Large scale removals were also taking place in rural areas and areas designated for specific 'racial' groups. In Cape Town, harsh measures were taken against the various 'African' **squatter communities** that had sprung up around Cape Town. One of the worst examples of forced removals for 'African' people took place in 1958, with the uprooting of the **Windermere** community, an old settlement near Maitland.

In terms of the criteria laid down by **Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act** (birth or continuous employment) many 'Africans' failed to secure the right to stay in the Cape Town area. Moreover, for much of the apartheid period, the Western Cape was declared a **'Coloured Labour Preference'** (CLP) area, which meant that employers were obliged to employ 'coloureds' in preference to 'Africans'. The laws on **influx control**, housing and employment saw to it that many 'Africans' found themselves kept out of Cape Town and forcibly relocated back to the Eastern Cape.

'African' people who had employment were allowed to live in different 'proclaimed areas' of Cape Town set aside for 'Africans', namely **Langa**, **Nyanga** and **Gugulethu**. Langa and Gugulethu were administered by the Cape Town municipality, while Nyanga was controlled by the Cape Divisional Council. Part of the costs of administering the townships were raised through the sale of alcohol in such townships through state-owned bottle stores and municipal beer halls.

The Group Areas Act and the Coloured Labour Preference Regulations led to the breaking up of many families. Only men were allowed to stay in specially created **bachelor hostels** in Langa. 'African' women were forbidden to seek work in the Western Cape. Moreover, the **'Bantustan' strategy's sought** to strip 'African' people of South African citizenship, and accord them the citizenship of 'Bantustans', irrespective of whether they had ever lived there or not. 'African' workers had to return to their 'homeland' at the end of a work contract, and had to re-apply to enter Cape Town. In this way, many were prevented from acquiring 'permanent residence' status.

In spite of these restrictions, many 'African' people found their way to the Western Cape. New **'shantytown'** squatter communities sprang up at places such as **Werkgenot** and **Modderdam**, near Bellville South, and **Crossroads** and **Unibel** and **KTC** on the outskirts of Cape Town. In 1976, the Prevention of Illegal

Group Areas Act

"White only" bench from District Six

The Museum and artifacts of apartheid not only serve as reminders of a past that should

not ever be forgotten, but also, as a tangible representation of Coloured history and identity. The

museum is a direct challenge to academics that believe that Coloured identity is a so-called or invented identity and in many ways it is a validation of Colouredness.

As far as race relations are concerned in Zimbabwe, then and now, Coloureds are in a very ambiguous position with regard to their association with either whites or blacks. Throughout the colonial period, the white government classified the Coloured and Asian populations as European but denied them the benefits that were being enjoyed by Europeans. For example, the 1930 Land Apportionment Act classified them as Europeans and yet they did not have access to land in areas defined as European nor did they have access to land in the African designated areas as the Mondam Adams case shows. Such a classification was convenient for the whites and meant to further their political, economic and social interests. The classification also intended to alienate them from the majority blacks. As a result, Coloureds always found themselves in a type of no-man's-land, both during the colonial and post-colonial periods. This identity crisis, real or imagined, assumed or imposed, created or invented seems to be at the center of the Coloured condition in Zimbabwe. This ambiguity is displayed particularly in the later section on media that focused on online responses by Coloureds about themselves.

As I stated before, during the colonial period, Coloureds occupied a buffer zone between whites and blacks. But post-independent Zimbabwe has 'distorted' the whole ranking criteria for all the racial groups. While this has seen the emergence of a new black elite, the same cannot be said for Coloured people who are still among some of the poorest people in this country. And at the center of all the Coloured problems lies the issue of identity and belonging. Coloured history could therefore be fundamentally reduced to the history of exclusion and neglect over the years. According to Seirlis, the creation of Coloured as a separate human category denied them and severed them from both time and space. As a result, this effectively severed their family ties,

lineages and genealogy as well as claims to and connections to land, as they were constructed as an urban people. It was precisely this construction of Coloured people as an urban people that denied them indigenous roots. This must partly explain the double zero (00 Classification) on Coloured national identity cards which categories and sees them as people who have no rural ancestral homes (kumusha). This categorization denies Coloureds what Mamdani calls ethnic citizenship.

The above categorization partly explains why large proportions of Coloureds live in urban areas, with more than 50% of them residing in Harare and Bulawayo. During the colonial era, those who lived in Bulawayo stayed in such areas as parts of Lobengula Street, Wilson Street and Rhodes Street and the area close to the Khami Road known as the "Commonage". It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that Coloureds moved into Coloured-only areas like Barham Green, and Hillside in Bulawayo, Florida in Mutare and Arcadia, St Martin's and Ardebennie for Harare. Those who lived in Harare in the early colonial days lived in the area bounded by Manica Road, Rezende Street and the Kopje area, with the greatest concentration being in the Pioneer and Salisbury areas. But after 1980, residential racial segregation fell away, allowing people of all races to move into any area of their choice. This allowed a significant number of Coloureds to move out of the traditional Coloured areas into other suburbs of their choice. The policy of maintaining racial boundaries during the colonial period was also maintained through the provision of separate schools as will be shown below. There were also separate hospitals for the three main racial groups. For example, Princess Margaret Hospital, that used to be part of the Salisbury Group of Hospitals, was established in 1953 in order to cater for Coloureds and Asians per se, although white administrators never stopped, administratively, meddling in its affairs. The white administrators at Princess Margaret Hospital made it a point that the Coloureds and Asians

at the hospital were not equal partners, neither were any other races.   However, Independence in 1980 ushered in a new era in race relations with the ZANU PF government adopting the policy of national reconciliation and de-racialization at every level, thereby putting an end to legal racial segregation (NAACP_bls_0308.doc).

While residence was a major source of identity for Coloureds in the colonial era because it validated their "place" as separate from blacks and whites, residence is the first of several most viable ways in which they attempt to reify the category Coloured in the postcolonial context. Social space is the second way.

Social Spaces

In both Zimbabwe and South Africa, participant observation revealed that my informants not only marry other Coloureds (see table 12), but also socialize with other Coloureds. One such way is through Church. As stated earlier, Christianity had significant influence in the colonizing mission of early settlers to Zimbabwe. Specifically the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches were the dominate religious institutions for many and since Coloureds were created in the image of the colonizers, many Coloureds are Anglican and Roman Catholic as well. There is little to no difference in these to branches of Christianity, primarily because the former was created out of a political difference (Henry VIII) and not out a theological one. They both share Eastern Orthodox origins, they both share Bibles containing the old and new testament, and they both administer sacramental rites. They major difference between the two churches is that the auhtority of Pope is recognized by Catholics and not by Anglicans. Further laymen have more authority in Anglican churches and divorce and contraception are permissible.

All of the Coloured informants in Barham Greene attended either the Anglican or Roman Catholic Church. Those in Thornegrove were either Seventh Day Adventists or did not attend church at all. Historically churches were segregated, but as Paul Pretorius noted, "in the past whites and Coloured attended church together, whites in the front and us in the back." Yet since Independence, church became another racially open institution. It is now attended by blacks as well, which has in turn forced both Coloureds and whites to adjust their schedule of attendance. For example, when making arrangements to go to church with Christine Thornborrow, I was told to be ready at 9:00 Saturday night. When I asked why we were going on a Saturday night, I was told by May Smith that, "we go on Saturday with the whites to avoid the blacks in Sundays." Some of my informants who attend Sundays services say that Coloureds have recreated the same spatial separation that whites did during colonalism. For example, Robin Davids, a 19-year-old student, stated, "I go to the Angelican church and we (Coloureds) sit in the front and blacks sit apart from us in the back." When asked why, he responded, "Because we can't mix with them. We have always been separate from them and we sit in the front because we belong ahead of them." Debbie Selman, a 36-year-old female who is self-employed, echoes this statement, "In the Christ the King, Roman Catholic Church, we attend services as a family as we always have and we have never and will not ever mix with blacks, not even for seating."

That there was a difference in preference for attendance at religious institutions between Coloured residents of Barham Greene and Thornegrove, speaks to the class difference within the Coloured community in Bulawayo. With the exception of Anita Nyathi (who identified herself as black since her husband was black) and Sarah McLaren who both lived in Thornegrove, all of my other participants in Bulawayo knew each other and socialized with each other.

In South Africa, no one went to church. This is generational here. Again, as I have argued previously, the younger generation of Coloureds in South Africa find very little value of continuing to participate in Coloured social spaces that once promoted respectibility. They would rather spend their sunday, recovering from the "epic" night of partying from the night before.

Other social spaces in which Coloureds shared with one another in addition to socializing in each other's homes, was the monthly tea party at Chris van Rensburg's home, the Friday night gathering at *Brass Monkey*, Saturday nights at *Bangalanga*, Sunday afternoon cricket and volleyball matches, and the largest Coloured event of the year in Bulawayo, the *Rhodes Jubilee House* fundraiser. The tea party was the first Coloured gathering I attended. I wrote in my fieldnotes:

> Today I went to a tea party with Anara. When I arrived I was introduced to the host, Chris, whose father is one of the wealthiest Coloureds in Bulawayo. His house was beautiful and the table was elaborately decorated with various cakes, silver tea ware, and finger foods. We congregated in the back yard by the pool and I began to notice that all the guests of this party were both Coloured and female. In fact I saw Debbie Selman there, a woman whom I had met through May the last time I visited Zimbabwe. About 30 women attended all of whom I got the chance to interview. Janice Hall thought that I would be a good match for one of her sons, especially since the other one was engaged to a "Coloured American," and when I showed her a photograph of my family, she was particularly adamant because of the "lightness of their skin." The conversations aside from those generated by the interview ranged from Janice Hall's cakes (for which she operated a business) to her son's engagement, to the latest clothing brought back from South Africa and Botswana. For me the most interesting thing about the party was the fact that we were being waited on hand and foot by blacks, people whose skin was just a few shades darker than mine.

The dance clubs *Brass Monkey* and *Bangalanga* were frequented by younger Coloureds, who danced the night away to American hip hop and South African rock. Sunday afternoons

boasted cricket and volleyball matches characterized by competition, heavy drinking and fights.

Finally, on July 4th I attended the annual fundraiser for the *Rhodes Jubilee House*, a Coloured

elderly home in Barham Greene. The event was the largest Coloured function of the year and an

estimated 400 Coloureds attended in 2004. The event featured a band, fashion and talent shows,

food and drink, various games for children, and many senior citizens selling handicrafts.

Coloureds of every age were present, from the youngest to the oldest and although it can be

deemed as successful, it was not without its drinking and its fighting.

As Coloureds in Zimbabwe and South Africa draw upon one another in shaping a general

identity, I found that in Elsies River, Coloureds followed similar patterns of socialization. As my

sample was younger than those in Zimbabwe, much of socialization took place within homes in

Elsies. These gatherings usually took place in the form of braais, swimming, smoking and

drinking. There were also events outside homes, particularly since one of my informants, Byron

Clarke is a singer. Bryon performed all over Cape Town, especially at the Coloured nightclub

Barmooda.

Media

Coloured media outlets are also instrumental in fostering a Coloured identity. Tanja

Bosch in her examination of South African Coloured Internet portal Bruin-ou.com —*The Brand,*

The People, The Lifestyle-- found that while the physical characteristics of race are absent online,

that discussion groups that discuss race are often appropriate settings for exploring meanings of

Coloured identity. The website states: "With the many varied questions surrounding the topic of

Coloured identity, Bruin-ou.com exists as a business vehicle through which the many stereotypes

and question marks surrounding Coloured identity can be dispelled."

In Zimbabwe, websites like Goffal.com and others have disappeared in favor of

Facebook groups such as Proud to be a Goffal, who summarizes Coloured communities as,

> Goffal communities are characterised by very jovial way of life which are characterised by loud parties, extremely social attitudes, loud and fast cars, colourful attire and of course, the love for street fighting amongst the younger members of the communities. It was not uncommon to see groups of Goffal youngsters going to nightclubs just to get a thrill out of fighting with others to prove their superiority. They also love Fundays, Car Races, beerfests and soccer games along with the communities having places set up for games like bingo and darts for the elderly.

Others are more political such as <u>The Goffals Abroad Trust</u> website. Their mission is:

> The nations President has made it plain that the element, known as Mixed, Coloured or Goffal along with some other less palatable titles, do not qualify to be regarded as proper Zimbabweans and that, far from the dictates of Independence day manifesto, one man one vote, while a convenient tool, is no guarantee for being treated equally.

> Currently, the Coloured population of Zimbabwe is in a fight for survival. Their marginalisation means that they are no longer able to compete, on an uneven playing field, for the means to feed their families. Not enough Coloured owned enterprises exist to absorb their numbers and new business grants and facilities for the creation of such are denied them. Welfare and Charities do not reach their communities because they are not identified as Zimbabweans in need of relief.

> While the world looks on, a complete culture, generated by the lust of the colonials for dominion and the lust of the indigenous nation for possessions and symbols of status, is under threat. We, the product of that union, cannot see our people suffer unaided. So we endeavour to provide for our people at home. Various components abroad have stood up and work towards providing for specific target groups within our community. This trust stands to prioritise provision for our old people and hopes to extend that effort to the community as the need arises.

While yet others like <u>Zimbabwean Coloured History, Personalities, and Places</u> offers historical, political, scholarly, approaches to being Coloured as well as discussions about contemporary Coloured issues.

One common dominator for all Coloured websites is that they are a place for expression of Coloured fears around identity, history, and recognition as for example on bruin-ou.com, user mondlimsomi posted a response to traveling in the United States[114],

> Me, not knowing the sensitivity of the word Coloured, I just used it as I grew up in a country being identified as Coloured. But in the US and in many other major countries in Europe I am seen as black and not as Coloured… which was a shock for me. (April 19, 2006)

User Cjoe responds,

> More classification. Is there any reason we should accept classification handed to us by Europeans and Americans? Whatever WE decide we are, I am happy with but that decision must come from us. (April 20, 2006).

User Critskill responds,

> …As a mixed raced person I think it is incredibly unfair that my racially mixed genetic data is tabulated according to the whims of people who seek to retain accrued political power…there are many multicultural societies like ours which are grappling with mixed race identity issues. Take Brazil for example, they have a very large mixed race population, and hell yes they have a name which they use to identify themselves with. For me, I'll be Coloured until further notice. (April 20, 2006)

Finally, another user, who identifies as black responds,

> For older people being Coloured was the in thing, which meant a better life and better benefits, so I don't blame them. My problem is with the young people these days that still think you are better because you are so-called Coloured. Let's break the chains of the people that enslaved us and start to realize that we are one.

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[114] Taken from "Online Coloured Identities: A Virtual Ethnography" (Bosch).

We were separated to be destroyed. We need to understand that there is no such thing as a grey zone, its either black or white. (April 20, 2006).

Marriage Patterns

"It is important for my children to marry Coloured...more important than marrying a Muslim. The Coloured community must be preserved and differentiated from the black community because they are both culturally and historically different from us."[115]

Carla is twelve years old and Coloured who lives in Hillside, Bulawayo. She expects to marry a Coloured man, and would consider marrying a white who has "a good heart," but never a black, because "blacks have AIDS." The sentiment of "never marrying a black" is shared amongst Coloured informants in this study. In fact, all but Anita Nyati and Joyce Chidno, both of Thornegrove, were not married to other Coloureds (see table 11). While some would consider marrying or dating a white person, all said they prefer to marry other Coloureds. This notion of what Herb Levendale refers to as "sticking to your own kind," seems to be transferable as all of my Coloured informants with children who lived abroad were also married to Coloureds. Nicola Smith, Ray and May Smith's daughter, is married to a Coloured Australian, while Janice Hall has a 30-year-old son, who is in medical school at the University of Chicago. Her son, she says, "is engaged to a nice Coloured American from Chicago." The same is true of Priscilla Ahomed, whose son is a senior at the University of Texas and is also engaged to a "Coloured American." The importance of marrying Coloured is paramount among the Coloured participants in this study. Clarence Rahman, when asked how he would react if his daughter married a black,

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[115] Farid Shahadat.

answered "If she does that, she has nothing more to do with me. You know what I am trying to say, don't you? If she does that, she's made her bed and she will have to lie in it." While ideas about marriage are overwhelmingly self-imposed and rigid, I received no definitive answer as to why it is such other than the need to stick together, the cultural differences between themselves and blacks. In the discussion of marriage, Weber's theory of value and meaning can be applied as they are categorically endogamous. Yet given the size of the Coloured population in Zimbabwe, marrying Coloured can be incestuous at times. For example I wrote in my fieldnotes:

> Steve Sweetman comes from a long line of Cape Coloured hunters. Helen Van Beek is his sister. They did not know that they were indeed brother and sister. Steve took his mother's surname, while Helen took her father's. They met in town and when Steve went to collect Helen for a date, her father looked at him and asked what his surname was because he looked like one of his children. Christian Van Beek is Helen's brother as well. Different mother, same father. Brian Sweetman is Steve Sweetman's first cousin on his father's side, which makes Christian and Brian cousins by marriage. They did not know that.

Steve Sweetman

Helen Van Beek

The sociological meaning revealed here is that because Coloureds are endogamous, their chances for finding suitable mates is limited to a very small pool of candidates due to the small number of Coloureds in Bulawayo. Further, men seem to have children with more than one woman, either through marriage or through brief or long-term relationships.

Previous studies on Coloureds in Zimbabwe revealed similar findings. The *Baseline Study of the Coloured Situation in Zimbabwe*, conducted in 2003 (550 respondents) shows Coloureds in Bulawayo had very different marriage patterns than those country-wide. For example, researchers found that while the majority of both male and female respondents were married to Coloureds yet a closer examination of these findings indicated that more Coloured men (18 %) were married to blacks compared to Coloured women (7 %) married to black men. This may mean that Coloured men have less prejudice than their fellow women do and find it easy to marry across the colour line than their female counterparts. [116] Yet in my own research, I did not find this to be the case. Of the 93 people sampled in both Bulawayo and Elsie's River, only Anita Nyati and Joyce Chidno, both Coloured women living in Thornegrove, were married to black men and although born Coloured, they were now classified as black. As the table reveals, Coloureds are overwhelmingly endogamous, as 90% of those sampled in my study are either married to/or would only marry Coloureds. By marrying within the group, Coloureds are reinforcing and promoting a distinct Coloured identity.

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[116] (NAACP_bls_0308.doc)

Marriage Choices of Coloreds in This Study

3% 2%

5%

90%

- Endogamous
- White
- Asian
- Black
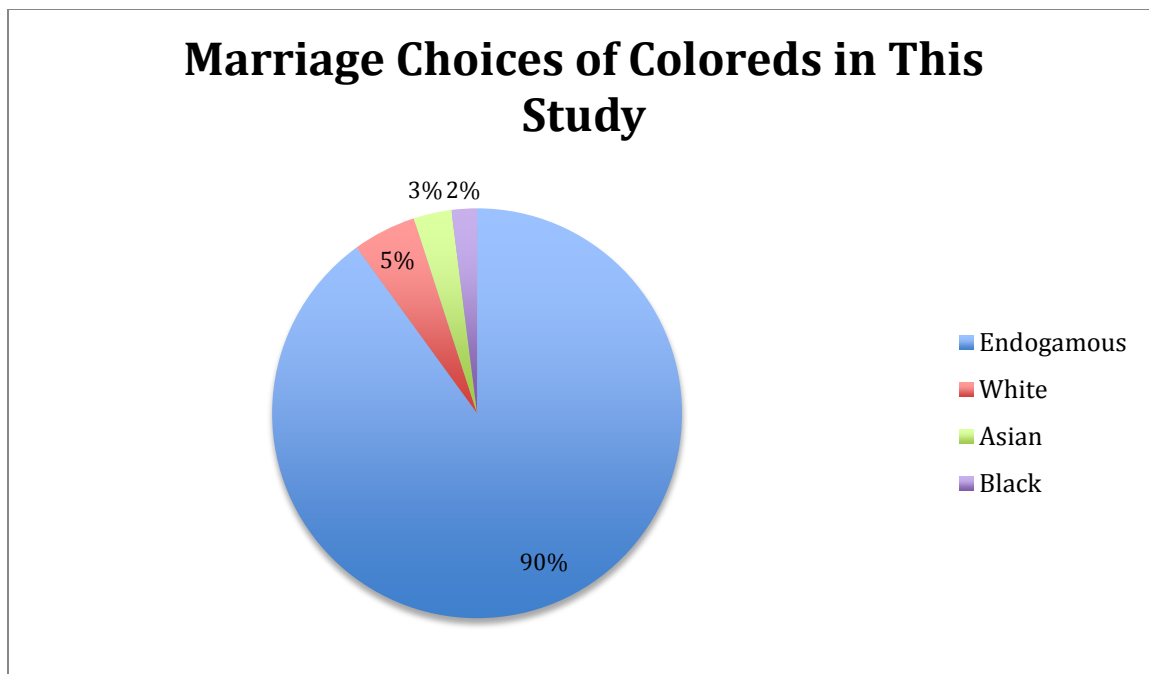
Table 13

For those who are not married to Coloureds or have a Coloured marriage preference, whites are the next choice. This is extremely interesting because in the same way that Coloureds have been conditioned to see similarities between themselves and whites, they have also been conditioned to know that the chances of marrying a white Zimbabwean are slim given the long standing history of racial prejudice, which is why they seek Europeans outside of Zimbabwe.

Social Stratification Among Coloureds Postcolonially

As stated previously, colonial-era Coloured identity rested firmly in the attachment to white culture, non-indigenousness and to South Africa. Cape Coloured orientation was paramount in early formations of Coloured identity and class formation in Rhodesia; as political organizations, were all led by Cape Coloured leaders. These leaders not only lived in BG, but BG was the center of all social and political life.

The higher destiny Coloured suburb of Thornegrove is where the Coloured masses lived—those who had no tie to a Cape identity. Yet, from the 1930s onwards, Cape Coloured identity was being challenged strongly, especially by the first generation of Rhodesian-born Coloureds who felt excluded from such a definition. This led to a change in the view of how Coloureds saw themselves—no longer as two groups under one umbrella vying for an advantageous position within colonial society; but as one group with a legitimate place in colonial society.

It is important to note that this did not quell perceived class differences. Yet class concerns in this study appear to be generational and color based above all else. For example, in interviewing older participants in this study, being of Cape Coloured descent was promoted as a sense of pride. It not only represented deep Coloured roots, but also deep histories of educated, professional families. This manifested not only in the company that Coloureds kept with one another, but also, in the places they frequented. For example, May Smith, although of local rural descent, "married up" in her union with Cape Coloured born, Ray Smith. By marrying up, she now had access to socialize with the likes of Paul Pretorius and Herb Levendale. Socializing occurred not only in homes, but also in places like The Bulawayo Cricket Club, a members-only, "old money" Coloured club in BG. In fact May Smith could hardly contain her excitement at the

prospect of Mr. Pretorius coming to her house to be interviewed. She remarked, "Mr. Pretorius is one of the most respected members of our community." Further because of her position as the wife of a Cape Coloured teacher she had access to the Coloured elite in BG on one hand, and because of her charity work and battle with alcoholism, she also had access to the poorer and less educated Coloureds in Thornegrove. She was the only participant in this study who bridged that gap.

For younger Coloureds in this study, class did not seem to be an issue. The class issues of the older generation seemed to morph into something else—color consciousness. Color consciousness had long been a part of Coloured identity, but it was of paramount importance to younger generation Coloureds. Perhaps this is because of the lack of tangible and traditional markers of elite status in the postcolonial context, as the employment and education patters below suggest.

Employment in the Postcolonial Context

Despite having historically occupied positions of prestige within the Coloured community—teachers and nurses—Coloureds in Zimbabwe in the postcolonial context are overwhelmingly self-employed and unemployed. The chart below reveals the drastic decline in the once Coloured professions. I posit that there are many reasons for this decline. First, earlier generations of Coloureds who were either born in Zimbabwe or migrated from Cape Town were in search of political, social and educational gains that would make them more economically mobile. Second, with these gains, education was paramount for as it was a means to guarantee stability. Third, as Coloureds became more economically independent, whether in skilled or unskilled trades, they were able to pave the way for younger generations of Coloureds to have

choices and often times these choices did not involve education. Finally, perhaps most importantly, I argue that Coloureds are either self-employed, unemployed or underemployed because they value Coloured identity above all else. The ability to have power and control over one's destiny is evident in the ability to generate wealth. Like whites before them, Coloureds seek wealth over education in the post-colonial context because it affirms their superiority socially. But what becomes interesting is at the same time it solidifies their position as educationally inferior to blacks. Further, many those who are unemployed are unemployed by choice and not by circumstance. For example, in Elsie's River, Byron Clarke, a 30-year old unemployed singer, spends most of his day sleeping in, smoking and drinking. His opportunities are limited because he completed only his O-levels at Elsies River High School. Rather than do something to improve his life, he holds on to the ideological value of being Coloured. This sense of entitlement plays out in various ways, whether it is refusing to work in jobs that he is qualified for, but were occupied by blacks in the colonial context, or requesting a first class rail ticket on the ride to town, since "Coloureds don't take economy." Clinton Mitchell, a 27-year old unemployed male who had completed O-levels, does not work either because "his value is not recognized in Cape Town." When pushed he says, "Everything is for blacks in South Africa." In Zimbabwe, unemployment was less rampant. This again is related to the fact that I had an older sample of participants, who had long established themselves professionally.

Employment Pattern of Coloureds in This Study

Self-Employed

Unemployed/Housewives

Students

Employed in Traditional Colored Fields (seamstress, musician, teacher, nurse, blue collar job)

Employed in Other Fields
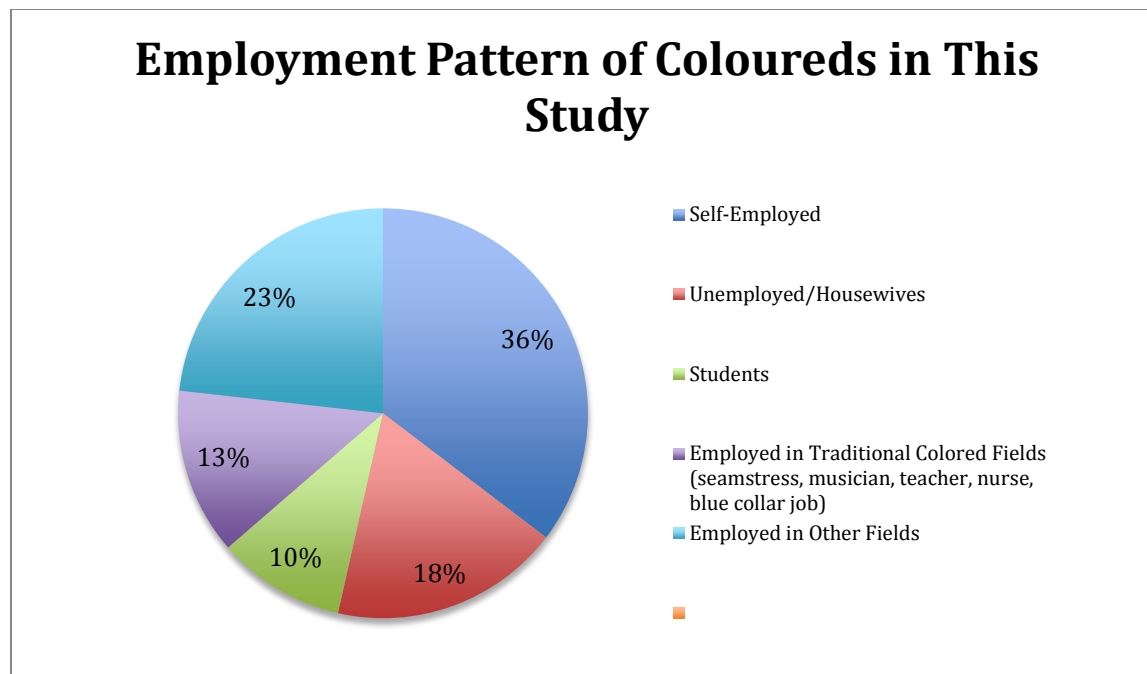
Table 14

The chart above reveals the decline in Coloured employment in traditional fields. This reflects the changing times, as 36% were self-employed, indicating that Coloureds owned their own businesses.

Coloured Education Patterns

Most of those interviewed have an O-level education (see table 14). However, I was surprised to learn that not many exceeded O-level education, given the placement of Coloureds historically in the racial hierarchy. Rua Marsh stated, "O-Level is enough for most. Even for those whom have money, education is unimportant. Upbringing has much to do with it. There is political unrest at the University of Zimbabwe and it is unsafe for Coloureds, especially since military service is required for a UZ degree." In fact, according to many of the participants my study in Zimbabwe, blacks are more educated than Coloureds are in Zimbabwe. According to Nicholas Ngwenya, a black Headmaster at a local school, "the most important thing for Coloureds in Zimbabwe is to make enough money to live comfortably and this is achieved primarily through owning their own businesses. Owning their own business is what is most important to them. For blacks, education is most important." This sentiment was common among blacks when asked about Coloureds as one black informant, Anita Dube noted, "Coloureds think they are better than us, but they are not. They are uneducated. They all get drunk and fight. They have no dignity." Fortune Ndlovu commented, "Coloureds have money, but they are uneducated. But either way, they really don't matter to us at all. Coloureds don't belong with either blacks or whites. They are not above us, they are lost."

Those Coloured informants with young children expressed the desire to educate their children in private schools in Bulawayo. Historically, Coloureds had their own schools, separate from blacks and whites, and now that schools are open to all, regardless of race, public schools have in Coloured eyes "gone to shit" much like the rest of the country. When asked what was meant by this comment, I was told "blacks are taking over everything, running all over the

place."[117] Private schools offer a haven of sorts for Coloureds as attendance to these schools is dictated by money rather than by race and although blacks do attend these schools, it is not "overrun" by them as public schools are and there are whites and Coloureds who attend as well. Almost all of the Coloured participants in this study stated that it was their desire to educate their children as well as possible to allow them to attend university "down south"[118] and/or to own their own businesses in town. The desire to get down south is also fueled by a fear of having to attend a school that is mostly black. For instance, Petronella Rahman expressed relief at the fact that her daughter was going to university in Cape Town, since she "could not go to school here [in Zimbabwe] because she would be surrounded by blacks and would in turn be isolated, since she does not socialize with them or have any thing in common with them. It's a form of abuse."

Those sampled in Elsies River, Cape Town, South Africa shared similar experiences in education. Yet 6 of the 19 interviewed had gone beyond O-level. Roxanne Clarke received a BA from Arizona State University in the U.S. on a full tennis scholarship. Others were unemployed or under-employed in the service industry employment. That 6 were able to move beyond O-levels speaks to the opportunities available for Coloured mobility in South Africa that does not exist in Bulawayo. The Table (14) below summarizes Coloured education patterns in Bulawayo and Elsies River.

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[117] Pernell McKop.
[118] Cape Town.

Table 15: The following is a chart of Coloured participants in Zimbabwe by educational achievement. [119]

Level of Education of Participants in this Study

- O Level Only
- A Level Only
- Form 6
- Form 4
- Form 3
- Form 2
- BA or Higher

73%, 8%, 5%, 4%, 5%, 3%, 2%
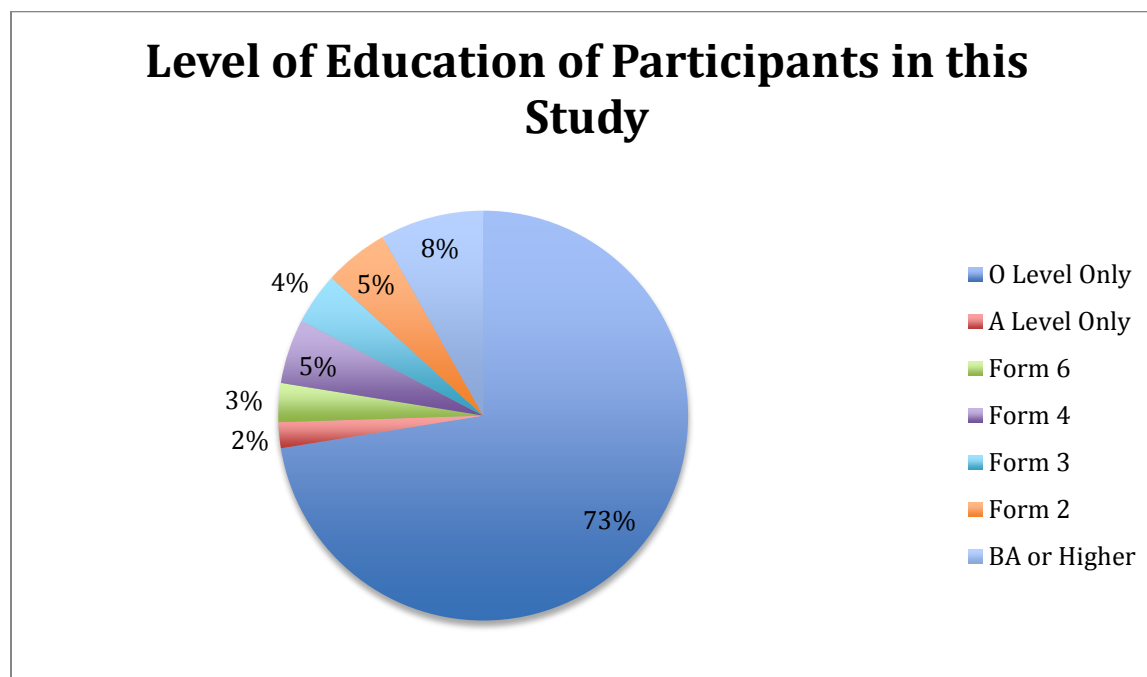
The chart above reveals that 73% of Coloureds in this study achieved an O-level education only, which supports the many claims that education is unimportant in the postcolonial context. This is a major detriment to Coloureds as they are reinforcing an identity that is in opposition to blacks that are being educated at a rapid rate. Education is simply not important for Coloureds. Even Roxanne Clarke, who was educated in the U.S., a degree that is social currency in most places, is not employed based on her education. She teaches tennis part-time instead. When asked why she is not employed in a field she was educated for she says, "Teaching tennis is easy. Only blacks care about education." This is a difficult response to absorb as all around Elsies are indicators that being Coloured is not enough.

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[119] O-Levels: (Ordinary Levels) are designed for 14 to 16 year olds and aim to prepare students for academic progression (such as A and AS Level study) and equip them with the skills necessary for employment. A-Levels: (Advanced Levels) are accepted as proof of academic ability for entry into universities. M-Level: Matriculation.

Table 16: Comparison between higher education achievement in Zimbabwe and South Africa
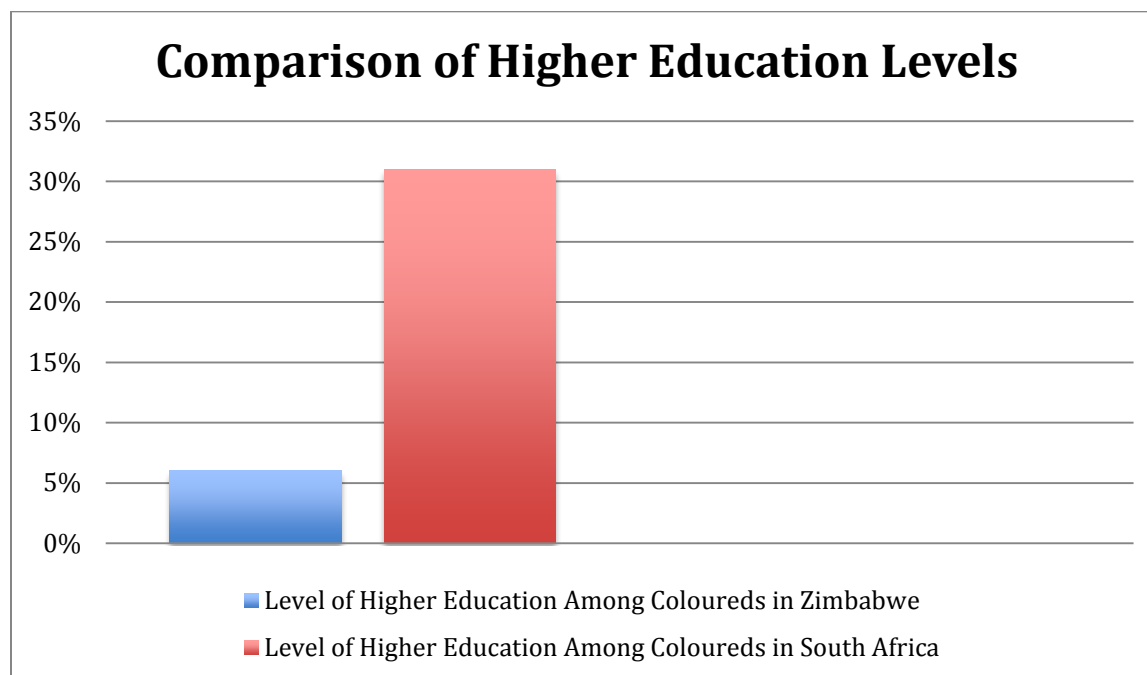
The data above reveals several things about Coloureds in this study both in Zimbabwe and in South Africa. First most are educated only minimally as O-levels are equivalent to a high school education. Second, perhaps because of the lack of higher educational pursuits, many are either self-employed, unemployed or under employed. Third, is that despite the obvious "stalls" in the quest for upward mobility, most if not all, value a Coloured partner, making them somewhat endogamous.

I have demonstrated that Coloureds are attempting to reify the Coloured category in the postcolonial context by maintaining the "cultural" or racial spaces that were previously carved out for them during the colonial era. Yet as they play this difference out in their daily lives, there is also a critical need to revive past political orientations in an effort to produce new ones in the face of a government that refuses to recognize them as important.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the notion of an internally projected and a perpetuated Coloured identity. By using Coloured voices, I have attempted to capture the ways in which they have expressed the racial status and privilege that once existed in the colonial system. Here I have demonstrated that Coloureds themselves are major agents in preserving the Coloured category and continue to view their world through this lens both inside and out. Coloureds are active in both erecting and continuing both real and ideological boundaries of difference in their effort to preserve their place in society.

In Chapter One of this dissertation, I presented the relevance of this study by plotting the importance and complexities of Coloured identity. In Chapter Two, I provided a nuanced study of the history of Rhodesia and the construction of a *legally imposed* Coloured category, by revealing how colonial power was distributed. I also revealed how postcolonial power was distributed in an independent Zimbabwe.

While Coloureds continue to feel threatened in the postcolonial context and subsequently continue to perpetuate boundaries of difference, in modern day Zimbabwe, Coloureds face an even bigger trial as issues of national identity challenge both what it means to be Coloured and what it means to be Zimbabwean.

Chapter Four: National Identity in Zimbabwe

The journey from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe is in many ways, a map of cultural meanings. Through an exploration of racially distinct and racial integrated spaces, I will trace historical movement, maintenance and re-articulation of boundaries established within the postcolonial era. In this chapter I will examine the current conception of spatial order in Zimbabwe. The question of transition is at the center, as I consider in what ways have Coloureds daily lives changed or remained the same, through the negotiation of public and private spaces. In previous chapters I have provided a theoretical, historical, and geographical context for the final part of this work. I have attempted to set a historical and cultural stage for an understanding of the Coloured community in Bulawayo today. I will also examine the social and cultural profile of those Coloureds who remain in Bulawayo. Why did they stay in the country and how have they made the social, political and cultural adjustment from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe? Is this a community living in the past, wishing for what is gone? How have old Coloureds made sense of the new tensions surrounding race and nation in Zimbabwe? Here I examine the diverse reasons behind decisions to leave or return to Zimbabwe. I attempt to address why some Coloureds stayed while some left. For some, the act of remaining in the country as it transitioned to post-colonial rule challenged existing notions of identity and belonging. Therefore, questions of what it means to be a Zimbabwean and the politics of citizenship are examined as well.

Ekhaya Kungaphi?[120]

Any discussion of national identity in Zimbabwe must first return to the socio-historical context from which it springs. While the colonial era was marked by massive land resettlement campaigns, the post-colonial era was marked by massive land redistribution campaigns.

Following the Gukugahundi campaign in Matebeleland in 1980s, the 1990s were marked by growing discontent with Mugabe's "alleged" democratic government. Jonathan Moyo (2008) explains, "elections in March 1990 resulted in another victory for Mugabe and his party, which won 117 of the 120 election seats. Election observers estimated voter turnout at only 54% and found the campaign neither free nor fair." Mugabe, in an effort to redirect the focus on the problems with his government, once again renewed the promise made during Independence: to resettle the 70% of land owned by whites to blacks.

This continues to be the case today. However, according to Alexander (1991), three features distinguished Matabeleland's experience of land redistribution from other areas of Zimbabwe in the first ten years after independence. The lack of abandoned land hindered the process of land acquisition in the area, as the most effective methods of claiming land during this time were squatter occupations of commercial land abandoned during the war. White ranchers had not abandoned their land here as they did in Mashonaland and Manicaland. Also, the droughts of the 1980s left the rural areas dependent on state-supplied food and jobs, which in turn limited the autonomy of Ndebele farmers. Finally, the inter-party conflict of the 1980s slowed the disbursement of government resources and contributed to the failure to formulate an acceptable resettlement model in Matabeleland. This too has led to a sense of marginalization in Matabeleland.

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[120] Where is your rural home? Translated from the Ndebele.

In more recent times, the land issue has been a topic of heated debate both from a national perspective and an international perspective. After years of one-party rule, Mugabe proposed a referendum to the constitution, one that would give him increased presidential powers for the next twelve years and this proposal was met with opposition. Opposition to Mugabe's new constitution came largely from the urban areas, the black middle class, trade unions, and white farmers, who joined the new political party, The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), led by Morgan Tsvangirai. Godwin (2006) retells Mugabe's response:

> President Mugabe gave a speech after the referendum result saying that he was a democrat and would respect the will of the people. But his face was tight with anger as he said it, and his smile was not a real smile; it was a rictus, a barely suppressed snarl. It could not be his own people who had done this…it must have been white people leading them astray. He would show us (49).

In response, the Zimbabwean government announced the Fast Track Approach to land reform and redistribution in 2000. [121]The desire to resettle the landless by the Government had not been fulfilled largely because the government could not acquire land when and where it desired. Landowners were either unwilling to sell or asked for double or triple the prices for their land. Because of the willing seller/willing buyer undertaking, government could only settle 71, 000 families out of a targeted 162, 000 families between 1980 and 1990.

Meanwhile, the level of congestion reached catastrophic levels. "In 1980 at Independence, a man might expect to live to sixty and to see his children grow up strong and have children of their own…but life expectancy dropped to fifty and now it is down to thirty-

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[121] Chairman Of The National Land Acquisition Committee: Hon Vice President J.W. Msika Announces The Identification Of Additional Farms For The Resettlement Program July 31, 2000

three. It is hard to comprehend" (Godwin, 2006). This quote from Peter Godwin chronicles the desperation that Zimbabweans face.

Political pressure for redress mounted, and in some instances, communal farmers settled themselves unilaterally and haphazardly on commercial farms bordering their areas. Against this background, the government decided to compulsorily acquire land for resettlement using the Land Acquisition Act. The act provides for fair compensation for land acquired for resettlement purposes. The landowner has recourse in court if not agreeable to the price set by the acquiring authority.

While this act provides for "fair compensation" and "recourse in court," Mugabe's land resettlement campaigns from 2000 onwards have ignored both of these provisions, favoring the most effective method of land acquisition—squatting. Many see this fast track campaign and blatant neglect for the provisions put forth in this approach as a political safeguard to keep himself in Office. In fact, the Supreme Court, ruled four to one that Mugabe's land program was "lawful and that the rule of law prevails in the commercial farming areas," which have been invaded by militants. Gangs led by veterans of the 1970s war of independence war against have occupied hundreds of white farms since February of 2000, killing several white farmers, including David Stevens, Martin Olds, and Terry Ford, along the way. This violence also forced Peace Corps to stop operations in Zimbabwe. On my last visit to Zimbabwe, Henry Thornborrow reported that, "veterans had occupied my farm (in Natisa), live on my land, eat my food, and use my machinery to plow their fields and "unless he wanted to die, there was nothing he could do."

His critics and the international community-- which have cut aid to Zimbabwe over land and other policies, say land reform must be distributed in a just and transparent manner that includes paying adequate compensation. But Mugabe said compensation could not prevent

government's plan to confiscate five million hectares of the 12 million hectares held by Zimbabwe's white farmers. "Let those therefore who think that the British penny is worthier than our sovereignty think again -- the country is not for sale to traitors," Mugabe said (Meredith, 2002).

Muzondidya (2007) argues that Mugabe's "authoritarian nationalism" of late has upheld racial and ethnic politics of the past. And for Coloureds, the process of land redistribution has rekindled feelings of exclusion and insecurity. There are approximately 32,000 Coloureds living in Zimbabwe today and most are locally born (Muzondidya, 2007). As I stated earlier, Coloureds were restricted to the cities because of employment opportunities initially and later, as a result of being classified as European in the 1969 constitution. Coloureds, although classified as European, were prohibited from renting or purchasing land in European areas because they were not "wholly European" (Muzondidya, 2007). As I have argued previously this led Coloureds to view themselves as similar to whites, but in the postcolonial context, claiming either a Coloured or white identity, is equivalent to claiming to give up any political participation in Zimbabwe.

This has important consequences in the postcolonial context. Mugabe's Zimbabwean government still views Coloureds much in the same way that the Rhodesian government did: as "alien" (Muzondidya, 2007). Thus, Coloureds who have lived in Zimbabwe for generations are seen just as whites are, as alien (the "00" on passports), because they have no tie to ancestral land. No ancestral tie to land also means that they are excluded from the land reform policy and as indicated before, are subject to the same treatment that whites are in this process. Yet Muzondidya (2007) argues that it goes beyond land reform—that it is a distinct black nativism that has excluded Coloureds in terms of a Zimbabwean national identity at large. Muzondidya (2007) goes on to cite three examples of black nativism at work: (1) the rejection of a Coloured

man who wanted to stand as a ZANU candidate in Harare, who was told by party officials,

"There is no ZANU member who is Coloured" (332); (2) the case of five Coloured men who

fought on the side of the opposition during the war of liberation and were denied war gratuities

that were given to all veterans in 1997. They were told, "the War Veterans Act if for Africans,

not Coloureds" (334); and (3) a speech by Mugabe in which he says the flag of Zimbabwe tells

the story of the country—black runs down the middle because it represents the African people

and the country belongs to (black) Africans (334).

"In general, the state has readily employed the politics of race, ethnicity and indigeneity

to challenge Coloured rights to land and even citizenship. Responding to Coloured requests for

inclusion in land reform, Aneas Chegwedere, a government minister, dismissed them by

asserting that Coloureds as a group were politically aligned to white settler interests and giving

them land would be giving it back to the white man"[122] (Muzondidya, 2007: 336).

In my own research, those who stayed in Zimbabwe, have finally gotten what so many

before them desired: to be classified with whites. Yet they also want to be recognized as

Coloured. In the historically Coloured suburbs of BG and Thornegrove, Coloureds are living in

near poverty as the government continues to pay dearly for its land resettlement programs. BG

was once a flourishing community of the elite and the only indication of that is through the

shared memory of the Coloureds who perpetuate the past. For example, Dorothy Khan, a 60-year

old bus transport business owner, says, "Things are bad now. Our quality of life is worse now

because of the economy, but we are the same as we have always been—unpopular in the white

government and unpopular in the black government." Benita Mack, a 32 year-old female former

dental assistant, says, "In the beginning we thought we would finally have a rightful place here

without worry that our rights may be taken away, but things have gotten worse. The government

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[122] "Coloureds Want a Piece of the Cake" *Sunday Mail* April 4, 2001.

says we are Zimbabweans but we are Coloured Zimbabweans and we want to be treated with respect. Coloureds don't really factor or exist in this country." In Thornegrove, things appear to be much worse in terms of trying to find any semblance of a Coloured suburb. It looks more like a high-density black suburb as blacks continue to dominate housing in the area.

Where Do We Go From Here: Space, Race, and Place in Zimbabwe

The contemporary reality is that public spaces in Bulawayo are no longer rigidly defined by race or claims of racial exclusivity. However, in the current social milieu it is still possible to clearly identify social and residential spaces that are more predominately black, white, or Coloured. Such as neighborhoods or clubs that foster a certain group's identity as discussed in Chapter Three.

Gupta and Ferguson (1992) sought to refocus anthropological consciousness onto issues of space and place, as well as location, displacement, community, and identity. Space is often assumed and links people, cultures and place are often implicitly mapped; thus for example Indians from India are assumed to share an Indian culture. In problematizing the assumptions of place, space, and identity, Gupta and Ferguson (1992) illustrate a set of problems including the question of the borderlands, cultural difference within a locality and the cultural complexity of post-colonial spaces, where, "the ruptured landscape of independent nations and autonomous cultures raises the question of understanding social change and cultural transformation as situated within interconnected spaces. The presumption that spaces are autonomous has enabled the power of topography to conceal successfully the topography of power" (1992:8).

The topography of power was clearly evident in Rhodesia, however the complexity of re-imagining spaces, renaming and claiming places, oppositional identities and the simulacra of

Rhodesian spaces in Zimbabwe complicates the postcolonial topography of power in Bulawayo. The disruption of unitary notions of space and identity is highly applicable to the postcolonial city where spaces have been politically remade, renamed, and reclaimed, "The ability of the people to confound the established spatial order, either through physical movement or through their own conceptual and political acts or re-imagination, means that space and place can never be given, and that the process of their sociopolitical construction must always be considered" (Gutpa and Ferguson, 1992:17). However the spaces, meanings, places and identities they foster are not static. The physical location in which they live may or may not be where they have always lived, but names, places, and their identities have been changed and continue to be challenged.

The Rhodesia of Rhodes is now Zimbabwe, named and reclaimed after the spectacular stone enclosure Great Zimbabwe. Once familiar spaces are now spaces of difference. While the home could remain a static reality, the public spaces of the city are infused with a new racial presence. The old spaces of the city gathered new meanings as they were infused with a new sense of place through the process of renaming. Naming had long been central to the business of power and it was a key ideological concern of the new government (Davies, 1999).

The history of segregation, separation, and subjugation in the colonial period stimulated and created physical, social, and psychological distance between the races in Rhodesia. The racial division of space stimulated both white and Coloured notions of superiority and entitlement and validated the reality of a specifically white and Coloured way of life. Independence marked a new visibility of Africans and this meant not only were Africans in control of the government, but also, that blacks were "everywhere"—in the post office, in the shops, even moving in next door.

Initially this change was hardest on whites as many thought Bulawayo to be swarming with blacks. This perhaps speaks to the historical pattern of social detachment between black and white created a misconception amongst whites as to the size of the black population in Zimbabwe. This transformation in the spatial-racial reality had an enormous impact on the remaining population and it illustrates the nature, depth, and degree of separation prior to Independence. Resources that were once designed for the minority are now stretched to meet the needs of all Zimbabweans.

For Coloureds it was less harsh, as they were already enjoying some of the privileges awarded to whites. Yet for blacks, there was a drastic increase in moving into European areas. Cummings (1993) traced changing residential patterns by race in two previously European neighborhoods in Harare and found that "the average black population increased from 10% in 1980 to 56% in 1984" (159).

Many Coloureds moved from one historically Coloured suburb to another or even to another country altogether. For some this was a matter of pride and for others it was a matter of economics. This idea of immobility was particularly true of those who were elderly. This is why several of my older participants remained in Zimbabwe: Paul Pretorius, Herb Levendale, Henry and Yvonne Thornborrow. While public places "changed", Coloureds sought refuge in the private spaces of home as there one could speak one's mind about the changes that were occurring around them. It was in these private spaces that there was a discussion of what di Leonardo (1984:233) describes as "the contemporary political language of rhetorical nostalgia," one that author Doris Lessing (1992) describes as a monologue that confirms the superiority of the Rhodesian past over the Zimbabwean present. Over and over again, my informants repeated that things, "were better" in Rhodesia—things that once been efficient were now failing,

including the place of Coloureds in society.   For example, Priscilla Ahomed, a 54-year-old

registered nurse, said, "before Independence, I thought it was more racialized here, but now I see

it is the same or even worse now because it is now reverse racism." Benita Mack, a 32-year-old

former dental assistant responded, "Everything is bad now because of the economy. At first

things were better and we were hopeful but now things are awful, especially for us because

blacks don't respect us and the government doesn't force them to. The government is on their

side." Herb Levendale echoes this feeling of things being better at first and have since gone bad,

"Things were good after Independence, but life is shit since the 1990s." Mauritia Hall, a 43-year-

old housewife, who is one of Herb Levendale's daughters says, "not only are were economically

not safe, but we are also, culturally unsafe because Coloureds are being intimidated by blacks."

This rhetorical nostalgia operates as a tactic of resistance; it attempts to retain the

boundaries of the community through the maintenance of an ideological space of Colouredness.

Mugabe's response [to both whites and Coloureds] to this is that Zimbabwe is "a tale of two

cities…the non racial one we espouse and the racial one they espouse. Rhodesians do not belong

in Zimbabwe and the sooner they go to their Rhodesia, wherever it is, the better it will be for us

Zimbabweans who want a society of equality and non-racial harmony" (*The Herald*, September

18 1993).

In Zimbabwe space changes were complex. The very notion of racialized spaces has

always been problematic as areas traditionally deemed Coloured or white, have always been

shared by blacks in a domestic capacity. Yet servility stimulated a deliberately fostered social

invisibility. Coloureds did not really regard blacks as living in their neighborhoods, despite the

fact that most black domestics lived behind their homes on their property. Blacks' true home was

the rural areas where their families lived, which for many Coloureds was viewed in a constant

state of disdain, as many black female domestics who lived in the city away from their husbands would come back pregnant after a visit "home."

The social and cultural invisibility was evident in the cultural practice of ignoring or negating the presence of domestics in the home. For example, at a braai I attended, several Coloureds discussed blacks as if they weren't there. Their presence did nothing to mute the racist expressions made all around. Clearly it was not considered necessary to worry about their reactions and consequently no one modified their behavior. In private spaces, the racial status of the domestic is negated by his/her economic dependence on the job, even in the postcolonial context. This is similar to the treatment of African American domestics in the South in the 1950s and 1960s, one that has recently been dramatized and popularized recently in both the book and movie, *The Help.*

Yet segregation was always contradicted by racial interdependence. Kay and Cole (1977) noted that the 1969 census showed that 28 percent of the black population lived in white or Coloured areas, where they constituted 42 percent of the entire population. "Notions of locality or community refer both to a demarcated physical space and to clusters of interaction. We can see that the identity of a place emerges by the interaction of its specific involvement in a system of hierarchically organized spaces with its cultural construction as a community or locality" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:8). Thus Coloured areas in Zimbabwe remain Coloured even though the majority of the residents are black, because their status in this space is not recognized as one of belonging. Place, space, and identity are separated within a hierarchical organization; the domestic may live in a predominately Coloured suburb but he is not of this space, he is not acknowledged as a member of the locality of community. The example of educational opportunities for the children of domestics illustrates this point. The legal restrictions placed on

African residence in Rhodesia, combined with the segregated nature of education meant that although domestics may have lived and worked in excellent school districts, their children were restricted to the inferior educational opportunities in the black communities in which they lived. *The Herald* reported in 1981 that the Minister of Education and Culture stated that: "The children of domestic workers can now register anywhere their parents work, and that includes schools in the former white and Coloured suburbs" (October 4, 1981). However, while the legal provision opened up these formerly closed spaces, the physical and economic structures that governed the employment of domestics prevented them from taking advantage of this change, because of smallness of domestic quarters in the suburbs.

While the government sought to provide the children of domestics with the educational advantages of the neighborhoods in which their parents lived and worked, the housing constraints places on domestics means that their legal rights are confounded by their living situation. Segregation and separation were created and maintained by both economic and legal structures. The poverty of the domestic, combined with the continued provision of inadequate housing means that even in the postcolonial era the domestic worker cannot access the membership, identity or privileges of the place in which he lives. Even in Zimbabwe, the domestic is in a place of exclusion based on their racial and class position.

Place: Should I Leave Rhodesia or Stay in Zimbabwe?
Why Leave?

Census records indicate in 2002 the Coloured population totaled 32,000 (Muzondidya, 2005), a number that suggests growth since census records also revealed at Independence there were 28,000 Coloureds in Zimbabwe. However, the former figure could be an underestimation as Census records were not always accurate, and recent political transformations set in motion a significant series of Coloured migrations. Whites left the country in increasing numbers preceding the dissolution of the Central African Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1963), and again at the Declaration of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (1965), culminating in the rising emigration that characterized the years prior to majority rule. With the escalation of the war in the 1970s and compulsory national service duties for men, out-migration rates were soaring by 1978. The decline in the white population from an estimate of 232,000 in mid-1979 to approximately 80,000 in 1990 illustrates the dramatic population shift. Even more have left due to the economic conditions resulting from the Land Resettlement Program and subsequent hostile political climate of late. This was no gradual movement; the fact was that the majority of these emigrants left in the early 1980's. Indeed, in the two years prior to 1979, 46,722 whites left the country (Godwin and Hancock 1993: 287).

Despite Rhodesian mythmaking that celebrated pioneer legacies and articulated a primordial sense of belonging through a deep connection to the land, settler population patterns had long been characterized by their transient nature. From the earliest periods settlement was marked by physical impermanence, with colonists moving between farms and Rhodesian towns or returning 'home' to South Africa or Britain. In summarizing the instability of white settler-farmers Terence Ranger quotes fellow historian Richard Hodder-Williams who was "struck by the political impermanence of

individuals; at that level, life was a real struggle, against the environment, against their own weakness, both technical and personal, against outside forces" (Ranger 1979; 465).

For Coloureds, their move from Zimbabwe to other places has been slowed by their historic place within the historic structure of racial hierarchy. Coloureds were initially not as affected by the economic changes after the Federation years or UDI or even Independence as whites were. The position of Coloureds, at least initially, was fixed, irrespective of the changes in government around them. But as Mugabe received increasing criticism for his Land Resettlement and consolidation of political power programs, he in turn became increasing hostile to both whites and Coloureds and to the international community who criticized his decisions. As it became clear that Coloureds would not be able to continue living as they once had because of economic or ideological reasons, many began to leave.

The table below shows that there were several reasons for Coloureds to leave the country, chief among them being the economic situation (Table 15). Other notable reasons included educational and marriage opportunities. The majority of the migrants were male (58.9 %) as compared to females (41.1 %). Most of the emigrants ended up in the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and Australia (Table 16).

Table 17. Reasons given for family members of respondents who have left Zimbabwe

Reason for leaving	Proportion (%)
Economic	56.0
Education	14.6
Marriage	9.6
Political	7.1
Better opportunities; holiday; family; medical	7

Table 18. The countries that relatives of respondents immigrated to:

Country
United Kingdom
Canada
New Zealand
South Africa
Australia
United States of America
Botswana
Ireland
Switzerland
Germany
Italy

Numbers of relatives emigrated by year
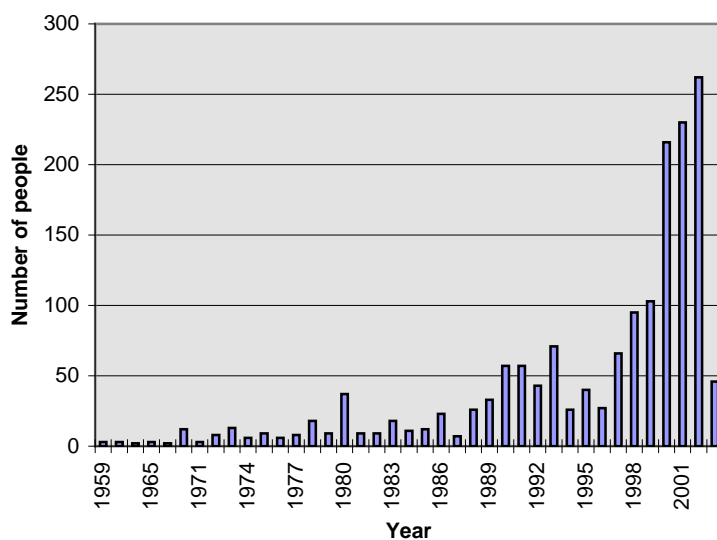
The tables above reveal the movement patterns of some of my participants in this study. While some "stayed put," others moved into white suburbs like Hillside and Malindela (see Appendix D). While still others, like Robin Davids, the Harveryes, McKops, Staddons, and Rahmans moved to South Africa. Those who left left in the past six to ten years, either because

their children left for better employment and educational opportunities or because of the volatile political and economic climate in Zimbabwe. Social networking sites like *Facebook* have provided the ability to chart this movement beyond even the scope of time spent in conducting this study. For example, since my fieldwork and data collection in Zimbabwe, Paul Pretorius and Annie Thornborrow had passed away; May and Ray Smith have immigrated to Queensland, Australia (and became citizens last year); Ingrid Hall has moved to New Zealand, while others have and continue to move to South Africa. Those who moved to other countries outside the continent, had networks already built in those countries to allow for transition. This networks consisted of family members who had gone abroad earlier, as well as friends or friends of friends and family. For example, May and Ray Smith were forced to leave because they simply could not "survive" in the hostile economic situation in Zimbabwe today. This move was difficult because of the obvious emotional attachment to "home" but was made less difficult by the fact that their daughter, Nicola, had emigrated to Australia years before.

Any consideration of why such large numbers of Coloureds left the country has to be understood specifically in relation to Rhodesian culture and propaganda during the war years and to the cultural history of race and racial boundaries in Rhodesia as discussed in earlier chapters. Peter Godwin and Ian Hancock's masterful history, *Rhodesians Never Die; The Impact of War and Political Change in white Rhodesia, c. 1979-1980* provides a lucid context for understanding the potent combination of racism, isolation and nationalism under UDI (1965-1980). They conclude that by the late I970's, "Most Rhodesians had become so accustomed to hearing what they wanted to believe, and electing a government which wanted them to believe what it allowed them to hear, that they were often incapable of distinguishing between the ephemeral and the substantial, between fantasy and reality" (Goodwin and Hancock 1993: 3). For many Coloureds the decision to leave the

country was made against the history of institutional racism with its common cultural understanding that Mugabe was a hardline communist, capable of extreme violence and that "Africans" were incapable of running a government.[123]

Why Some Left While Others Stayed

Clearly, as previously revealed, Coloured exodus from Zimbabwe was primarily because of economic reasons. The lack of educational opportunities or the decision to pursue an education outside Zimbabwe is also in many ways tied to economics, yet while many say this, I have previously argued that Coloureds do not value education. This can all in essence be an indirect consequence of the political climate in Zimbabwe. Marshall Murphree (1978) in his examination of postcolonial situations identified several issues significant to our understanding of wide scale emigration from former colonies across Africa. While Murphree was concerned with white populations, some of these issues he identifies can also be applied to Coloureds.

The issues he identifies as most relevant to the numerical decline of white communities across Africa are: white fears of occupational expendability and political vulnerability during and after colonial transitions and tensions around questions of post-colonial citizenship and belonging. Coloureds at Independence and in the postcolonial era expressed fears over the loss of employment and political vulnerability, as they were not included in any talks about the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe.

For Coloureds in Zimbabwe, those who stayed expressed reasons from "this being home"[124] to "being too old to start all over."[125] Mr. Levendale and Mr. Pretorius were both in there seventies

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[123] Clarence Rahman, Sydney Jobson, and Janice Hall.
[124] Herb Levendale.
[125] Paul Pretorius.

and although their children resided abroad, they were much viewed BG as their home. They were also stubborn in the opinion that they would not be pushed out. None of my informants had any faith in President Robert Mugabe's forceful statement in 1980 of a policy of racial reconciliation as an influence on their decision to remain in Zimbabwe. Mugabe came into power with an extraordinarily transcendent call for racial reconciliation between Zimbabweans. Although Rhodesian had always implied whiteness, Zimbabwean was being promoted by the new government as an inclusive category, a model of unity that in 1980 defined the State's discourse on race relations. Reconciliation was, for those who were interested or inclined, the first step toward the possible new identity Zimbabwean. The government stated its position as, "The People as a nation cannot necessarily be homogenous in respect of their cultural background, or racial background but this diversity of background should be more a source of cultural wealth rather than a course of division and mistaken notions of group superiority philosophy" (Murphree 1978; 135).

However, even for those who remain, the possibility of leaving remains very present, the absence of those who have left is palpable. The sense of having stayed while others left is a central cultural theme amongst Coloureds and the reasons for making such choices are constantly reassessed and reviewed in relation to the current social, economic and political climate. The decision to stay is often not considered permanent, reflecting a decision made for now but subject to constant review.

Yet those on dwindling government pensions often regard themselves as, 'economic prisoners' and as such their on-going presence is reflective of those with immovable assets such as a home, land or small businesses seemed to be economically predisposed to remain in the country, although there were certainly those who left despite such ties. Others who saw themselves as relatively mobile moved to South Africa or Botswana.

The question of age was certainly a key factor in decisions whether to leave or whether to remain in the country. Younger adults with families were highly concerned with the quality of educational and employment opportunities in Zimbabwe. However, perceptions of future opportunities for Coloureds were less important to those older adults whose children and grandchildren had already left the country. The Coloured population thus remained was disproportionately aged, which is why I extended my sample to include younger Coloureds in Cape Flats, South Africa. In fact my key informant, May Smith, has four children, aged 27 to 40 and all of them and their children left Zimbabwe in the 1990s and in the early 2000s. One settled in Australia, while the others settled in Bristol, UK. Nicola and her son, Nicolas left with the help of Nicola's then boyfriend, Dinesh Anand, the 40 year-old self-proclaimed, "King of Bulawayo," who is self-employed. Dinesh also facilitated the move of all May's children.

While many left in response to their economic and physical fears, packing their bags, loading their cars and heading south, others chose to stay. Many older Coloureds remained in their houses, living with the same servants, in a similar manner as they had done for decades. Those whom were able to do this are those who were self-employed as doing so ironically gave them more stability than education ever could in the postcolonial context.

As they see it, for families with young children the higher standard of living is not worth the social and political instability that they believe will characterize the future in Zimbabwe. May repeatedly said how glad she was that they "got out". For example, when I last visited, inflation had made Ray Smith's teaching salary virtually ineffective. May and Ray were struggling with everything, even basic necessities. Although their children continuously sent money to them, even this became unreliable as many basic functions of the government, such as the postal service, had become so eroded that receiving posts were impossible. As previously stated, their children had gone

abroad. Of the four who left, Nicola Smith was in the best financial position to accommodate them. Weather was also a factor as they saw England (where the others lived) as too cold. Moving to Australia was not easy. May and Ray struggled with missing the home that cherished, adjusting to a new place and being financially dependent upon their daughter. Yet they have found their way--they have a home of their own, a car, and Ray teaches in Woorabinda, Queensland. This was made possible not only with the help of their children, but also, because of the excellent social service programs in Australia. Yet despite their success, they dream of returning home.

Many older Zimbabweans repeatedly told me how glad they were that their adult children left, as they believed they would be offered greater security abroad. It was particularly poignant to hear grandparents reaffirming how pleased they were that their children and grandchildren had moved to Australia, Britain or the United States. Their fears for the future of the Coloured community in Zimbabwe left little room for their articulation of sadness or loneliness surrounding these familial separations. Some explained to me that it would be easier to adapt to a lower standard of living abroad than it would be to watch what they regarded as general erosion in their lifestyle in Zimbabwe. Clearly to be Coloured in Zimbabwe, as in Rhodesia, was to maintain a certain standard of living, a particular way of life. However, this Rhodesian 'article of faith' this distinctively colonial economic standard was not expected in Australia, Britain or the United States. Somehow they expected less elsewhere; those who left Africa were prepared to trade what they saw as future security for their previous standard of living. For these emigrants who are still leaving Zimbabwe there is a certain feeling that the colonial lifestyle is no longer worth the pressures of post-colonial realities; political pressures, infrastructure problems, shortages and social instability.

Lower expectations elsewhere were indeed a reality, as most Coloureds in my study found themselves in a generally better situation in the places they migrated to in terms of opportunity, but

faced real problems when it came to economic needs. This is perhaps why many migrate to places that people they know have migrated—it provided not only a sense of home, but also a net of financial security where like many immigrants to the West, live and pool their money together in an effort to survive. While in Bristol, I was surprised to find that many Coloured families from Zimbabwe lived near each other and knew each other from "home." Raymond Smith, Leanne Smith and Koi Smith, three of May Smith's children initially survived this way. They moved to London together, before finally settling in Bristol. In Bristol, they occupy low level, blue-collar positions and struggle financially. Raymond does electrical work, while Koi and Leanne work as receptionists. Their "network" had now expanded to include others as well, like the Selman's. Yet, the reality for most Coloureds in their newly adopted home country is that many are uneducated or undereducated, perhaps due to their historic place within the racial hierarchy in Zimbabwe and find themselves in a struggle for resources. Yet like most immigrants, they are hopeful that things will work out and grateful for the chance for a better life socially, financially, and politically than what they experienced in Zimbabwe. But like Ray and May Smith, they too, dream of a day when they can go home.

Black Supremacy, Identity and Citizenship

President Mugabe posited reconciliation as an axis for identity transformation, welcoming both whites and Coloureds into a social and political partnership. This opportunity was the axis and access that allowed Rhodesians, through the transformation of their ideology and practice, to become Zimbabweans. Without reconciliation there was not the same possibility of embracing whites as Zimbabwean citizens.

On March 4th 1980, Mugabe addressed both black and white in his call for participation in a new and shared future. He said,

> Finally, I wish to assure all the people that my government will strive to bring about meaningful change to their lives. But everyone should exercise patience, for change cannot occur overnight. For now, let us be united in our endeavor to lead the country to Independence. Let us constitute an oneness derived from our common objective and total commitment to build a great Zimbabwe that will be the pride of Africa. Let us deepen our sense of belonging and engender a common interest that knows no race, colour or creed. Let us truly become Zimbabwean with a single loyalty. Long live our freedom. (De Waal 1990:47).

This policy of national reconciliation, as articulated by then President-elect Robert Mugabe, was regarded with relief by Coloureds, and shock and astonishment in the white community. From its introduction, the policy was engulfed by dissent and disagreement regarding its breath and meaning. In the months after Independence and beyond, tensions resting inherently in the social, cultural and economic distinctions of the past were ever present in parliamentary debates that returned over and over to the nature of reconciliation. In particular, parliamentary debates in the summer of 1980 were marked by raucous disagreement about the meaning and message of reconciliation.

It was clear that Mugabe's speech on reconciliation was to be the *beginning* of a *process* rather than the end of a discussion. From this perspective reconciliation was a process that offered both whites and Coloureds the opportunity to "become" Zimbabwean. Reconciliation was a call to transform the social and cultural practices that defined and upheld Rhodesian identity, to transform customs and habits into a new identity and pattern of behavior. Black parliamentarians were amply clear about the role and place of those who did not wish to make the ideological transition to the new Zimbabwe:

Mr. Masango: I wish to state once again that those who cannot adjust to change, who cannot see the writing on the wall, must be deported from our country, and I want to reiterate once again that I will go to the airport and see them catch the plane. (Hansard 28th May 1980: Column 339-340).

The Minister of Information and Tourism: We welcome those want to stay in a free and independent Zimbabwe, in the new social order approved by all Zimbabwean people. We will however, not be held to ransom by racial misfits and malcontents who do not accept the new order anyway — In fact we are now irritated by the continued threat of a mass exodus of Europeans being held like a pistol to the head of the government—I am authorized to make it abundantly clear that all those Europeans who do not accept the people's verdict and the new order should pack their bags and go, either individually or in organized groups. We beg no one to stay and push no one to go. Government policy remains constant and humane. (Hansard 15th August 1980: Column 1655).

Mr. D. Ngwenya: The people who do not belong to Zimbabwe. They are gone, and gone for good. It is at this point where I will honourably accept and agree with Bishop Muzorewa when he calls for a returning fee from the people who ran away when times were bad, the people who are always seeking greener pastures. It is a pity true Zimbabweans, the black Zimbabweans, have nowhere else to go. (Hansard 28th May 1980: Column 325-326).

Mr. Mgwenya's remarks about true Zimbabweans touch on a central issue in tensions over postcolonial minority identity. To what extent are the minority true, natural or authentic Zimbabweans? Despite Mugabe's language of reconciliation Coloureds have often been regarded as those who want to hold on to a colonial identity, to enforce patterns of the past, to be partial Zimbabweans. The legacy of colonial culture and the racial categorizations, African and Coloured have marked Coloureds with a different and distinctive continental affiliation. How do these Coloureds now become African? For those who remained in Zimbabwe there was a political need to

reconfigure the public discourse around their Colouredness, to affirm their commitment to the place they wished to continue to call home.

Following Independence immigration policies were transformed from promotional to a system of selection and control. After Independence the non-resident minority had to return to the country regularly to retain their rights of residence and they risked forfeiting their citizenship if they failed to re-apply for their Zimbabwean passports. The maintenance of Zimbabwean citizenship or residence enforces a minimum presence that ensured some who had left the country for America, South Africa, England, or Australia, would not find easy reentry into Zimbabwe.[52] Birth in the country was no longer assumed a quick path to citizenship. The rules of the game had changed; birth in Rhodesia no longer guaranteed citizenship in Zimbabwe.

As Coloureds had at times been historically categorized with whites, in the postcolonial context they were treated as whites. Both were now citizens by invitation. By virtue of reconciliation they were *offered* the opportunity to *become* Zimbabwean. The assumption was that black citizens were already Zimbabwean and that the state had finally had a chance to recognize that. Consequently, even Coloureds and whites that remained in the country and took out Zimbabwean citizenship were still cast as a different category of Zimbabwean, despite the claims of equality by the government. In Zimbabwe tensions surrounding the production of identity rest in the transition of political power to the majority and the retention of economic power by the minority. In an effectively one party state, notions of ideal citizenship and nationhood were inextricably tied to support of the ruling party. In the language of the party, the President and the state, to be a good Zimbabwean, was to publicly support the party of the people ZANU-PF. As discussed earlier, with Independence came the remaking of public spaces, statues, street names and official holidays were reconstructed, reconfigured, removed or remade to support the narrative of the new nation. For the

government participation and acknowledgment in the making and meaning of the new symbols of the state emerged as a central barometer of the community's failure to show them as Zimbabwean.

After 1980 the government sought to elevate the history and the symbols of their political struggle for Independence. New public holidays were one way of defining new heroes and confirming allegiance to the new Zimbabwe. Nationality, nationhood and citizenship were tied to a celebration of liberation and the veneration of a political party and its generation of liberation heroes. Yet most Coloureds do not participate in celebrations or rallies as these are indeed regarded as black events. However, absence from political rallies or events surrounding public holidays has real consequences. Coloured absence is regarded by the government as a rejection of the symbols of Zimbabwean nationalism. For the party, being a Zimbabwean is articulated as an embracing of the new narrative of Independence. In a country with one dominant political party (ZANU-PF), and the President a leader of the liberation struggle (Mugabe), identification with the party and the nation are synonymous. In a narrative infused with race, culture and difference President Mugabe and ZANUPF continually utilize the absence of both Coloureds and whites as a way of broadly defining the minority community as disloyal, marginal members of the nation hostile to the party, and the people.

Clearly, while the physical geography of the state remained the same, the political geography had shifted dramatically. The meanings attached to the terms Rhodesia or Zimbabwe connote far more than the naming of a nation state. The entire discussion of reconciliation raised the issue of what it meant to be Zimbabwean. Yet most believed that reconciliation was irrelevant, as the majority believed that they were now second-class citizens, constantly criticized in the media, and scapegoated in elections. Coloureds who were always defined at the margins of public life, now found themselves victims of reverse discrimination.

In postcolonial Zimbabwe Coloured identity has become an ethnic, cultural and ideological category defined in practice, through a common construction of history and memory. The daily expression and manufacture of Colouredness is transmitted through a shared understanding of the past and a common critical articulation of the current decline. Such rhetoric promotes identification with the group through a shared nostalgia for a past when, "things ran smoothly" and Coloureds knew where they belonged. Certainly the past is ever present in the private spaces of the Coloured home. There was an enormous effort to educate me, to infuse me with the same historical understanding, to ensure I understood how things really were. In homes I visited, I was continually told that "the country has gone to shit," that everything was falling apart." The constant focus on governmental failure, bribery, crime and the excesses of Robert Mugabe were, for the group in their private space of home, a constant reminder that whites had been right, that Africans were just not ready for the responsibilities of government. The "rhetoric of nostalgia" combined with the discourse of contemporary failure became a daily practice that reconfirmed the boundaries of Coloured superiority and the identification of the group through shared participation. They have chosen to become culturally marginalized from Zimbabwe through their nostalgic adherence to the past.

However, the celebration of the past and the critique of the present in private, as discussed above, does not mean that Coloureds have not modified their manner in public or that they do not also claim their own version of a Zimbabwean identity. While affirming their Colouredness through nostalgia, they claim a Zimbabwean identity through citizenship. With regard to citizenship attitudes tend to be grounded in notions of moral rights and belonging. Coloureds, both liberal and conservative, commonly articulate belonging through birth, "I was born in this country; it is my country too." Thus, many claim their rights based on the continuity of the physical space and place of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

 Coloureds, although historically marginalized by their second-class status in the colonial government, provide an interesting lens into the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. By examining Coloureds in Zimbabwe over time and space, I reveal that they offer insight into the often devastating, mechanisms of a government in the process of evolution, politically and economically. Coloureds remain relegated as second-class citizens in the postcolonial context as well, and it is against this backdrop of marginalization that I have examined who and what Coloureds are.

 By providing a historical context of the making of the category Coloured, in South Africa, first, and Zimbabwe, second, I revealed the complexities in the framing of Coloureds as a fluid and fixed identity. In South Africa, a distinct sense of Colouredness found its roots in the early contact of the LMS with the indigenous Khoikhoi. The Khosian Kat River Settlement marked both an expression of freedom for Khosians and a symbol of difference in comparison with neighboring groups of indigenous Africans. In Zimbabwe, Colouredness melded initially in those of Cape descent, who represented the early Coloured elite, and their early political attempts to obtain concessions from the government and to defend the socio-economic interests of Coloured people. Yet as Coloureds in Zimbabwe saw themselves increasingly becoming more and more marginalized by the government, Coloureds, regardless of class or descent, were united based on a distinct Coloured political identity.

A Coloured political identity led to preferential treatment for Coloureds by the colonial government over blacks in employment, education and residence, which again aided in formulating a distinct Coloured identity. That the colonial government was not committed in dispensing or retracting privileges to Coloureds is an understatement. As with many political situations, concessions for Coloureds were largely a reaction to what the colonial government needed at any time for control. This too, led to the formulation of a distinct Coloured identity. The feeling of insecurity of membership within Rhodesia at large, created a feeling of security within the group, Coloured. In the postcolonial context, Coloureds found themselves in a similar position of outsider/insider status as the black centered government sought to either absorb or ignore them altogether.

I began this dissertation with an assertion of race as a paramount paradigm of identity in Rhodesia, first, and Zimbabwe second. Coloureds were racially defined, albeit an advantageous definition created within a structure of colonial privilege. In being racialized and in racializing the other, they race themselves. Unlike whites, who could always be defined by periods of physical impermanence, whether it was the ability to move between areas within the country or even outside to "back home"—South Africa and Britain, Coloureds do not have such a "home." They are in many ways as indigenous as Africans are. Yet, shifts in population location are a response to a complex, weaving of cultural, economic, political and personal forces. Zimbabwe is unique in that this exodus must be understood specifically in relation to the cultural history of race and racial boundaries that was discussed in the earlier chapters of this dissertation.

Godwin and Hancock (1993) identify impermanence as a characteristic of white society in Zimbabwe, as they have always had the means for mobility and have always been transient in nature according to the political climate of Zimbabwe at any given time. For example, near the end of UDI,

92, 180 left Rhodesia (Godwin & Hancock, 1993). For others, the decision to leave the country was made against the history of institutional racism with its common cultural understanding that Mugabe was hard-line communist, capable of extreme violence, and that Africans were incapable of running a government. But Mugabe's democratic government initially promoted an ideology of racial reconciliation and peace, thus proving Africans indeed capable of running a government. Yet later the former changed as his desire for Africanization grew.

Since Africanization in Zimbabwe is promoted as synonymous with black, Coloureds will never see themselves as obliged to serve and to be served by the state. Perhaps Africanization in Zimbabwe will have to follow the model of South Africa—one initiated by Mandela, and followed up by Mbeki in South Africa's formative years as a black governed republic. Mbeki in his "I am an African" speech (1996) helps to encapsulate some of the binding symbolism embedded in the idea of Africanization where "all are welcome in its house." By referring to the land, the Khoikhoi, the European migrants, miscegenation, the Malays, African warriors and patriots, he ties all South Africans together stating, "whatever the circumstances they have lived through and because of that experience, they are determined to define for themselves who they are and who they should be. We are assembled here to mark their victory in acquiring and exercising their right to formulate their own definition of what it means to be an African."

If as Anthony Marx (1998) says, "All states seek to contain challenges or instability threatening order or growth. To do so, ruling elites structure relations between states and civil society, shaping norms and reinforcing social and political identities accordingly. The central identity encouraged by states is that of nation, defined as the popular loyalty of a population held together in being obliged to serve and to be served by the state" (4), then Africanization makes sense. But what does not make sense is that in a legitimate democratic government there must be a "space" for "a

theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk…and a realm of social life in which public opinion can be formed" (Asen, 1999). Without it, no true democracy exists and in Zimbabwe ironically, Coloured identity is both simultaneously protected by this supposed democracy and in many ways becomes an act of democracy in that Coloureds are forming a public will and through their continuous methods of inclusion and exclusion are creating a binding law.

Coloureds in Zimbabwe defined themselves through rhetorical remembrance of a nostalgic past and a discourse of decline concerning the present. They cling to a reification of racial difference in both the past and present. The postcolonial context, far from "diminishing the salience of racial classifications and cognition, significantly expands the range and vitality of racial significations" (Simone, 1992). As a group, Coloureds have been deeply tied to the struggle to improve their own community and are therefore a group highly focused on the political needs and interests of their own communities. The struggle to establish and assert a Coloured identity reflects, in part, the value attached to a critical, rational, integrated, continuous, essential self, and, in this case, a racialized self. These are values that were loosely adopted during British rule when a legal system premised on the equal and interchangeable entitlements of rights-bearing civilized individuals was instituted. Abolishing slavery and setting up a legal code which applied to all British subjects drew the ancestors of contemporary Coloureds into a whole new legal, economic, and cultural system and therefore a set of values tied to Southern Africa's colonial context.

Identity is a creative negotiation of the imagination circumscribed by the external limits of power and the internal limits of lived experience, which becomes a highly contentious terrain of possibility. Erasmus (1997) notes,

> There is some basis in fact to the link between the term Coloured and [colonial] racial policy. However this one-sided way of thinking is not helpful in understanding the construction of any identity, including the various constructions of Coloured identities. It loses sight of the reality that as subjects we do not simply internalize what dominant ideologies say about us. We redefine our sense of self (p.5).

Identity for Coloureds therefore comes to be based on a contradictory combination of its rejections (or affirmations) of state definitions and the tacit structuring of everyday life that still sifts and separates Coloured from others.

We can make comparisons to other communities who suffer a similar type of nostalgia or cohesion in the face of change. For example, Hansen (2012) traces the "multilayered sense of loss in an Indian community" (Chatsworth) in Durban, South Africa. Indians were classified with Coloureds during the colonial regime, yet Chatsworth was in many ways the racial enclave that Barham Greene was. Hansen (2012) chronicles the "emotional pain" of the attachment to the past and describes Independence in South Africa as the "melancholia of freedom." Although freedom is attained, Indians, like Coloureds suffer from a sense of loss associated with such freedom—as in many ways, they are now lost since their very existence was created by and perpetuated by the colonizer (Fanon, 1963). In American history, loss is documented as well. Mixed race or mulattoes accounted for 12% of the slave population in 1850 and from 1855-1865, that number reportedly increased by 67% (Marx, 1998:69). Kennedy (2008) cites the case of William Ellison, who was born into slavery and purchased his freedom. As a mixed race free person of color, Ellison acquired considerable wealth, bought and sold slaves, and contributed to proslavery causes. As a self-identified brown man, he did not see himself as black and in fact saw himself as above them (6). Marx (1998) notes that those like Ellison were a problem and white Americans became increasing threatened by the rising number of mixed raced people in

the U.S. and sought to define and marginalize them by classifying them as black according to the one-drop rule. This rule subordinated them by race, making it more difficult for them to pass into a higher status. Marx (1998) points to the Supreme Court's historic, *Plessy v Ferguson* decision which was applied to a person seven-eights white (70) and by the early twentieth century, most mixed race people saw their fate as forcibly tied to black Americans. After 1910, the category mulatto was excluded from the census altogether, "declaring that persons of mixed blood would be classified according to the non-white racial strain. A person of mixed race white and negro blood is classified as negro regardless of the amount of white blood that is present" (Kennedy, 2008: 14), yet despite this classification, those of lighter skin were historically seen as better off.

What is interesting is that mulatto as a category was eliminated as a marker of meaningful identity in the United States in the early part of the twentieth century, but in current American media, there seems to be a renaissance of sorts. Lighter-skin black women are seen as the most beautiful—for example, Beyoncé and Halle Berry. In addition to fine features, straight hair is coveted, which Chris Rock explores in his documentary, *Good Hair.*

In early literature, the mulatto was seen as "tragic," who in many ways is linked to prevailing views of Coloureds by outsiders. In abolitionist fiction of the late 1800s and early 1900s, mixed race characters were seen as sad, lost, and even suicidal, as they did not fit into either black or white society. This is captured in Nella Larsen's (1929) *Passing,* where one of the main characters, Clare is passing for white and marries a racist white man. When he finds out about her mixed race background, she commits suicide. In general in literature of this genre, the tragic mulatto archetype falls into one of three categories: a woman like Clare who passes and is found out and loses her life; a woman who passes as white and is found out and loses her social standing; or a woman who is brought up like a white woman (like Sally Hemmings) but is

nonetheless subjected to slavery. In later American literature, those of lighter skin are seen as those who have internalized notions of superiority over other blacks based on their skin color and are sad/angered at it going unacknowledged. For example, in Zora Neale Hurston's (1937) brilliant, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, she introduces us to Mrs. Turner who is described as "her nose was slightly pointed and she was proud. Her thin lips were an ever delight to her eyes. Even her buttocks in bas-relief were a source of pride. To her way of thinking all of these things set her aside from other Negroes…Anyone who looked more white folkish than herself was better than she was in her criteria" (143-144). She is angry that Janie, the main character of the book, who is also light-skinned, refuses to recognize their difference from other blacks.

This notion of racial betrayal is prevalent in America amongst some African Americans. Randall Kennedy (2008) terms this as "selling-out." "A sell-out is a person who betrays something to which she is said to owe allegiance. In racial terms, it refers to blacks who knowingly act against the interest of blacks as a whole" (5) by actions such as marrying a white person, passing, "acting white", "speaking white," "thinking white", opposing affirmative action or describing oneself as "multiracial."

In poetry, the poet and first President of Senegal, Leopold Sedar Senghor, can be seen as a sell-out as he wrote in French (speaking white) in his poem, "Prayer to the Masks,"

> You created this portrait, my face leaning on an altar of blank paper/ And in your image, listen to me!/ The Africa of empires is dying—it is the agony/of sorrowful princess/And Europe, too, tied to us at the navel/Fix your steady eyes on your oppressed children/Who give their lives like the poor man his last garment (lns 12-19).

Here Senghor is writing in French and thus assuming a culture according to Fanon, but he is also, expressing sorrow at the prospect of the colonial government leaving while giving full

credit to the colonial government as his metaphoric parents—those who give him an education and in essence, life.

In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon (1967) offers a solution to these nostalgic forms of the past from a psychological perspective by suggesting that despite actions or understandings or even language, that a black man is always just that, a black man. The sooner he is able to accept that, the better he will be able to accept himself as such. Fanon (1963) said at the end of *The Wretched of the Earth* "the European game is finally over…we need a model, schemas and examples…but we have seen how misleading European achievements, technology and lifestyles [can be]. [They] must stop tempting us and leading us astray" (Fanon 1963: 236). This surprisingly sounds like Mugabe's call for Africanization.

By charting race and its meanings across genre and across space, one can firmly see the complexities involved in identity. One of the primary questions guiding this research has been why Coloureds who have historically been marginalized seek to remain so. Throughout this history of Zimbabwe, Coloureds have been denied the legitimacy and authenticity of being truly accepted as Coloured. Rather they have been seen as a community of lost mixed race bastards, who were reaching for an individualized culture that did not really exist. As a group Coloureds have been deeply historically tied to the struggle to improve their own community's overall situation both colonially and post colonially. The values established here still affect the motivations and choices of contemporary Coloureds--the conscious, as well as the unconscious, pursuit of participation and inclusion in first Rhodesia, and now Zimbabwe. Coloureds have been uniquely affected by this, as they have continuously been challenged in terms of having a cohesive culture, traditions, or even a free standing identity from which to draw from as they have absorbed European values and cultural codes initially incorporated under colonial rule. Much of the politics of identity for Coloureds now

focuses on the shared desire to give enough coherence and continuity to the Coloured category to facilitate full participation in the Zimbabwean public sphere. Yet when identity becomes its own end, it is because the identities of certain individuals are over determined by society, leaving the individual stripped of the capacity to abstract from his own self-interest in order to control for its representation. This has been demonstrated here, as many Coloureds wanted to embrace the change from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, one where the freedom to express one's individuality and identity is without legal or political retribution. But this was complicated by the processes of Africanization and Black Nationalism and also by the fact such expressions of identity and difference present in Rhodesia were now coming back to "haunt" them in Zimbabwe. Clearly, the cultural boundaries demarcated by space, language, custom, and history could not be positively recognized for a group whose cultural boundaries overlapped with everyone else's. In addition to this, Coloureds became the object of derision—their mixed race heritage opened them up to a more forcefully expressed set of stereotypes centered on instability and moral corruption. The transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe created a new moment in the struggle for Coloured identity as well as Coloured political consciousness, as it reified the divide between blacks and Coloureds in a way that had never been all that politically meaningful before. Coloureds who want to be identified as Zimbabweans in the postcolonial context must give up their identity as Coloured. The rhetoric of the black centered government articulates a traditional model of identity, one of blackness, one "in and of" Zimbabwe. Coloureds reject this and therefore had no other option then other than to seek the arms of their ideological white father, to desire a place again that was all their own—the category Coloured—provided a sense of safety like no other.

This research has attempted to chart the history of the Coloured community in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe from its origins in South Africa and its function during colonial rule to their place in a

black centered government. By reevaluating Coloured history, I argue that Coloured identity was not only shaped by experience with frontier and colonial state but also by an active knowledge and maintenance of what it means to be Coloured through community participation and development of a Coloured consciousness. "Despite the important role played by the state in the creation of Coloured identity, notions of group identity among people who came to see themselves and were seen by others as Coloured were not simply imposed from above. The dynamics of Coloured identity were negotiated within a process of self-definition among Rhodesians" (Muzondidya, 2004: 292). Coloureds cognitively saw themselves and others saw them in opposition to other historically racially defined groups in Rhodesia.

To gain perspective on this, I first introduced Coloureds as active participants in perpetuating their place in society as different from blacks. I then attempted to chart an understanding of critical race theory with regard to how it was applied in Southern Africa. In providing a solid history of Rhodesia, I attempted to link scientific and pseudo-scientific ideas about race and racism to the ideology of conquest and the construction of the colonial state. That Coloureds have been difficult to define is an understatement. Colonial practices reflect this, as laws were continuously evolving as debates around perceived racial difference and practice evolved. By recording thoughts about Colouredness by Coloureds themselves, I reveal that this too is an ever evolving and complex process of self-definition. Not all responses were uniform, but through participant's words and actions, two things are clear: one is that Coloureds feel excluded in Zimbabwe and two, that this has led to a resurgence of putting a Coloured identity above all other identities and the boundaries and cultural meanings of Coloured identity have not changed.

This does not mean that Coloureds were "happy" in the socio-political structure of Rhodesia. Some Coloureds, as demonstrated here, not only participated in but also believed in the hope of an independent state where racial inequality of the past would be forgotten. Yet in the face of a new Zimbabwe, race remains he central idiom of identity and they have found themselves "left out" of the restructuring process and are now reduced to "alien" status in a country that was always home for them. This research contributes to the discourse on marginalized minority groups at large, with a particular focus on debates about multiculturalism, diversity and the "Rainbow Nation" within South African and Zimbabwean contexts. On a global stage it also offers insight into the complexities of the dynamics shaping the politics of identity.

Finally, in contrast to other studies on Coloureds both in South Africa and Zimbabwe, this dissertation has sought to push the limits of looking at Coloureds only from a historical or political perspective but rather, looking at them from the inside out and the inside in, in an effort to capture what it means to be Coloured in the face of change in Zimbabwe and as they travel abroad.

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Appendix A: Photographs of Coloureds in Zimbabwe

Anita Thornborrow
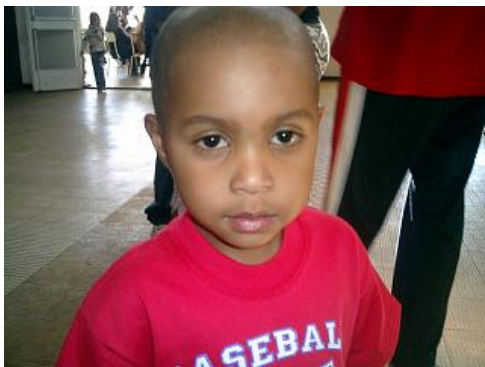
Zimbabwe: (top) Coloured bath house. Photographs by William Bezuidenhout.

SCHOOL LEAVERS 1978

Back Row: M. Berman, S. Joe, A. Granger, Z. Kassim, J. Davis, V. Bannister, M. Alwanger, D. Bannister

Middle Row: L. Brown, D. Brittian, M. Shirto, F. Hassin, L. Saudan, M. Millin, S. Howes, T. Jones, V. Usher, L. Van Heerden.

Front Row: C. Granger, R. Lloyd, O. Johnson, L. Smith, J. Donaldson, Mr R.J. Brown, R. Woodend, W. Bezuidenhout, C. Johnson, P. Graham.

Zimbabwe: Founders High School. Coloured Only until Independence. Photograph by William Bezuidenhout

Zimbabwe: Top:Teachers Founders High School 1970 by William Bezuidenhout
Middle: Rhodes Jubliee House residents and bottom: Rhodes Jubliee House employees

Appendix B: Photographs of Coloureds in South Africa

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From Cape Town: Lucille Snyders and friend.

Cape Town: Lucille Snyders, Roxanne Clarke, and friend.

Cape Town: Irwin Jack, Lucinda Clarke, Nadia Ramadan Jones, Clinton Mitchell

Cape Town: Hayden Clarke

Cape Town: (top) Roxanne Clarke and Nadia Ramadan Jones (bottom) Lucille Snyders and Sancha Clarke

Cape Town: Lucinda Clarke

Cape Town: Hayden Clarke and friend

Cape Town: Sancha and Dylan Clarke

Cape Town: Byron Clarke, Alexander Dolley

Cape Town: Lyle Henry, Alain Clarke

Cape Town: Cindy Esau, Lucille Snyders

Farrel Smith

Appendix C: N.A. A. C. P. Mission Statement

By William Bezuidenhout
Email: wbezuiden@yahoo.com

The N.A. A. C. P.

...OUR MISSION.

RECOGNITION.

Recognize the existence of the Coloured Community.

- Recognition for participation in the Liberation Struggle.

- Cultural Uniqueness.

- By Appointments within the pillars of society.

ACCEPTANCE.

Acceptance of NAACP as a body.

- Of Coloureds as a minority group.

- As Indigenous.

- As having a role to play in nation building.

ADVANCEMENT.

Achieve Prominence in pillars of society.

- Social, Economic, Political, Technological, Cultural.

- Empowerment and affirmative action programs.

- Self Expression and Self Determination.

OUR MISSION.

We seek to lay the foundation for our children by shaping and developing an a-political bi-

partisan institution that represents and promotes the interests of the Coloured minority and other minorities in a positive, constructive and engaging manner.

In so doing we will be able to:

To demystify the myth of Coloured origin and identity.

- To provide a platform for expression of views and art forms, create value for our members and maintain and represent the interests of Coloured people and children of mixed race marriages.

- To educate people at large about the historical developments of Coloured people and the impact of the pre and postcolonial period resulting in our present marginalized status.

- To reconstruct the Coloured experience from the Coloured point of view.

- To correct past imbalances and present misconceptions.

- To chart new strategies which realign the Coloured people's marginalized status to within the national mainstream.

- To help achieve greater levels of self-worth, self-determination and self-actualization amongst Coloured people.

- To foster, instill and encourage forbearance and broadmindedness, in order to realize a greater sense of National Unity and Pride.

OUR GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

Our Organization is centered on the three core principles. These are the recognition, the acceptance and the advancement of the Coloured minority people.

These will be advocated in the context of Equality, Access and Justice and will find full expression through our stated objectives:

To be recognized and accepted as a distinct ethnic indigenous group.

- To achieve recognition for our war heroes from Government.

- To champion the cause for minority rights.

- To realize our right to land.

- To address imbalances of pre and postcolonial eras.

- To encourage national debate on race issues.

- To contribute to the development of Zimbabwe.

OUR VISION.

Our vision is to be recognized as a dynamic, vibrant organization whose people are proud of their identity and are able to positively Impact the communities they live and work in.

OUR VALUES.

We value the individual right to celebrate one's cultural diversity, to freedom of expression, cultural co-existence, economic empowerment and equality, civic responsibility, and national pride.

ON RECONCILIATION.

Zimbabwe is currently a very racialised society and in the spirit of proactive race relations and atonement, we the Coloured Community take the initiative to reach out and extend a hand of friendship, and offer sincere apologies if and where hurt has been incurred to our fellow brothers and sisters, however, we also hold accountable our colonial era which instituted a racial segregation policy which resulted in and continues to manifest itself in various adverse economic, political, social and cultural conditions and ultimately in the race problem as we know it today.

However, in order to move on, we implore and challenge our fellow Zimbabweans, to respect, acknowledge, accept and ultimately celebrate the diverse national, racial, ethnic and tribal communities which find identity or expression in diverse and unique forms in Zimbabwe today.

As such we acknowledge that people, culture and therefore nations are dynamic and must evolve with the changing times. We come to Zimbabwe from many different backgrounds and experiences, where past imbalances exist, these must be addressed, however they must not be allowed to tear at the moral fibre of the nation and cause racial division. And, in conclusion, tolerance for, respect of and compassion to our fellow Zimbabwean will truly lead an integrated and dynamic Zimbabwean society we are all part to be proud of.

Come Forward Zimbabwe and Join Us!

BROAD OBJECTIVES (PREAMBLE).

Our primary objective will be to pursue issues pertaining directly to the Coloured minority, however, we believe that certain precedents will be set in various arenas that encompass other minority groups and accordingly our approach will be embracing and flexible enough to

encapsulate, support or compliment these groups and or initiatives where they exist or warrant our assistance or participation.

Establish an organization to identify, represent and advocate the needs, desires and issues on behalf of the Coloured Community.

- Promote social, economic, political, technological advancement.

- Promote cohesiveness, unity and self-confidence.

- Establish linkages with stakeholder organizations.

- Contribute to the national debate, dialogue.

- Provide a positive influence in race relations.

- Assist, develop and compliment existing programs and bodies to enrich the lives of its members, disadvantaged, underprivileged, handicapped, at risk population segment.

- To develop and compliment existing programs and bodies to enrich the lives of its members, disadvantaged, underprivileged, handicapped, at risk population segment.

- To develop and implement model programs that encourage and support Coloured iniquity, entrepreneurship development domestically and internationally through regional and international linkages.

- Support initiatives regionally and internationally that lead to a renaissance in art and culture.

- Celebrate diversity.

- To foster, instill and encourage forbearance, broadmindedness, in order to realize a great sense of National Unity and pride.

Appendix D: Participants[126]

Table 2: The following is a chart of Coloured participants in Zimbabwe by age, occupation, marriage, education, and language(s) spoken.

	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	MARRIAGE[127]	EDUCATION[128]	Language
1	Ahomed, Priscilla	54	Registered Nurse	Coloured	O-level	English
2	Anand, Mark	37	Café owner	Homosexual-would never date a black	O-level	English
3	Aresca, Christine	37	Housewife	Italian	Form 3	English
4	Aresca, Nicole	16	Student	Only dates Coloureds	Form 4	English
5	Chidno, Joyce	50	Housewife	Black	Form 2	Ndebele/English
6	Davids, Robin	19	Unemployed	Only dates Coloureds	O-level	English
7	Duplessis, Christine	49	Supervisor	Divorced from a Coloured	Form 4	English
8	Haines, Martin	27	Electrician	Coloured	O-level	English
9	Hall, Ingrid	40	Commercial Gardener	Coloured	O-level	English
10	Hall, Janice	43	Business owner	Coloured	O-level	English
11	Harverye, A.	36	Private Assistant	Only dates Coloureds	O-level	English
12	Harverye, Daphne	66	Retired	Widowed-Coloured	O-Level	English
13	Harverye, Francine	29	Unemployed	Only dates Coloureds	O-level	English
14	Jackson, Virgil	31	Unemployed	Homosexual; lover is white, would never date a black	O-level	English
15	Jobson, Sidney	29	Self-Employed	No	O-level	English
16	Levendale, Herb	69	Retired	Coloured	O-level	English
17	Levendale, Ulyth	41	Self-employed	Coloured	O-level	English
18	Mackay, Elphin	63	Seamstress	Coloured	Form 4	English
19	Marsh, Margaret	58	Unemployed	Coloured	Form 3	English
20	Marsh, Rua	79	Ret. Supv.	Coloured	Form 6	English
21	McKop, Pernell	39	Football Coach	Coloured	O-level	English
22	Mckop, Zelda	40	Sales Manager	Coloured	A-level	English
23	McLaren, Sarah	49	Housewife	Coloured	Form 6	English
24	Morta, Dawn	52	Financial Dir.	Coloured	O-level	English

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[126] The purpose of these charts is to reveal age, occupation, education level achieved, and marriage patterns. Names have been manipulated to shield identity.

[127] This reflects the ethnicity, race or preferred race of the participant's spouses.

[128] O-Levels: (Ordinary Levels) are designed for 14 to 16 year olds and aim to prepare students for academic progression (such as A and AS Level study) and equip them with the skills necessary for employment.
A-Levels: (Advanced Levels) are accepted as proof of academic ability for entry into universities. M-Level: Matriculation.

25	Nyathi, Anita	41	Housewife	Black	Form 2	Ndebele/Eng
26	Pragji, Leiselle	31	Self-employed	Hindu	A-level	English
27	Pretorius, Paul	72	Teacher	Coloured	Diploma	Eng/Afrikaans
28	Rahman, Clarence	46	Manager	Coloured	A-level	English
29	Rahman, Petronella	45	Investments Mgr.	Coloured	O-level	English
30	Rollow, Daniel	40	Self-employed	Coloured	Univ. Degree	Eng/Afrikaans
31	Selman, Debbie	36	Import/Export	Coloured	O-level	English
32	Shahadat, Anwar	12	Student	N/A	Form 2	English
33	Shahadat, Farid	32	Self-employed	Coloured	Form 4	English
34	Shahadat, Myrtle	30	Manager	Coloured	O-level	English
35	Shahadat, Tamia	11	Student	NA	Form 2	English
36	Smith, Cynthia	63	Registered Nurse	Coloured	O-level	English
37	Smith, Katrina	30	Housewife	Asian	O-level	English
38	Smith, Leanne	34	Secretary	Coloured	Certificate	English
39	Smith, May	57	Housewife	Coloured	O-level	Eng/Ndebele
40	Smith, Nicole	32	Manager	Coloured	O-level	English
41	Smith, Ray	59	Teacher	Coloured	Diploma	English
42	Smith II, Ray	27	Self-employed	Only dates Coloureds	O-level	English
43	Sweetman, Brian	27	Umemployed	Coloured	O-level	English
44	Sweetman, Medina	30	Housewife	Coloured	O-level	English
45	Sweetman, Steve	37	Transport business	Coloured	2 O-levels	English
45	Staddon, Lynne	20	Student	Only dates Coloureds	A-level	English
46	Staddon, Julian	22	Student	Only dates Coloureds	University Student	Eng/Afrikaans
47	Staddon, Sebastian	13	Student	NA	Form 3	English
48	Staddon, Stanley	53	Self-employed	Coloured	Form 4	English
49	Steenbok, Renee	21	Beauty Therapist	Only dates Coloureds	O-level	English
50	Thornborrow, Anita	93	Retired	White	Form 4	English
51	Thornborrow, Carla	12	Student	Would never date a black	Form 2	English
52	Thornborrow, Carlos	32	Self-employed	Coloured	O-Level	English
53	Thornborrow, Henry	67	Farmer	Coloured	Form 6	English/ Ndebele
54	Thornborrow, T.	33	Manager	Coloured	O-Level	English
55	Thornborrow, Y.	61	Housewife	Coloured	Form 3	English
56	Tumazos, Johnny	35	Self-employed	Only dates Coloureds	O-level	English
57	Van Beek, Christian	18	Mechanic	Only dates Coloureds	O-level	English
58	Van Beek, Helen	34	Housewife	White	A-level	English
59	Weber, Chris	33	Self-employed	Coloured	O-level	English
60	Weber, Nicolas	12	Student	NA	Form 2	English

61	Zoolay, Anara	30	Self-employed	Asian	O-level	English

Table 3: The following is a chart of black participants in Zimbabwe by age, occupation, marriage, education, and language(s) spoken.

	Name	Age	Occupation	Marriage	Education	Language
62	Dube, Anita	28	Self-employed	Ndebele	O-level	Ndebele
63	Dube, Lepe	30	Domestic	Ndebele	Form 2	Ndebele
64	Dube, Mense	33	Domestic	Ndebele	Form 4	Ndebele
65	Masakara, Rachel	29	Self-employed	Widowed-Shona	None	Shona/English
66	Ncube, Qhubani	30	Self-employed	No	O-level	Ndebele/Eng
67	Ndlovu, Ma	35	Domestic	Ndebele	Form 4	Ndebele
68	Ndlovu, Fortune	28	Hotel Manager	No	O-level	Ndebele/Eng
69	Ngwenya, Nicolas	50	Headmaster	Ndebele	BS	Ndebele/Eng

Table 4: The following is a chart of white participants Zimbabwe by age, occupation, marriage, education and language(s) spoken.

	Name	Age	Occupation	Marriage	Education	Language
70	Haskins, Theresa	19	Shop Assistant	Only dates Coloureds	O-level	English
71	Klasen, Heath	34	Décor consultant	Homosexual; lover is Coloured	O-level	English
72	Mayger, Alice	47	Lab. Technician	White	M-Level	English

Table 5: The following is a chart of Asian participants in Zimbabwe by age, occupation, marriage, education, and language(s) spoken.

	Name	Age	Occupation	Marriage	Education	Language
73	Anand, Dinesh	40	Self-employed	Asian; Mistress is Coloured	O-level	Hindi/Eng
74	Zoolay, Shabir	41	Self-employed	Coloured	BS	Arabic/Eng

Table 6: The following is a chart of Coloured participants in Elsies River, Cape Town, by age, occupation, marriage, education and language(s) spoken.

	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	MARRIAGE/Dating	EDUCATION	LANGUAGE
75	Roxanne Clarke	26	Tennis instructor	Coloured or white	BA-Univ of AZ	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
76	Byron Clarke	29	Singer	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
77	Alain Clarke	29	Graphic Designer	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
78	Lucinda Clarke	27	Sales Rep.	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
79	Dylan Clarke	33	Curator	Coloured	Msc	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans

80	Sancha Clarke	32	Receptionist	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
81	Lucille Snyders	31	Sales Rep.	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
82	Lyle Henry	26	Student	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
83	Darren Petersen	24	Musician	White	BA- UCape Town	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
84	Kyle Jansen	24	Student	Coloured	Msc	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
85	Meryl Koeresis	25	Student	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
86	Alexander Dolley	30	Shipping Clerk	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
87	Cindy Esau	33	Receptionist	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
88	Irwin Jack	26	Chef	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
89	Janine Van Rooy	30	Singer	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
90	Meaghan Arendse	29	Unemployed	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
91	Chanton Higgins	25	Unemployed	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
92	Farrel Smith	29	Shipping coordinator	Coloured	Grade 12	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans
93	Clinton Mitchell	27	Unemployed	Coloured	O-Level	Eng/Afrikaans/ Cape Coloured Afrikaans

Appendix E: Colonial and Postcolonial Residence

NAME	COLONIAL RESIDENCE	POST COLONIAL RESIDENCE	Current Residence
Ahomed, Priscilla	Barham Greene	Barham Greene	Barham Greene
Anand, Mark	Woodlands	Woodlands	Woodlands
Aresca, Christine	Hwange	Hillside	Hillside
Aresca, Nicole	Hillside	Hillside	Hillside
Chidno, Joyce	Gweru	Thornegrove	Thornegrove
Davids, Robin	Hillside	Hillside	Cape Town, SA
Duplessis, Christine	Barham Greene	Famona	Famona
Haines, Martin	Barham Greene	Hillside	Hillside
Hall, Janice	Barham Greene	Morningside	Auckland, NZ
Harverye, A.	Barham Greene	Selbourne Park	Johannesburg, RSA
Harverye, Francine	Barham Greene	Selbourne Park	Johannesburg, RSA
Jackson, Virgil	Barham Greene	Morningside	London, UK
Jobson, Sidney	Barham Greene	Malindela	London, UK
Levendale, Herb	Barham Greene	Barham Greene	Barham Greene
Levendale, Ulyth	Barham Greene	Famona	Famona
Mackay, Elphin	Thornegrove	Thornegrove	Thornegrove
Marsh, Margaret	Barham Greene	Morningside	Morningside
Marsh, Rua	Barham Greene	Bulawayo	Bulawayo
McKop, Pernell	Barham Greene	Morningside	Cape Town, SA
Mckop, Zelda	Barham Greene	Morningside	Cape Town, SA
McLaren, Sarah	Thornegrove	Thornegrove	Thornegrove
Morta, Dawn	Barham Greene	Montrose	Montrose
Nyathi, Anita	Thornegrove	Thornegrove	Thornegrove
Pragji, Leiselle	Barham Greene	Khumalo	Johannesburg, RSA
Pretorius, Paul	Barham Greene	Malindela	Deceased
Rahman, Clarence	Barham Greene	Hillside	Cape Town, SA
Rahman, P.	Barham Greene	Hillside	Cape Town, SA
Rollow, Daniel	Arcadia, Harare	Cape Town	Cape Town, SA
Selman, Debbie	Barham Greene	Morningside	Morningside
Smith, Charles	Barham Greene	Hillside	Hillside
Smith, Cynthia	Barham Greene	Ascot	Ascot
Shahadat, Anwar	Barham Greene	Barham Greene	Barham Greene
Shahadat, Farid	Barham Greene	Morningside	Morningside
Shahadat, Myrtle	Barham Greene	Morningside	Morningside
Shahadat, Tamia	Morningside	Morningside	Morningside
Smith, Katrina	Barham Greene	Hillside	London, UK
Smith, Leanne	Barham Greene	Hillside	Bristol, UK
Smith, May	Barham Greene/Natisa	Malindela	Gold Coast, Australia
Smith, Nicole	Barham Greene	Malindela	Gold Coast, Australia
Smith, Ray	Barham Greene	Malindela	Gold Coast, Australia
Staddon, Julian	Ilanda	Ilanda/Cape Town	Cape Town, SA
Staddon, Lynne	Ilanda	Ilanda	Cape Town, SA
Staddon, Sebastian	Ilanda	Ilanda	Cape Town, SA
Staddon, Stanley	Barham Greene	Ilanda	Cape Town, SA
Steenbok, Renee	Gwanda (farm)	Morningside	Toronto, Canada

Sweetman, Brian	Barham Greene	Morningside	Toronto, Canada
Sweetman, Medina	Barham Greene	Morningside	Toronto, Canada
Sweetman, Steve	Barham Greene	Morningside	Toronto, Canada
Thornborrow, T.	Barham Greene	Hillside	Hillside
Thornborrow, A.	Natisa	Malindela	Deceased
Thornborrow, C	Hillside	Hillside	Hillside
Thornborrow, Carlos	Barham Greene	Hillside	Hillside
Thornborrow, H.	Natisa (farm)	Natisa (farm)	Natisa (farm)
Thornborrow, Y	Natisa (farm)	Natisa (farm)	Natisa (farm)
Van Beek, Christian	Morningside	Morningside	Morningside
Van Beek, Helen	Barham Greene	Hillside	London, UK
Weber, Chris	Barham Greene	Hillside	Hillside
Weber, Nicholas	Malindela	Hillside	Gold Coast, Australia
Zoolay, Anara	Woodlands	Ilanda	Ilanda
Shabs, Zoolay	Woodlands	Ilanda	Ilanda

Appendix F: Interview

Date_____

Time _____
Language of interview:_____

1) Name:

2) Sex:

3) Age:

4) Education level:

5) Occupation:

6) Ethnic group:

7) Languages spoken:

8) How long have you lived in Bulawayo?

9) Were you born in Bulawayo? (If not, where?)

10) Are you married?

11) If so, where is your spouse from? Ethnicity?

12) Do you have children? (If so, how many? sexes? ages?)

13) Do any of your children live away from home? If so, where?

14) Are they married? Ethnicity?

12) How many siblings do you have? (Where do they live?)

13) Who lives in household? (How many? Informant's relationship to each?)

14) Do you have servants? (If so, what ethnic group do they belong to?)

15) How would you characterize your relationship with your servants?

16) Are your parents alive? (Where are/were they from?)

17) Are your grandparents alive? (Where are/were they from?)

18) Do you belong to any social organizations?

19) Where do you socialize? With whom?

20) How do you know your friends? Where did you meet?

21) Do you go to church? If so, where?

Appendix G: Zimbabwe Fact Sheet

Population: 11,365,366 note: estimates for this country explicitly take into account the effects of excess mortality due to AIDS; this can result in lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality and death rates, lower population and growth rates, and changes in the distribution of population by age and sex than would otherwise be expected (July 2001 est.)
Age structure: 0-14 years: 38.68% (male 2,223,332; female 2,172,479) 15-64 years: 57.69% (male 3,319,982; female 3,236,286) 65 years and over: 3.63% (male 208,785; female 204,502) (2001 est.)
Population growth rate: 0.15% (2001 est.)
Birth rate: 24.68 births/1,000 population (2001 est.)
Death rate: 23.22 deaths/1,000 population (2001 est.)
Net migration rate: 0 migrant(s)/1,000 population (2001 est.) note: there is a small but steady flow of Zimbabweans into South Africa in search of better paid employment
Sex ratio: at birth: 1.03 male(s)/female under 15 years: 1.02 male(s)/female 15-64 years: 1.03 male(s)/female 65 years and over: 1.02 male(s)/female total population: 1.02 male(s)/female (2001 est.)
Infant mortality rate: 62.61 deaths/1,000 live births (2001 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: total population: 37.13 years male: 38.51 years female: 35.7 years (2001 est.)
Total fertility rate: 3.28 children born/woman (2001 est.)
HIV/AIDS - adult prevalence rate: 25.06% (1999 est.)
HIV/AIDS - people living with HIV/AIDS: 1.5 million (1999 est.)
HIV/AIDS - deaths: 160,000 (1999 est.)
Nationality: noun: Zimbabwean(s) adjective: Zimbabwean
Ethnic groups: African 98% (Shona 71%, Ndebele 16%, other 11%), mixed and Asian 1%, white less than 1%

Religions: syncretic (part Christian, part indigenous beliefs) 50%, Christian 25%, indigenous beliefs 24%, Muslim and other 1%

Languages: English (official), Shona, Sindebele (the language of the Ndebele, sometimes called Ndebele), numerous but minor tribal dialects

Literacy: definition: age 15 and over can read and write English total population: 85% male: 90% female: 80% (1995 est.)

GDP: purchasing power parity - $28.2 billion (2000 est.)

GDP - real growth rate: -6.1% (2000 est.)

GDP - per capita: purchasing power parity - $2,500 (2000 est.)

GDP - composition by sector: agriculture: 28% industry: 32% services: 40% (1997 est.)

Population below poverty line: 60% (1999 est.)

Household income or consumption by percentage share: lowest 10%: 1.8% highest 10%: 46.9% (1990)

Inflation rate (consumer prices): 60% (2000 est.)

Labor force: 5.5 million (2000 est.)

Labor force - by occupation: agriculture 66%, services 24%, industry 10% (1996 est.)

Unemployment rate: 50% (2000 est.)

Budget: revenues: $2.5 billion expenditures: $2.9 billion, including capital expenditures of $279 million (FY96/97 est.)

Industries: mining (coal, gold, copper, nickel, tin, clay, numerous metallic and nonmetallic ores), steel, wood products, cement, chemicals, fertilizer, clothing and footwear, foodstuffs, beverages

Industrial production growth rate: NA%

Electricity - production: 5.78 billion kWh (1999)

Electricity - production by source: fossil fuel: 69.98% hydro: 30.02% nuclear: 0% other: 0% (1999)

Electricity - consumption: 6.939 billion kWh (1999)

Electricity - exports: 0 kWh (1999)

Electricity - imports: 1.564 billion kWh (1999)

Agriculture - products: corn, cotton, tobacco, wheat, coffee, sugarcane, peanuts; cattle, sheep, goats, pigs

Exports: $1.8 billion (f.o.b., 2000 est.)

Exports - commodities: tobacco 29%, gold 7%, ferroalloys 7%, cotton 5% (1999 est.)

Exports - partners: South Africa 10%, UK 9%, Malawi 8%, Botswana 8%, Japan 7%, (1999 est.)

Imports: $1.3 billion (f.o.b., 2000 est.)

Imports - commodities: machinery and transport equipment 35%, other manufactures 18%, chemicals 17%, fuels 14% (1999 est.)

Imports - partners: South Africa 46%, UK 6%, China 4%, Germany 4%, US 3% (1999 est.)

Debt - external: $4.1 billion (2000 est.)

Economic aid - recipient: $200 million (2000 est.)

Currency: Zimbabwean dollar (ZWD)

Currency code: ZWD

Exchange rates: Zimbabwean dollars per US dollar - 54.9451 (January 2001), 43.2900 (2000), 38.3142 (1999), 21.4133 (1998), 11.8906 (1997), 9.9206 (1996)

Fiscal year: 1 July - 30 June