African Identities, 2015 Vol. 00, No. 0, 1–15, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2015.1023256



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Whitelier than white? Inversions of the racial gaze in white Zimbabwean writing

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This article looks at inscriptions of whiteness in selected white Zimbabwean narratives. Through a reading of Andrea Eames' The Cry of the Go-Away Bird (2011), Alexander Fuller's Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight (2003) and John Eppel's Absent: the English Teacher (2009), the argument proposes that white Zimbabwean narratives situate whiteness within the context of change and marginality in Zimbabwe. The narratives deal with experiences of change and apprehensions of lived reality marked by the transfer of power from white minority to black majority rule. Our reading of *The* Cry of the Go-Away Bird examines how whiteness in the postcolonial Zimbabwean state is perceived through an outsider's gaze, resulting in a kind of double consciousness within the (racialized, white) subject of the gaze. It is argued that the text depicts whites as torn between two unreconciled streams of possibility, reinforcing their sense of alienation. Fuller's Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight represents whiteness as a thoroughly ephemeral experience. The meaning of whiteness is mediated through perpetual physical movement as whites travel from one point to another. Eppel's Absent: the English Teacher affords a rethinking of whiteness as an unstable form of identity contingent on historical and political factors.

Keywords: Zimbabwean literature; whiteness; whiteness studies; racial gaze; whiteliness; double consciousness; race

Understanding whiteness in Zimbabwe

Whiteness has assumed a more visible status in Western academia following the impact of whiteness studies as instantiated in the works of Roediger (1991), Morrison (1992), Harris (1993), Frankenberg (1993) and others. In this sub-discipline, theories of whiteness emerge as conceptual models employed to unlock and explain the significance of whiteness in the present as well as the past, interrogating the assumptions underlying whiteness and making it a visible object of scrutiny. Chief among the various trajectories in whiteness studies is the rendering of race as socially constructed (Wiegman, 1999, p. 122). Broadly, 'eliminativists' and 'critical conservatists' are identified as two major strands informing the sub-discipline. Eliminativists pursue the elimination of whiteness as a concept in order to undo its potential abuses of power. Critical conservatists, on the other hand, call for a modification of whiteness so that it can survive as an anti-racist category.

In these dominant streams of whiteness studies, largely based on studies of race in the USA and Europe, we gather that whiteness, domination and invisibility are intertwined (Giroux, 1992). Whiteness, we are told, 'is an unrecognized and unacknowledged racial category' whose invisibility enables it to act as 'the standard or norm against which all so called "minorities" are measured (Keating, 1995, p. 905). Manson (2004) explains that

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whiteness in the USA can be seen as an absence because whites constitute a significant majority and therefore experience whiteness unconsciously, such as when they maintain mainly or only white friendships, send their children to white schools and vote for whites: '[W]hite identity becomes so pervasive as to be invisible because it is assumed' (Manson, 2004, p. 30).

Although some of the assumptions informing mainstream understandings of whiteness apply in African contexts, there are also large differences between whiteness in Africa as against the West. Whiteness does indeed carry associations of dominance and assumed supremacy in Africa, as elsewhere; indeed, in Africa, whiteness and colonialism can fairly be seen as amounting to much the same thing. Colonialism in Africa, in its very essence, has been a triumphalist (though embattled) performance of whiteness. In African colonies, however, whites fail to achieve demographic superiority. Unlike colonies such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and North America, white subjects in Africa come to know themselves as a distinct minority among greater numbers of black citizens. In addition, they see themselves as provincial subjects estranged from far-off metropolitan centres. Cut off from mainstream whiteness, where their dominance is more universally assumed and therefore less visible, they go in the opposite direction and make themselves more visible by consciously shouldering the 'white man's burden' - civilizing and reforming 'indolent' and 'backward' blacks, as we know from any number of studies of colonialism in Africa. Away from a critical mass of whiteness, European settlers in Africa cannot afford the luxury of invisibility.

Steyn (2001), a pioneer of whiteness studies in South Africa, argues that 'even before April 1994, white South Africans were acutely aware of their whiteness - that it was a position of privilege, the absolutely defining factor in their life chances' (p. 63). In Rhodesia, whiteness was visible in land policies in which, similar to apartheid style, the materiality of social life was explicitly marked 'white' and 'non-white]. Steyn calls for a break from dominant or mainstream understandings of whiteness by arguing that South African whiteness has peculiarities not necessarily shared by whiteness in other parts of the world. Apart from whiteness in South Africa being more conspicuous, Steyn argues, it consists of two dominant streams - British whiteness and Afrikaner whiteness - and these tributaries contend for space, manifesting themselves in divergent ways. Whiteness in South Africa, she adds, has also been forced to come to terms with 'postmodern displacement' characterized by dramatic changes, not least of which was the loss of white colonial power (2001, p. 155). Of course, given the historical links between apartheid South Africa and Rhodesia, whiteness in this regional context is a shared African/colonial and postcolonial experience, but it is one that cannot unproblematically be equated with dominant global tropes of whiteness.

In Zimbabwe, as in much of Africa, whites find themselves in a tiny minority. As a result, they cannot escape the reality of their racial marking. They are conspicuously marginal. During colonialism, whites present themselves as normative human beings – they do not see their race as a mark of divergence, but as a natural substance. Yancy (2004) expresses this by stating that 'whiteness fails to see itself as alien, [...] refuses to risk finding itself in exile, in unfamiliar territory' (p. 13). Even as whites work hard to normalize their whiteness by ignoring it, they take every opportunity to racialize the other, making him or her feel that they are indeed the 'wrong' colour. Fanon demonstrates this feeling in *Black Skin, White Masks* (2008) where the black man finds himself interpellated by a white child: 'Look! A Negro!' (p. 91). From then on, Fanon explains, the black man sees himself through the eyes of the other, struggling to transcend the external boundaries imposed by the white man's gaze.

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Nevertheless, the colonial situation frequently demands that whites become conscious of their whiteness. Although such enunciative moments are numerous, we can cite three significant ones that demonstrate white awareness of selves as white during Rhodesia. The country's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1967 marks one such moment. Proclaimed in the spirit of preserving 'civilization' and 'Christianity', UDI was an entrenchment of whiteness in Southern Rhodesia. It should be understood that UDI was a direct response to transitions from white minority rule to black majority rule in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi), leading to the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front Party was founded during this period to represent white interests against majority rule. The liberation war also foregrounded whiteness in Rhodesia, especially when the black nationalists began to make progress in their fight against colonialism. Whites found themselves confronted by a war that was largely fought along racial lines. This gave impetus to individual and group recognitions of whiteness, some of which led to the hardening of colonial attitudes, while others led to an exodus of whites who saw in their colour a target for nationalist anger. Finally, the transfer of power from white minority rule to black majority rule enabled whites to experience their whiteness anew. Independence signified the loss by whites of (control of) a country to blacks. Again, this event was followed by an exodus of whites and the various re-evaluations of whiteness among those who remained behind.

In black-ruled Zimbabwe, whites not accustomed to being referred to as such in public discourse, nevertheless find themselves interpellated as 'whites'. The Lancaster House Constitution, which marked the transfer of power from whites to blacks, recognized the former rulers as 'whites' via a reservation of parliamentary seats marked thus. Not only was this a projection of whiteness as a conspicuously visible entity, it was also a construction; whiteness was being publicly proclaimed a marginal category. Because whites suddenly perceive themselves as threatened, their minority status now clearly demarcated, it becomes increasingly imperative that they be seen, and that they see themselves, as whites. This is the period after 1980, when Smith's settler government loses political power and 'Rhodesians' are transmuted into a 'white tribe' (we see such a transmutation in Smith's (1997) The Great Betrayal). Whites, who had always racialized the other, now find themselves racialized in turn, and must re-articulate themselves as whites in defence of their (minority) status. Whites suddenly find their own 'colour' looming large, breaking the metaphoric and literal walls of insulation erected during colonialism. This time around, they try to impose an absence of whiteness by steering clear of public spaces and choosing to stay away from politics and public debate. In Zimbabwe, whites are constantly reminded that they are the wrong colour. They were and are on the wrong side of history, having benefitted wittingly and unwittingly from colonialism. All whites find themselves painted with the same brush of contempt and condemnation.

Suffice it to say, by modifying Sartre's assertion (as cited in Fanon, 1967, p. 17), that the status of the white man in the post-colonial state is a 'nervous condition'. Vice (2010, p. 326) asserts that 'feeling uncomfortable is an inescapable part of white life'. The white subject is always conscious of his or her colour, much as she/he might try to hide or escape from it. In the eyes of post-colonial black governments, whiteness is a text whose idioms include privilege, exploitation of others, unfair advantage and outright bigotry. In Zimbabwe, whites find themselves held in the gaze of the black man through nationalist film, nationalist literature and patriotic history (see Ranger, 2005), among several other cultural artefacts. If, for one reason or another, white subjects do not encounter such revisionist cultural products, there is always the official political narrative in the media, in national museums and monuments, and the frequent

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national holidays to jolt them into a conscious feeling of their (now very conspicuous) whiteness.

After 1980, especially, the white gaze becomes self-reflective. Writers increasingly draw attention to their whiteness or appropriate (African) whiteness as something they are awarded by blacks, such as occurs in Godwin's *Mukiwa: A White Boy in Africa* (1996). White Zimbabwean narratives, as our analysis of Eppel's *Absent: The English Teacher* (2009) will show, demonstrate that whiteness is neither stable nor coherent. It is historically contingent. Among the options available to whites in postcolonial Zimbabwe is to Africanize or to go into the diaspora. As our analysis of Eames' *The Cry of the Go-Away Bird* (2011) and Fuller's *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight* (2003) shows, these options are not without their challenges.

Making whiteness visible in Eames' The Cry of the Go-Away Bird

Whiteness in *The Cry of the Go-Away Bird* is not muted. The narrator, Elise, self-consciously describes herself at the beginning of the narrative as 'the whitest of whites' (Eames, 2011, p. 8). This awareness of self as 'white' is a cross-reflexive gesture enabled by the narrator's ability to penetrate the black gaze, that is, the manner in which blacks perceive her. Sitting among black servants, Elise testifies: 'I did not feel white' (Eames, 2011, p. 8), but the black masculine gaze of the male workers passing the hut where the black women and Elise are gathered underlines her oddity, her whiteness. Though she does not feel white, she knows that it is her whiteness that attracts the black men to her. Describing this experience, Elise notes that '[black men] flicked me glances – who was this *white* kid sitting with the women?' (Eames, 2011, p. 8; emphasis added). Interestingly, the women are not described as 'black', but we gather through the racialization of Elise that they are 'not white', the new visible colour. The term 'white', characteristically, pervades the narrative, appearing in every chapter in reference to people and several other objects. Chapter two, for example, has 12 uses of the term 'white', 7 of which refer to people.

Mboti (2009, p. 14) defines the term 'gaze' as 'a specific way of looking at the world]. We gather from this definition that gazes are the property of individuals and groups from which images about the world are created. Following the era of Foucauldian studies, the term 'gaze' has also become identified, particularly in postcolonial critique, with discursive frameworks of understanding others under particular historical conditions (cf. the notion of a 'panopticon' in *Discipline and Punish*). The discussion that follows explores how the black gaze is articulated in a white Zimbabwe narrative and how this gaze structures specific forms of whiteness that are simultaneously conceded and contested by individual whites.

The articulation of another's gaze is a commitment to dialogue. It corresponds to Bakhtin's (1984) 'sideways glance' where

every experience, every thought of a character is internally dialogic, adorned with polemic, filled with struggle, or is on the contrary open to inspiration from outside itself – but it is not in any case concentrated simply on its own object. (p. 32)

The sideways glance is characterized by the recognition and assimilation of an alien glance. Elise consistently keeps glancing at the black person in search of the other's perceptions of her. Without this outsider's gaze, Elise would not be able to see herself as complex and thereby fail to reinvent herself in accordance with the needs of a changing society.

Eames's *The Cry of the Go-Away Bird* is unique in that it foregrounds whiteness as it is construed within a 'black' gaze. Eames shows how Elise's consciousness and experience of whiteness is shaped by this outsider's gaze. Elise often sees beyond the surface of the African servants' performance of smiling friendliness and laughter. By tearing off her own veil, Elise is able to penetrate the veil of black servants who, according to her, gazed upon the whites with feelings of hatred and anger. She begins to notice these emotions, which have always been present but hidden from the myopic gaze of the white man:

I noticed how Saru would sometimes look at us with a cold, absent gaze, as if a mask had slipped for a moment. I noticed the way she smiled unapologetically after mum reprimanded her [...] for some error. I listened to the songs that Tatenda was humming, and I was sure I could hear some pro-Mugabe tunes in there. (2011, p. 135)

She finds herself in an environment that forces her 'to reveal and explain [herself] dialogically, to catch aspects of [herself] in others' consciousnesses' (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 54). In other words, hers is not a narcissistic experience and consciousness of whiteness. The other's gaze, which Rhodesian settler narratives do not generally articulate, is given unusual prominence in *The Cry of the Go-Away Bird*. The white Zimbabwean narrative in this instance complicates the black gaze by making it a subject in its own right. Eames humanizes blackness by exploring the nuances of the servants' gazes. She enables Elise to articulate this gaze in the context of her whiteness and how it is configured in narratives of nationhood and land reform.

In the process of articulating a black gaze, Eames dismantles the colonial frameworks of seeing both whiteness and blackness. The author compels one to regard with suspicion white Rhodesia's all-knowing gaze, one that seems to influence the perceptions of adult characters in Elise's world. These are characters that continue, quite unselfconsciously, to perpetuate stereotypes about Africans. There is indeed a conflict between what Elise sees from the viewpoint of the black gaze and what she has been conditioned to see. From the adults, Elise learns that 'black people were like children, [...] cunning and not to be trusted' (Eames, 2011, p. 14). Furthermore, if whites had not come to Africa, blacks would still be living in 'primitive' time with 'no land for farming, [...] no water, hospitals, roads, schools' (Eames, 2011, p. 14). Whites on the other hand 'were special, somehow. They did the important jobs, had nicer clothes and bigger houses. You never saw a poor white person. I thought we must have done something to earn all these nice things. It made sense' (Eames, 2011, p. 14). Elise's childhood consciousness is thus shaped by a parochial white gaze, deeply rooted in colonial structures, which construes whiteness as civilized, privileged and deservingly superior. However, Elise later recognizes the fault-lines of this gaze. It is a shrouded and myopic gaze that does not see beyond a self-induced form of whiteness.

The adults around Elise, still within a colonial mode of seeing, are convinced that black workers 'love' and respect them. Together with Elise, for a brief moment, they believe that Mr Cooper, the easy-going white owner of Cooper Farm, will not lose his farm because his black workers consider him one of them. She ponders:

I could not imagine anyone making Mr Cooper leave his farm. He was so fluent in Shona and so respected by his workers that he seemed almost superhuman. I could not imagine Lettuce and Jans and the other black foremen letting War Vets wander in and take over without a fight. (Eames, 2011, p. 121)

These white characters fail to see or intuit the actual emotions behind the façade of respectfulness because they cannot tear off the veils of their Rhodesian consciousness, or

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they choose not to. They exhibit what Pilossof (2012) has termed 'affirmative parochialism'.

The majority of white characters in the text believe that Mr Cooper has earned himself a place in Africa by endearing himself to black workers. He often jokes and laughs with them while speaking colloquial Shona. When the war veterans visit him in his office, he surprises them with this deep competence in Shona and the war veterans, who find it amusing, approve of Mr Cooper as if they have found one of their own. However, Mr Cooper's self-assured invincibility is a failure to eliminate the filter of white condescension that is necessary to penetrate the black gaze. Even the narrator's mother is convinced that Mr Cooper 'is more Shona than the Shona' and that the blacks 'love him' (Eames, 2011, p. 226). Within two weeks after the war veterans' visit, Mr Cooper is viciously murdered by no less than a group of the selfsame war veterans. Elise reluctantly comes to the conclusion that the issue is whiteness and nothing else. Steve, her stepfather, sums this up when he tells Elise's mother: '[Y]ou're the wrong bluddy [sic] colour. That's all that matters' (Eames, 2011, p. 267).

The black gaze in *The Cry of the Go-Away Bird* is multilayered. It consists of the various perspectives of government, the media, war veterans, random black people that Elise comes across, servants, friends and teachers. The 'official' gaze, what one might otherwise describe as an officially sanctioned, predisposed outlook on things, is the deliberate result of the text's incorporation of the voices of state media and President Mugabe. Elise and her family find themselves relying heavily on television to understand how their whiteness is construed in official circles. It is on television that the steady, overt gaze of President Mugabe is revealed through the veiled and overt threats he makes against whites. Describing the effect this gaze has on whites, Elise says:

The news had become a fearful, hated ritual. When we heard the familiar drumbeat, we dropped what we were doing and went into the lounge. We did not sit to watch the news; we stood with arms crossed and our feet planted firmly on the ground, facing it. What was he saying about us today? What does this mean? [...] I watched him yell at the camera. The television's sound was muted, but I still felt each word landing on me like a physical blow. (Eames, 2011, p. 184)

That the news had become a 'ritual' shows the involuntary dependence whites suddenly have on an outsider's gaze and how this gaze renders them impotent. Elise forces herself to understand Mugabe's outlook as it appears via television. She stares at the screen, 'leaning in so close that the television image disintegrated into coloured dots of light' in order 'to see what was going on in his head' (Eames, 2011, p. 185). The official gaze, in particular, determines future plans and actions. The narcissist gaze of the Rhodesian past is no longer tenable.

The official gaze is just one among several others. The black gaze in white Zimbabwean narratives is a complex kaleidoscope of perspectives. It is multiple, contradictory and unstable. It constitutes a liminal gaze, one that is never entirely accommodating or completely alienating. It is always in the process of unfolding, sometimes veiled and at other times explicit. We see variations in the way whiteness is constructed through the gaze of different black characters in the text. In particular, Elise's nanny Beauty makes her feel one with the Africans to the extent that Elise claims her as 'my real Mum' (Eames, 2011, p. 36). Beauty initiates Elise into African ways by teaching her the indigenous language of Shona, telling her about the importance of totems, taking her to a traditional healer and making her part of a black circle of women. Yet Beauty does not entirely see past Elise's whiteness. Despite Elise's attempts to embrace African spirituality and participate in Shona traditional healing, Beauty explicitly tells her 'black

people's medicine does not work on white people' (Eames, 2011, p. 23), sentiments that are later echoed by Saru, Elise's maid at Mr Cooper's farm (Eames, 2011, p. 147). Still, Elise finds comfort in this partial acceptance.

The black gaze has a significant consequence in the lives of whites. Its net effect is a state of double consciousness. Double consciousness is defined as '[the] sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity' (Du Bois, 1994, p. 2). It is a feeling of 'two-ness' marked by the sensation of 'two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals' (Du Bois, 1994, p. 2). Fanon (2008) explains this as an experience of operating with 'two systems of reference' (p. 90). Although both Du Bois and Fanon have blacks in mind, double consciousness is something anyone can experience. Bakhtin implicitly validates this point when he says '[c]onsciousness is in essence multiple' (1984, p. 288). Existence, like the life of language, is polyglot and thus 'serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272).

While whites discursively challenge the black gaze and the stereotypes that accompany it, they do not have the material means through which they can launch sustained resistance against the ways in which they are interpellated. As a result, some whites find themselves succumbing to this identity, this pigeon-hole created for them, while others flee the country. At the level of literature, white writing nevertheless writes against the grain of the self-evident myths about whiteness created within such a black gaze, such a discourse of (and on) whiteness. For example, Eames insists on a white Zimbabwean identity despite everything to the contrary upon which the black gaze insists: 'I was a real Zimbabwean, despite my skin' (2011, p. 137). This assertiveness is a response that the text sustains until Elise eventually has to flee the country for Europe. She proclaims: '[A]lthough I was white and bred for cold, I was as African as the chittering mongoose that lives in a world of snakes. [...] I did not think I could live anywhere else' (Eames, 2011, p. 297). At this point, right at the end of the novel, Eames claims a transnational identity, whose basic mark is movement.

Whiteness as an ephemeral experience in Fuller's Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight

In Fuller's *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight* (2003) – whose title's contradiction centres on the notion of movement – whiteness traverses social borders and national boundaries as seen in the movements that occur in the lives of the narrator's family, who move from one farm to the next within Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, and from one country to another. These movements destabilize any possibility of white boundedness. Instead, identities refuse to be fixed in any one place but are constantly negotiated and re-negotiated across borders. White movement occurs at various levels in the text. It is both internal and external, and it is literal as well as figurative. As an ephemeral experience, whiteness is always deferred, its meaning never fully manifesting itself in any coherent manner. The old and new, the familiar and the strange, are held in a kind of paradoxical equipoise at both ends of the journey. It is imperative, in our understanding of whiteness, to follow Gilroy, who considers 'seeing identity as a process of movement and mediation that is more appropriately approached via the homonym routes' (1993, p. 19). To see whiteness as 'a process of movement and mediation', something Fuller emphasizes, frees the concept from being essentialized and reified within its most alienating vectors.

Fuller does not claim a bounded identity. She carefully avoids the term 'belong', preferring to use a more neutral term 'live' and claiming a transnational identity as

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opposed to a national one when she confronts the questions 'what are you?' and 'where are you from originally?':

I say, "I'm African." But not black.

And I say, "I was born in England," by mistake.

But, "I have lived in Rhodesia (which is now Zimbabwe) and in Malawi (which used to be Nyasaland) and in Zambia (which used to be Northern Rhodesia)."

And I add, "Now I live in America," through marriage.

And (full disclosure), "But my parents were born of Scottish and English parents."

What does that make me? (2003, pp. 10-11)

Fuller's narrative commences by laying a challenge at the feet of real and imagined interlocutors about the fluidity of white identities in Africa. In this challenge lies what Bakhtin (1984) terms 'a loophole' that 'creates a special type of fictive ultimate word about oneself with an unclosed tone to it, obtrusively peering into the other's eyes and demanding from the other a sincere refutation' (p. 234). A loophole is seen as one's retention of unfinalizability, the acceptance of one's ambiguity and elusiveness. 'In order to break through to his self', Bakhtin explains, 'the hero must travel a very long road' (1984, p. 234). Whiteness in *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight* is not self-evident. It is elusive to both characters and reader, both of whom are forced to conceive it through the motif of movement. Instead of emphasizing origins, the narrative guides us towards and through routes.

In the reading of Fuller's narrative, we are therefore compelled to return to the metaphors of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) by suggesting that whiteness is a rhizomatic experience because it has the ability 'to move between things, establish a logic of the AND, overthrow ontology, do away with foundations, nullify endings and beginnings' (Fuller, 2003, p. 25). It is interesting, and quite pragmatic, that Fuller does not assume any one national identity out of the seven nations (if we count Rhodesia and Zimbabwe as two separate entities) that have shaped her subjectivity. She embraces her multiple and conflicting heritages without feeling compelled to address her sentiments or loyalties towards a single nation. Her birth is 'accidentally' English because it occurs when her parents leave Rhodesia in order to grieve the death of their son Adrian, who dies during infancy. There is nothing cultural or predetermined about this. The places where she has lived are several and are all equally contingent.

The multiple identifications in Fuller's narrative suggest that her attachments and emotions are decentred and provisional. She has embraced the reality of perpetual movement. In the narrative itself, whiteness simultaneously inhabits multiple places. The narrator's characterization that Karoi, one of the places they live in Rhodesia, 'always felt like a train station platform, a flat place from which we hoped to leave at any moment for somewhere more interesting and picturesque' (Fuller, 2003, p. 48), is to some extent befitting of every place she has ever been to. Even Robandi farm, which the narrator's mother announces as 'home' (Fuller, 2003, p. 51), does not fully claim the Fullers. It is exposed to nationalist attacks from Mozambique, carries with it doleful memories of loss and is eventually taken away by the Zimbabwean government. When the Fullers leave it, they create new loyalties and commit themselves to new places. The farm in Mkushi, Zambia, where the Fullers later live, is equally referred to as 'home' (Fuller, 2003, p. 287). This does not mean places lived in have no bearing on one's identity at all. What Fuller highlights is that no one place is the single and absolute determinant of one's identity.

Homes are also depicted as provisional and temporary. Speaking of migrants in general, Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc (1992, p. 11) concede that 'while some migrants identify more with one society than the other, the majority seem to maintain several identities that link them simultaneously to more than one nation].

For colonial whites, just as much as for the black Africans depicted in Gilroy's (1993) *The Black Atlantic*, movement is a constitutive trope through which one's race-bound identity – here, whiteness – is understood as unstable and fluid. This idea is consistent with the make-up of erstwhile Rhodesian society, which was by its very nature a community of immigrants. At various stages in the life of the colony, whites were coming in and going out again. The migratory nature of white Rhodesia is documented by Crush and Tevera (2010), who provide statistics on the several movements in and out of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe from the 1920s to the period of land reform in the 2000s.

White Zimbabwean narratives are replete with white characters who are on the move owing to circumstances that are both personal and national. In *Mukiwa* (1996), the narrator's sense of estrangement from Africa leads to back-and-forth movements involving England, Rhodesia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa. In *The Last Resort* (2009), Douglas confesses: 'I was a sojourner, a global traveler: at the age of thirty-four I had already lived in three countries – Zimbabwe, South Africa, the UK – and held two passports. I barely felt Zimbabwean' (Rogers, p. 19). He rhetorically asks: 'Where did I belong' (Rogers, 2009, p. 19)? Not all the movements are external. White characters often move from one farm to another, such as happens to Elise's family in *The Cry of the Go-Away Bird* and Harry in *Jambanja* (Harrison, 2008). Movement is therefore a major trope in white narratives, and with it one derives an understanding of whiteness as unstable, fluid, provisional and fractured.

The transnational condition of whiteness is a recurring response to the inability of whites to find a stable residence in African nations. In Zimbabwe, this instability has both personal and, more significantly, political origins. In *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight*, the attainment of independence by blacks is immediately followed by a white exodus, a response Fuller finds characteristic of white Afrikaners whose children are the first to leave Bobo's white-only school. Their move has 'a sense of history' that says 'we've done this before and we'll do it again' (2003, p. 144; emphasis in original). For these whites, history is merely being re-enacted and in order to capture this idea, Fuller labels the new exodus back south 'the little trek' (Fuller, 2003, p. 144). Before long, however, 'English Rhodesians' also join the movement from Zimbabwe (Fuller, 2003, p. 144). Mobility is rendered as an integral aspect of white existence.

The narrative is an affirmation that transnational experience fosters change and reveals the mutability of (here, white) identity. The Fullers of Rhodesia are not the Fullers we encounter in Malawi and Zambia. In Malawi, a government-imposed spy, masquerading as a servant, clearly tells them 'this is not Rhodesia' (Fuller, 2003, p. 245), the insinuation being that their position as whites has diminished. They no longer have the rights and privileges that whiteness in Rhodesia used to guarantee them. Their impotence is underlined in this incident involving the 'servant', whom they have to hire simply because 'it is required', ostensibly by the government (Fuller, 2003, p. 244). The Fullers cannot afford to act as if they are still a 'ruling colour].

Fuller inscribes her whiteness into Africa as a whole, as opposed to any one nationstate, as a way of coming to terms with the ephemeral experience of whiteness. While she embraces her multiple heritages, which include European pasts, she insists on her Africanness while simultaneously remaining suspicious of such an identity in view of the vastness and varied nature of the continent. She also recognizes the ambivalence that her

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whiteness provokes in this regard, but nevertheless inscribes her identity in transnational space when she says: 'I appreciated that we, as whites, could not own a piece of Africa, but I knew, with startling clarity, that Africa owned me' (Fuller, 2003, p. 306).

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From 'whiteness' to 'whiteliness' in Eppel's Absent: the English Teacher

We have already suggested that whiteness is neither a condition of self-containment nor one of stability, despite its pretensions in colonial and neocolonial contexts to universality. Rather, whiteness is naked to an outsider gaze and characterized by an ineluctable nomadism, both in terms of physical as well as conceptual shuttling. To these characteristics, we need to add another: whiteness as absence. In this instance, movement occurs at the level of the sign, where the referentiality of whiteness experiences a rupture. Eppel's Absent: the English Teacher (2009) is simultaneously an affirmation and negation of whiteness. It explodes the concept through paradox, described by its white protagonist George as 'a third force, which transcends [...] two opposites' (p. 130). He further explains: '[P]aradoxes are notoriously unstable; they keep slipping back into their opposite components, then merging again, slipping back, and so on. So the transcendent experience is evanescent, passing... as it comes, like twilight' (Eppel, 2009, p. 130). To the extent that existence is characterized by a minimum of two conflicting voices (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 252), we conclude that it is a paradox. Identities are therefore characterized by dialectic tensions which are ever-emergent rather than sublimated. Adapting De Kock (2010, p. 15, see further text) to the present analysis, we therefore propose that in independent Zimbabwe, whiteness finds its moving focus within a context of cultural heterogeneity, without which it would not signify coherently at all.

Indeed, in more cases than one, whiteness and blackness are defined in relation to each other in nationalist Zimbabwean narratives. In this kind of relational context, De Kock (2010) suggests, "whiteness" as a sign should be seen as a trace and not an essence' (p. 15). He justifies this point by observing that

in a context of heterogeneity as marked as that in southern Africa, the signifier "whiteness" (along with all its proxy signifiers), despite equally persistent tropes of sameness and rock-solid marks of identity, must be regarded as a shuttling moniker, a hot potato variously juggled and differently handled, grasped, welcomed or rendered problematic across time and space. (De Kock, 2010, p. 15)

Unlike the two texts already discussed, Eppel's narrative is more persistent in its diffusion of whiteness as a sign. Not only does the text avoid numerous references to the term white, it also provokes reflection on the interchangeability of 'whiteness' as a space of discourse and behaviour, and it questions the necessary correspondence of whiteness and white people, a tendency observed by Keating (1995). It is with this in mind that Frye (1992) resorts to the term 'whiteliness' as a description of attributes and practices normally associated with white behaviour, suggesting the possibility that these attributes may be possessed by non-whites as much as by whites. 'Whiteliness' is described as the distinctly negative traits that include being 'insidious' and 'superior' (Keating, 1995, p. 907). Frye explains that 'the connection between whiteliness and light-coloured skin is a contingent connection: This character could be manifested by persons who are not white; it can be absent in persons who are' (1992, pp. 151-152). In Zimbabwe, the term 'murungu' (literally translated as 'white person'), used in reference to George (Eppel, 2009, p. 18), also has a secondary meaning. It denotes anyone, regardless of race, who is financially liable at any given time. The usage of the term is quite ubiquitous, so much so that someone buying a newspaper from a vendor becomes a murungu, and when the vendor

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boards a taxi on his way home, he/she becomes a *murungu* in turn. The key aspect here, as in the term's signifying of whiteness, is becoming, something emphasized by Roediger (1991) in his history of the 'whitening' of Irish immigrants in America.

While it is true that 'whiteness is not a single system of practices' (Manson, 2004, p. 29), its associations with economic and political privilege, especially during European expansion into African territories, has never been in doubt. A movement from whiteness to whiteliness therefore enables a reformulation and rethinking of black and white identities such as we encounter in our reading of Eppel's *Absent: the English Teacher*, in which paradox is a significant motif. Paradox blurs the line that exists between opposites so that its result can be variously read as 'entanglement' (Nuttall, 2009), as 'heteroglot' (Bakhtin, 1981), as a 'seam' (de Kock, 2001) or a 'hybrid' (Bhabha, 1994). All these concepts testify to the denial and displacement of absolute opposites. When considered in this light, whiteness and blackness cease to function as fixed and self-contained categories. They are involved in a play of instability and flux.

In his introduction to Black Skin, White Masks, Fanon argues that 'the white man is locked in his whiteness. The black man in his blackness' (2008, pp. xiii-xiy), but in the post-colonial state the walls can be seen to be crumbling, weakening the 'double narcissism' that Fanon describes (2008, p. xiv). Whiteness is no longer insulated. The laager that protects it has been undermined. For whites to remain locked in their whiteness is self-defeating and dangerous. Absent: the English Teacher demonstrates that blacks, now able to penetrate the echelons of power and those spaces formerly reserved for whites, can traverse the boundaries of whiteness. They can now enter places reserved for whites, occupy positions and roles that were once labelled white. They speak English, live in big houses, own servants and drive posh cars. Such is the depiction of black government ministers and their mistresses in Eppel's text. Indeed, Fanon tells us, at the risk of sounding defeatist, that 'there is but one destiny for the black man. And it is white' (2008, p. xiv). Freire (1972) also provides an insight into this trajectory when he says the model of humanity for oppressed people who have internalized the image of the oppressor is to be an oppressor (p. 22). It can be argued that Eppel shows us the extent to which the black middle class, the new rulers, have internalized whiteliness and are thus failing to exceed it in their new roles as leaders.

The transfer of power from white minority rule to black majority rule ensures that whites are erased from public space, and yet their imprint maintains a presence that cannot be hidden. Whiteness is simultaneously a presence as well as an absence. Its absence is marked by the marginalization of whites in the Zimbabwean society, as reflected by George's experiences from the moment he is expelled from his job as an English teacher, and then arrested for unwittingly erecting Ian Smith's portrait in place of Mugabe's. Its presence, on the other hand, is seen in traces of whiteness, that is, 'whiteliness' manifesting in the actions, attitudes and behaviours of the new black middle class. Whiteness, in its general colonialist sense, is forced to retreat in the face of political change. George not only loses all his material possessions to Beauticious Nyamayakanuna, one of the new rulers' black mistresses, but also his independence. In what turns out to be a post-colonial role reversal, he becomes a servant of the black woman. From the public setting of the school, George is twice forced into the isolation of prison and the permanent confinement of the servant's quarters. In this new environment, he discovers that he is an easy target of persecution, a condition formerly suffered by blacks. His name has been removed from the voters' roll, which means he cannot exercise political rights. For George, then, the performance of whiteness, considered here as whiteliness, becomes next to impossible. All these changes cement the white man's absence, that is, his insignificance in the post-colonial state.

The transition from whiteness to whiteliness in Absent: the English Teacher recognizes that race, like other identities, is performed. The racialized body, like Butler's (1990) gendered body, 'has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality' (p. 136). Speaking on the performance of gender, Butler explains that 'acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core' (1990, p. 136). The transition from whiteness to whiteliness enables Eppel to redefine white people as a new oppressed group. In typical colonial fashion, George is emasculated. He is referred to as 'boy' by his black 'mistress]. To further underline George's subordination, Beauticious speaks to him in 'kitchen kaffirl, a mixture of foreign and indigenous languages that was used by whites in communicating with their black servants. George's attempts to use Ndebele in speaking to Beauticious are met with violent rejection. She tells him in no uncertain terms not to speak to her 'in the vernacular' (Eppel, 2009, p. 116). Fanon's conclusions concerning the imposition of pidgin on the colonized still holds true in this case: 'Making him speak pidgin is tying him to an image, snaring him, imprisoning him as the eternal victim of his own essence, of a visible appearance for which he is not responsible' (2008, p. 18). George assumes that speaking Ndebele will endear him to the black community that has alienated him, only to find himself alienated further. He can neither use English nor Ndebele.

When he allows his whiteness to recede to the background, George reconstructs himself as un-white, and as part of a community of oppressed people. After his first arrest, he identifies with black political prisoners, who recognize his whiteness but underline the shared suffering that black Ndebele people and whites experience under the new post-independent government. Referring to whites and the Ndebele, one inmate says: '[W]e both lost the war of Independence' (Eppel, 2009, p. 22). Eventually, George pays bail money on behalf of his black inmates. His selfless love for Polly, the black child he finds abandoned in the streets, underlines his identification with the 'other' race.

Eppel seems to suggest that the absence of the white man from the political scene does not translate into the absence of what we are here calling 'whiteliness'. Black characters are shown in instances where, in concrete and identifiable ways, they perform forms of whiteness. Various institutions, eating habits, dress and behaviours of the middle class in Zimbabwe are shown to combine, constituting a kind of 'white' visibility. These behaviours and mannerisms, at once discursive and material, are at base a perpetuation of (formerly 'white') colonial privileges. It can be indeed be argued that whiteness has found a new home, though now it is masked, camouflaged by a black skin. So while George is now irrelevant, cannot vote and is economically insignificant, having lost his house, the very attributes normally associated with whiteness are now seen to be inscribing their presence via the black ruling class. It is paradoxical that when George is forced into a state of absence, he tries to assimilate African culture by eating traditional foods, speaking Ndebele and even attaching himself to the character Polly, all at a time when blacks are moving away from their traditions in pursuit of whitely things. Such apemanship, demonstrated in many post-independent novels by writers such as Armah, Ngugi and Marechera, is a site of black identity mutation. It recalls, in addition, the 'mimicry' of Caribbean subjects in search of various forms of craven enrichment as they copy-cat their former rulers' cultural habits in V.S. Naipaul's seminal novel, *Mimic Men* (1967). Indeed, critics such as Fanon (1967) have shown how formerly oppressed Africans take up precisely the characteristics of their former oppressors. Freire (1972) crudely states that for the oppressed, to be is to be like the oppressor. In Absent: the English Teacher, the white

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man's property and body are owned by the black woman. Eppel seems to be demonstrating how whiteness as a sign can easily explode and take up new referents.

During his second arrest, George is mercilessly mocked by a policewoman, who finds it satisfying to observe that he 'look[s] like a kaffir' (Eppel, 2009, p. 89). The term 'kaffir', used to homogenize blacks during colonialism, here functions as a form of racial entanglement, 'an invocation of blackness for a white person' (Nuttall, 2009, p. 64). In George's case, it does not imply commitment to black struggle, but the diffusion of traces of blackness beyond the boundaries of race: a simultaneous presence and absence of traces rather than essences. Through identification, not identity, we encounter the process of becoming (or, as in this case, unbecoming) white. On the other extreme, George perceives traces of whiteness in Beauticious, who ostensibly 'strive[s] to out-Rhodie the Rhodies' (Eppel, 2009, p. 116). It is interesting to note that Beauticious is seen to become a 'Rhodie' at a time when George is convinced that the sub-culture known as Rhodies is 'almost extinct' (Eppel, 2009, p. 10). Here, again, we see the interplay of absence and presence. Whiteliness, recognized as 'Rhodie', has migrated to a black individual. Such a post-colonial role reversal shows how the attributes of whiteness and blackness are able to permeate racial boundaries. It represents a paradox that suggests how unstable racial identities actually are.

When George finally destroys all his identity documents, he rids himself of the reification and fixity suggested by these official papers. It is also the final disavowal of his whiteness, a self-induced absence that he enunciates through the symbolic destruction of his 'papers', along with the decision to leave what used to be his home but has instead become a place of servitude and confinement.

Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that whiteness is a dominant trope in white Zimbabwean narratives. Unlike Rhodesian settler narratives, where whiteness is rendered an invisible essence, or an all-powerful medium, white writing after 1980, and more so in the 2000s, makes whiteness increasingly visible. This is a literature that responds to a different sociopolitical terrain, one in which whites are racially overdetermined by blacks, who are now in a position of relative political dominance. White narratives nevertheless respond to the question of whiteness in several ways. Eames' *The Cry of the Go-Away Bird* articulates the black gaze and how whiteness is framed within this gaze. She acknowledges the limitations, if not impossibility, of ignoring the ways in which whiteness is shaped from the outside. Whites find themselves amid two conflicting frames of reference, one that has colonial/supremacist origins, and the other deriving from blackness, a category here understood as a set of discursive and material practices. Blacks and whites negotiate their almost coeval identities with an awareness of this intermeshing, or entanglement, and insist on a Zimbabwean identity.

Fuller does not inscribe a nationally bounded identity. She embraces a transnational identity that exceeds the boundaries of Rhodesia and Zimbabweas nations. Depicting whiteness as an ephemeral experience, she notes how white identities are always in the process of becoming. Whiteness is depicted as an ever-shifting and fluid category. Finally, *Absent: the English Teacher* explodes whiteness to enable a multiplicity of referents. Eppel destabilizes the association of whiteness with white people and reveals a transition from the notion of whiteness to that of 'whiteliness'. In such a reading, whiteness ceases to function as a fixed or stable sign. It denotes certain attributes which can manifest in anyone regardless of race.

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Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Notes on contributors

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