

**White settlers to white Africans? Decolonisation and  
white identity in Kenya and Zambia**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis addresses the identities of ‘white settlers’ who chose to stay in Kenya and Zambia after independence from British rule. By focusing on these racially and materially privileged minority groups this thesis unearths the ways in which racial identities have been formed and contested, in contexts in which whiteness has been inescapably historically charged.

By analysing both Kenya and Zambia the thesis breaks new ground in comparing the postcolonial history of a settler colony and an African protectorate. In doing so it raises questions about the categorisations of ‘settler’ and the notion of being ‘settled’, as well as taking on the difficult label of ‘white African’ and its contested use in postcolonial Africa.

This research draws upon settler colonial history in Africa and contemporary whiteness studies. As such the thesis represents a social history of decolonisation and a history of a contemporary phenomenon, whites with a colonial heritage searching for belonging and legitimacy in postcolonial contexts which invalidate their history. The thesis traces the legacies of settler colonial rule through the spatial, sensorial, linguistic and temporal dimensions of whites’ postcolonial lives. Research participants all drew upon a personal colonial lineage which connected their families to the longer colonial history of Kenya and Zambia. They represented a group of people whose life experiences mapped onto the historical ‘period’ of decolonisation. The timeframe of the thesis - from the mid-1950s to 2017 - utilises a periodisation which transcends the bounds of colonialism and postcolonialism, and as a result is able to assess continuity and change in how racial identity and privilege was constructed and reconfigured.

The thesis’ originality lies not only in its comparative study of under-researched postcolonial whites, but in its synthesis of whiteness studies, settler colonial history, postcolonial history, the history of emotions and senses, and oral history.



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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ANC – African National Congress

BSAC – British South Africa Company

EAS – East African Standard

KI – Kenya Interviews with author

KNA – Kenya National Archives

KWS – Kenya Wildlife Service

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change (Zimbabwe)

MDC – Market Driven Conservation

MMD – Movement for Multiparty Democracy

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

OSPA – Overseas Pension Association

PAC – Azanian People's Liberation Army (South Africa)

PF – Patriotic Front

TNA – British National Archives

UDI – Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Rhodesia 1965)

UNIP – United National Independence Party

ZANU-PF – Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ZI – Zambia Interviews with author

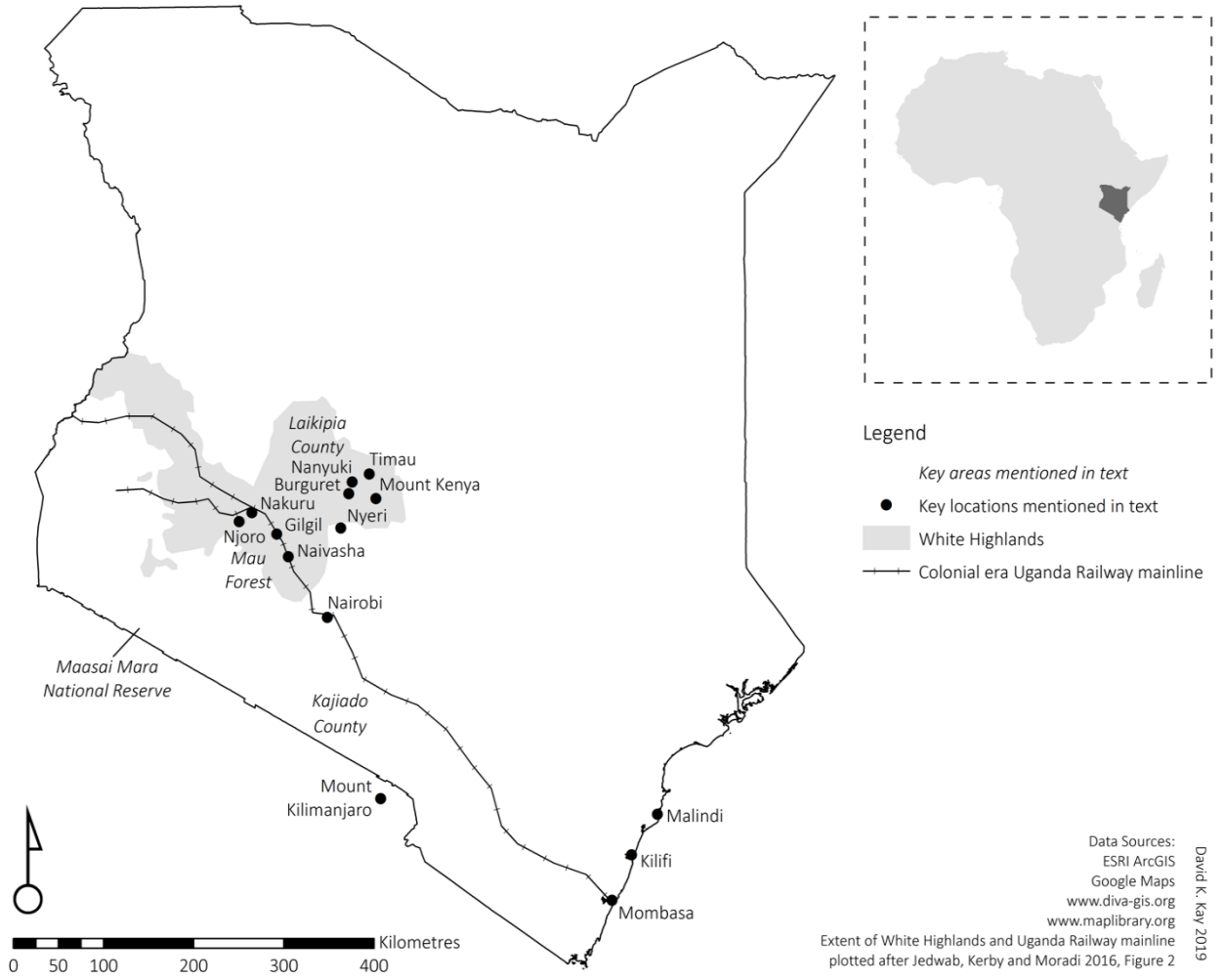
ZIPRA – Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZNA – Zambia National Archives

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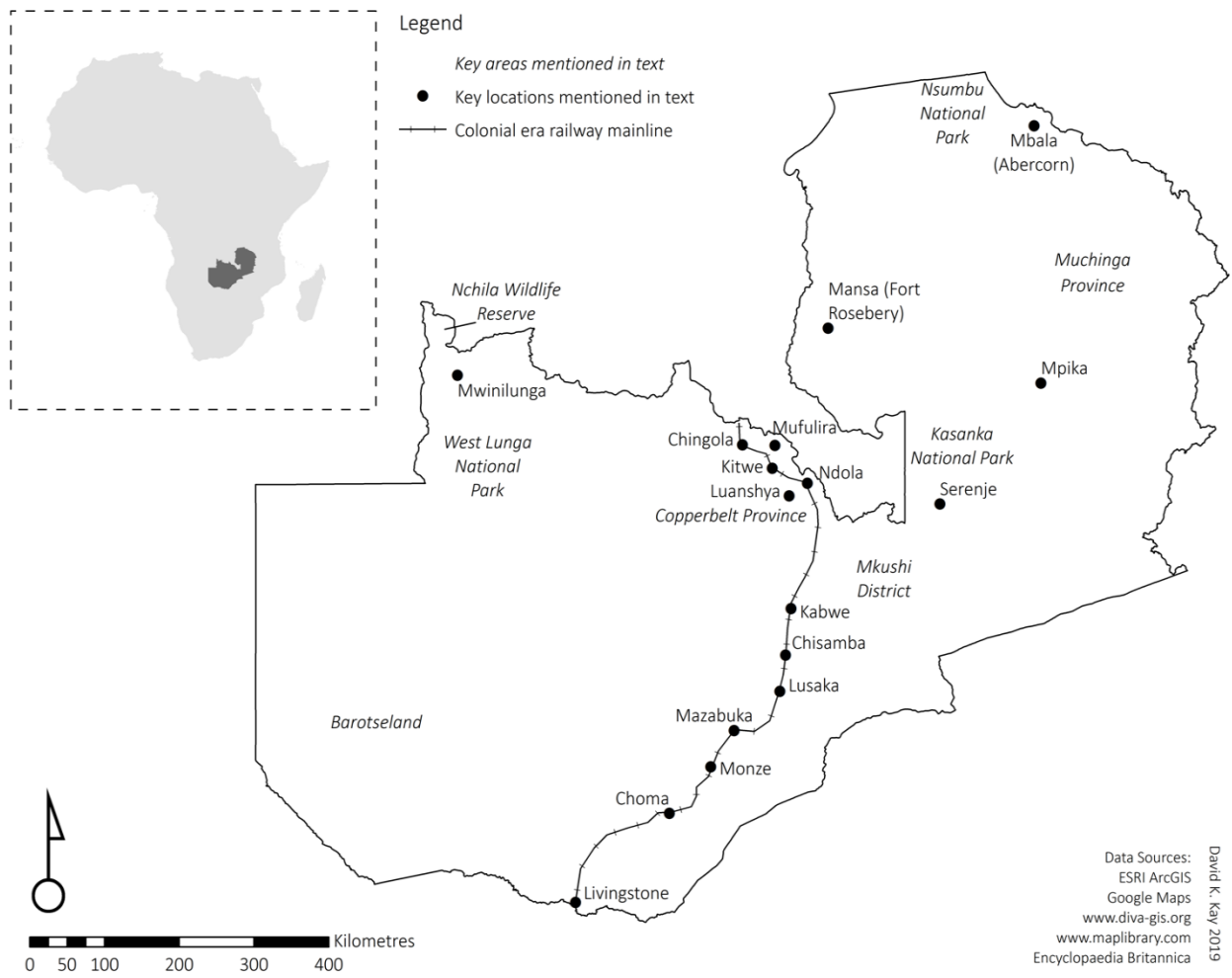
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## MAP OF KENYA



**Figure 1:** Map of Kenya with key research sites

## MAP OF ZAMBIA



**Figure 2:** Map of Zambia with key research sites



## **INTRODUCTION**

In January 2017 I was in Ndola, the principal town on the Zambian Copperbelt (see Figure 2), talking with Timothy Clarke, a self-identified white Zambian in his sixties, about his memories of independence and his life in Zambia.

Zambia is the place. It's my home. And it *is* my home. The real truth is I feel at home here and always have done. I'm on the committee of the golf club, and they [black Zambians] treat me as a Zambian. They don't treat me as a white man in Africa. Of course, they see me as a white man. And they realise that I've got white man's values.<sup>1</sup>

Timothy's declaration of Zambian identity encapsulated the contradictory nature of postcolonial white identities in Africa.<sup>2</sup> Whilst Timothy felt secure in his white Zambian identity, he also pointed toward the inherent insecurity of being a 'white man in Africa', insinuating the tense history of white colonisation and settlement in the continent. The conspicuousness of white racial identity and privilege has preoccupied postcolonial whites, who have sought to secure legitimacy and validation from Africans. Whilst some have sought to remould their racial identities as perceived by others, most have proved unwilling to confront the basis of their racial privilege. Timothy's allusion to his 'white man's values' indicated one of the most persistent trends which has complicated claims to a 'white African' identity - the elevation of 'white culture' and whiteness itself to a superior status. Timothy also indicated the slipperiness of race; whilst he was *seen* as a white man, he was not *treated* as a white man in Africa. Whilst he could not escape his whiteness, he felt accepted amongst those black Zambians who knew him. This confirmed the perception of Africans as viable compatriots, making clear that white claims to belonging in Africa were to a great extent legitimated or indeed disqualified through their relationships with black Africans.

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<sup>1</sup> Timothy Clarke, ZI056.

<sup>2</sup> All interviewees have been given different names, and that this process of anonymization is discussed in detail below.

One of the striking features of Timothy's contemplations, and those of many other whites in Kenya and Zambia, was their avoidance of the term 'African'. Timothy self-identified as both a 'Zambian' and a 'white man in Africa', but not as an 'African' or a 'white African'. This conspicuous evasion recurred throughout my fieldwork in both Kenya and Zambia and shapes the central research questions in the thesis: why have whites been uncomfortable with an explicit African identity since independence? How have white identities been constructed and expressed if they are uneasy with explicit labelling as Africans? What strategies of belonging and legitimacy have been developed to ease white discomfort with their identities? Underlying these questions, what is the value of such identities? How do claims to an African identity reinforce racial privileges and structural inequality? This thesis argues that white claims to a form of African identity have been contested and uncomfortable in the years since independence. As I talked to more and more white people in Kenya and Zambia, I realised how the combination of race and place in the term 'white African' crystallised their fraught and contradictory feelings about their belonging in Africa. Whilst participants avoided the term 'white African', it encapsulated both their awareness of their whiteness and their claims to an identity rooted in the continent.

Individual life histories such as Timothy's are at the heart of this thesis, but they are inseparable from a wider history of families and lineages told through oral histories and archival sources. The research is based upon one hundred and ninety-six interviews and participant observations, alongside sources from state and private family archives. The participants in this research are a representative segment of the tens of thousands of white 'stayers' who remained in both countries after independence.<sup>3</sup> They all drew upon

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<sup>3</sup> There were 76,000 whites in Zambia at independence but an unknown number left, in Kenya there were 55,000 in 1962 and 10-15,000 in 1969. See Janet McIntosh, *Unsettled: Denial and Belonging Among White Kenyans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), p. 225.

a personal colonial lineage which connected their families to the longer colonial history of Kenya and Zambia. My cohort of research subjects represented a group of people whose life experiences mapped onto the historical ‘period’ of decolonisation. The timeframe of the thesis - from the mid-1950s to 2017 - represents this period. The conceptualisation of white life experiences includes what was inherited from parents, through stories and shared memories, as well as their own experiences. By utilising a periodisation which transcends the bounds of colonialism and postcolonialism, the thesis is able to assess the continuity and change in how racial identity and privilege was constructed and reconfigured.

Kenya and Zambia shed particular light on these dynamics due to their histories of frustrated settler colonialism, their small white populations and the relative lack of historical inquiry into their postcolonial white populations. Whilst Kenya’s colonial history has been a topic of much scholarship, Northern Rhodesia represents an understudied context in comparison.<sup>4</sup> Little work has addressed the two contexts in comparison and begun to tease out the historical divergences of a settler colony (Kenya) and a protectorate (Northern Rhodesia). The urgency for whites in both countries to reconfigure their identities in the postcolonial nation in direct reference to the intransigence of their white counterparts in Rhodesia and South Africa makes them a particularly poignant group to study. This thesis demonstrates how postcolonial white identities in Kenya and Zambia have been distinctly relational, constructed in comparison to their black compatriots but also crucially against other whites in Africa, most pointedly

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<sup>4</sup> Dane Keith Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987); Brett L Shadle, *The Souls of White Folk: White Settlers in Kenya, 1900s-20s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Will Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The Lives of Kenya’s White Insane* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); David M. Anderson, ‘Punishment, Race and “The Raw Native”: Settler Society and Kenya’s Flogging Scandals, 1895–1930’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37.3 (2011), 479–497; C. J. D. Duder, ‘Love and the Lions: The Image of White Settlement in Kenya in Popular Fiction, 1919-1939’, *African Affairs*, 90.360 (1991), 427–438.

white South Africans and Zimbabweans. In both Kenya and Zambia it is South Africa and Zimbabwe which provide the mirror against which whites judge their racism, 'progressiveness' and their place within the postcolonial nation. 'Not being as racist as South Africans' was a common phrase which encapsulated the mitigation and denial which such comparisons achieved.

However, whilst whites in Kenya and Zambia share much in their colonial heritage and their continued material and social privilege, the extent to which comparisons with whites in the south of the continent have fundamentally shaped identities differs between Kenya and Zambia. Whilst whites in Zambia have been inescapably drawn into the racial politics of southern Africa in the second half of the twentieth century, Kenyan whites have retained a sense of distance, rooted in both physical separation from the borders of southern Africa and their colonial history tying them much more closely to Britain and a wider sense of 'Empire' in the Indian Ocean and Middle East. Thus whilst this thesis draws out the commonalities between whites in the two countries in their affective connection to 'the land', their use of slang, and their shared emotional and sensory repertoires of belonging, it also demonstrates the key differences between these two postcolonial territories. Whites in Kenya not only have a history of closer connection to Britain, those in agriculture and tourism tend to have larger landholdings – a historical 'hangover' from the territory's status as a settler colony, one in which whites were granted the best land in central Kenya. Whilst whites in Zambia also have some of the most productive land from colonial era dispossession, the territory's history as a 'Protectorate' meant land holdings were smaller and white settlers were less powerful as a political entity. These legislative differences were exacerbated by Northern Rhodesia's larger land mass and larger areas of productive agricultural land.

Historic differences such as these provide the context in which postcolonial differences between the two territories are explored. Thus the thesis demonstrates how whites in Zambia were schooled and holidayed within the continent, turning to the 'South' i.e. Rhodesia then Zimbabwe and South Africa, for their broader horizons and as such developed identities rooted within the continent. This became evident in the diverging childhood experiences of whites in Kenya and Zambia. In Zambia white children played with their black compatriots – largely the children of domestic staff, a dynamic which is explored in Chapter Four and Five in particular – whereas in Kenya white children were largely kept separate from the community outside the garden fence and were then to boarding school abroad. The thesis will tease out further distinctions between Kenya and Zambia in terms of linguistic integration, involvement in politics, eating habits and spatial organisation of the home. Ultimately the thesis points toward how whites in Zambia seem closer to a sense of 'Africanness' borne of their embeddedness in southern Africa, whilst whites in Kenya have retained a closer sense of post-imperial Britishness, which still draws much cultural capital from links to Britain. It is through this comparative study that the core argument of the thesis is most clearly articulated. Independence and the slow process of decolonisation brought about a recalibration of colonial racial whiteness which was intimately shaped by the particularities of postcolonial Kenya and Zambia as well as their distinct experiences of minority settler colonialism.

The works of Brett Shadle and Dane Kennedy have provided the contextual background and conceptualisation of minority colonialism which this thesis utilises. Both scholars noted the particular settler culture which developed in Kenya due to the demographically weak and therefore politically tenuous which the white settlers occupied. This thesis adopts their theorisation of minority settler colonialism in Kenya for Northern Rhodesia as well – a colonial territory which also the conditions of minority settler

colonialism. Whilst their work has been highly influential and runs throughout the thesis, the analysis here moves beyond Shadle's preoccupation with the notion of 'prestige' as the means of preventing rebellion and securing racial deference – the twin pillars which held up white rule.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Dane Kennedy's work on the proximity and interracial dependence of minority settler colonialism have been influential in identifying the tensions of 'power matched by fear, arrogance by anxiety, disdain by suspicion', which draws attention to the comparable conflicts within postcolonial whites' cultures and identities.<sup>6</sup> This thesis highlights tensions such as whites' desire to belong yet repulsion to integrate and their conflicting knowledge of vernaculars combined with their use of othering vernacular slang. If the tensions Kennedy identified rested upon the specific conditions of minority settler colonialism, did they dissolve after independence?

The comparative approach used here takes inspiration from Kennedy's use of comparative analysis between Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, which demonstrated the benefits of considering the idiosyncrasies of settler culture in different colonies. However, by including Northern Rhodesia (later Zambia) the analysis can build upon Kennedy's work by addressing the differences in white identities between a settler colony and African Protectorate. Burbank and Cooper's work on comparative empires in global history demonstrated the value in considering how global systems of imperialism have shaped the world whilst drawing attention to the role of borders, intermediaries and local agency.<sup>7</sup> This research moves beyond this focus on global systems to consider what happened to white colonial cultures *after* independence. This history encompasses the move toward independence and desegregation, the end of the Mau Mau Emergency, the Congo crisis

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Kennedy, *Islands*, p. 187.

<sup>7</sup> Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 12.

and the political negotiations of the Monckton Commission and Lancaster House which shaped white perceptions of the approaching postcolonial period. By tracing white identities right up to the contemporary, major postcolonial political events which wrought white ideas of security and legitimacy are considered: the entrenchment of apartheid in South Africa after 1948; the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia in 1965; the wars of decolonisation across southern Africa from 1965 until 1994; the economic instability of Zambia in the 1970/80s and the land disputes in Laikipia, Kenya in 2004 and 2015-7. In combining comparative history with a history of decolonisation, this thesis moves beyond the mechanisms of minority settler colonialism identified by Kennedy and Shadle, to consider how the settlers they describe comprehended independence. It will explore how those who constantly saw themselves through the eyes of Africans, who lashed out when misunderstood or frustrated and who took emotional enrichment from their 'development' of Africa have emerged from the process of decolonisation which has invalidated much of their previous logic.<sup>8</sup>

These demographically insignificant colonial 'remnants' could on the surface be considered anodyne relics of a bygone era. However, whites who remained in Africa after independence have retained a prominent place in Western imaginations of the continent. White conservationists and 'besieged' white farmers often dominate media coverage and academic study. Not to mention the position of whites as 'local experts' directing and controlling resources from the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) and aid industries. In Kenya and Zambia whites have retained conspicuous positions in agricultural, conservation and tourism sectors, becoming valuable sources of foreign currency income for their respective governments, as well as large employers of African

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4 and 20; Brett Shadle, 'Settlers, Africans, and Inter-Personal Violence in Kenya, ca. 1900--1920s', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 45.1 (2012), 57-80.

labour. Shining a light on these demographically marginal yet otherwise elite groups illuminates how, due to their 'remnant' status, these individuals and communities are actively engaged in this postcolonial history. Economic and political decolonisation in Kenya and Zambia provided the contextual backdrop for whites' growing awareness of their minority status and the pressure to engage with their own racial privileges.<sup>9</sup> Unlike whites in settler contexts such as Australia and North America, whites in Kenya and Zambia have had to be acutely attuned to their colonial history and their racial privilege – they are more clearly placed within an independent 'postcolonial' setting, than the arguably enduring settler colonial contexts of the neo-Europes.<sup>10</sup> Thus their means of legitimising and rationalising their position in Africa is an important way of understanding the wider history of race and decolonisation and how postcolonial identities have been constructed and shaped.

### ***Belonging, settler colonialism and white Africans***

White claims to belonging in Kenya and Zambia have drawn upon a distinct heritage of frustrated settler colonialism. The settler societies of Africa combined both the colonial patterns of exploitation and settler colonial ideologies of elimination of Africans as landholders. In Kenya and Northern Rhodesia the elimination of the indigenous population as landholders into a body of cheap labour was not the same physical, territorial eliminatory drive which Patrick Wolfe argued for in Australian history.<sup>11</sup> Settlers in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia never comprised more than a fraction of the population; 61,000 in the former and 76,000 in the latter in 1960, compared to 8.1

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<sup>9</sup> For a similar argument, almost reversed, about the growing intensity of whiteness within Britain in response to non-white migration see Bill Schwarz, *The White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> My thanks to Professor Amade M'charek at the University of Amsterdam for discussing this idea with me.

<sup>11</sup> Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8.4 (2006), 387–409.



million Kenyans and 3.01 million Northern Rhodesians.<sup>12</sup> These settler societies relied upon indigenous labour, creating a dependence of ‘white’ standards of living upon the exploitation of African labour and attenuating settler desires for elimination. Dane Kennedy showed how the omnipresence of African labour in white homes, on white farms and in white-owned mines provided a clear reminder of the unrealistic goal of white hegemony.<sup>13</sup> This prominent position of the ‘native’ within settler society in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia fundamentally changed the nature of settler colonialism, not only heightening white fears and instigating the creation of elaborate systems of social and economic control, but also placing settler-‘native’ relationships at the heart of society.

White identities in Africa have never been homogenous. Anthropologists Janet McIntosh and Rory Pilosoff have called for scholarship on whiteness in Africa to be attentive to the heterogeneity of white populations, such as the colonial era division between urban and rural whites.<sup>14</sup> Brett Shadle’s study of early colonial settler culture in Kenya is the most recent iteration of a longer history which has shown how whites were divided by occupation, rural or urban positions, religion, country of origin and politics, to name but a few.<sup>15</sup> However Shadle argued for the uniformity of the ‘settler soul’ – the ‘shared beliefs and certain attitudes’ which drew settlers together. Yet the homogenising

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<sup>12</sup> For the Kenyan statistics see Gavin Nardocchio-Jones, ‘From Mau Mau to Middlesex? The Fate of Europeans in Independent Kenya’, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 26.3 (2006), 491–505 (p. 497). And for the Zambian statistics see Jo Duffy, ‘Staying on or Going “Home”: Settlers’ Decisions upon Zambian Independence’, in *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, ed. by Andrew Thompson and Kent Fedorowich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 214–31 (p. 214). The data on Kenya and Northern Rhodesia’s general populations are taken from <https://data.worldbank.org/country/zambia?view=chart>

<sup>13</sup> Kennedy, *Islands* pp. 2–5; Nicola Ginsburgh, ‘White Workers and the Production of Race in Southern Rhodesia 1910-1980’ (University of Leeds, 2017), chap. introduction.

<sup>14</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, p. 15; Rory Pilosoff, ‘Reinventing Significance: Reflections on Recent Whiteness Studies in Zimbabwe’, *Africa Spectrum*, 49.3 (2014), 135–148 (pp. 137–38).

<sup>15</sup> Shadle, *Souls* p. 16. For other earlier examples see C. J. Duder, “Men of the Officer Class”: The Participants in the 1919 Soldier Settlement Scheme in Kenya’, *African Affairs*, 92.366 (1993), 69–87; John Lonsdale, ‘Kenya: Home County and African Frontier’, *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, 2010, 1882–1922; Kennedy, *Islands*; Jackson, *Madness and Marginality: The Lives of Kenya’s White Insane*.

categorisation of white identities into ‘the settler’ sits uncomfortably with these multiple self-identifications.<sup>16</sup> The colonial government used the term ‘settler’ in advice pamphlets for new arrivals, but also described whites who lived permanently in Kenya or Northern Rhodesia as ‘European’ or ‘Kenya/Northern Rhodesian-born settlers’.<sup>17</sup> In Kenya, ‘settler associations’ were established to promote the interests of white farmers across the White Highlands, although associations dedicated to ‘home’ identities – such as the Caledonian Associations – were far more common.<sup>18</sup> During the same period Louis Leakey -the palaeontologist and second-generation white settler - was describing himself as a proud ‘white African’ in his 1937 publication.<sup>19</sup> Thus, throughout the colonial period it would seem that the boundaries of ‘white settler’, ‘proud Scots’, ‘imperial Briton’ and ‘white African’ were porous beyond the confines of a ‘settler’ designation.

Before decolonisation there was an emphasis within settler culture on becoming indigenous. Shadle has argued that such assertions of indigeneity rested upon settlers’ claim to superior knowledge and understanding of Africa.<sup>20</sup> With decolonisation, the nature of the pressure to claim indigeneity changed. Whereas previously, being ‘white’ was entirely about the suppression of Africans, after decolonisation being a white in Africa was all about disavowing the colonial legacy and securing legitimacy in spite of it. Taking this into account, can a postcolonial white claim an African identity when so much of their lived experience and material existence has been shaped by colonial legacies, propped up by the othering of Africans to justify white power and privilege?

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<sup>16</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> ZNA, MLSS/1/09/033/2025 – Conditions in certain industries and services of domestic servants 1944-54 and KNA, MSS/115/39/10 Information for intending settlers and KNA BN/46/21 Closer settlement scheme for Kenya-Born settlers 1937-55.

<sup>18</sup> KNA, HAKI/1/355 – European Associations Molo, Mau Summit and Turi Settler Associations 1961

<sup>19</sup> Louis Leakey, *White African: an early autobiography* (Rochester: Schenkman Publishing, 1937).

<sup>20</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 2.

When Europeans emigrate to America, they are content to be called Americans, equally they are content to be called Canadians when they go to Canada. They insist on democratic equality there. But in Africa, they are ashamed to be called Africans.<sup>21</sup>

Tom Mboya's provocative statement to a US magazine in the late 1950s gets at a central dichotomy within white identities in Africa.<sup>22</sup> This tension was rooted in the colonial designation of Africa(ns) as synonymous with Blackness, and therefore, inferiority. Fifty-seven years after Mboya's statement, white discomfort with the label of 'African' has remained persistent, demonstrating the resilience of a 'colonial mentality which found it impossible to imagine white Africans', as Bill Schwarz termed it.<sup>23</sup> However, Mboya's call for a solution has, in part, got underway in the intervening five decades as political decolonisation prompted 'stayers' to engage with the nature of their place in the continent. Whilst an African identity remains uncomfortable for many whites, a national Kenyan or Zambian identity has been made partially compatible with whiteness. As this thesis will go on to demonstrate, in the years since independence whites have demonstrated both a need and desire to be accepted as white Kenyans or Zambians and have adopted strategies to rationalize and legitimize this hybridity.

The conceptualisation of 'white Africans' follows Mboya's logic and builds upon Will Jackson and Nicola Ginsburgh's use of the term. They have noted the conjoining of racial identity and geographical belonging within the term, which presumes that 'people of European descent can truly become African, as well as the countervailing doubt that

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<sup>21</sup> KNA, Private Papers, MSS/18/15 Sir Ernest Vasey Papers, Papers kept for Information, 1949-66, taken from a magazine excerpt entitled 'from the Magazine. Excerpts from Today's Issue. African Questions. A nationalist leader offers answers to four key ones'. This interview with Tom Mboya is undated but his references to the Hola Massacre and his own trip to the USA after the 1956 trip indicate it was likely to have taken place in 1959/60.

<sup>22</sup> Mboya was a nationalist figurehead in Kenya, who took a prominent position in independence negotiations and became a minister in the independent government before his assassination in 1969.

<sup>23</sup> Schwarz, *White Man's*, p. 229.

– in the anomalous quality of their continued whiteness – they must remain apart.<sup>24</sup> This thesis develops the term ‘white African’ with reference to its connection to the settler colonial past, to mobility and privilege, and specifically the white ability ‘to appropriate certain elements of “Africa” for their enrichment and self-identification while protecting themselves from harsher realities.’<sup>25</sup> This thesis also moves beyond Jackson and Ginsburgh’s conceptualisation in two key ways. Firstly, it seeks to complicate when, and if, whites have claimed a form of African identity. It also questions the notion of postcolonial whiteness being defined by the distance of remaining apart. Whilst whiteness – as both structural privilege and skin colour - separates postcolonial whites from the black Africans around them, this thesis argues that the intimate interracial nature of white domestic and working lives has brought whites closer to black Africans than these categorical oppositions of ‘white’ and ‘black’ would suggest. The ensuing uncomfortableness of whites in this position has been reinforced by their awareness of the fallibility of their African identity by the black majority, due to their systemic privilege and close association with colonialism. Uneasiness with the idea of being white and African has meant that claims to an African identity have rarely been vocal or strident. Instead it is through more oblique means that white identities in postcolonial Africa can be understood. As such, the following chapters analyse spaces whites have inhabited, the sensory experiences they have privileged, the languages they have spoken and their conceptualisations of life course. All show how whites have identified and legitimised their positions since independence.

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<sup>24</sup> Nicola Ginsburgh and Will Jackson, ‘Settler Societies’, in *A Companion to African History*, ed. by William H. Worger, Nwando Achebe, and Charles Ambler (New York: Wiley, 2018), pp. 77–91 (p. 77).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, (pp. 77–78).

***Embattled postcolonial whiteness and the ‘settler’ legacy***

Whilst the term ‘settler’ should not be considered as a default self-identification during the colonial period, participants often referred to whites in the past as settlers, with some even taking up the term for themselves. Trevor Donaldson, a retired hunter in his eighties living outside Nyeri (see Figure 1), recalled his involvement with settler associations in the early 1960s: ‘We wrote a note for Kenyatta...’, Trevor recollected, ‘saying us settlers wanted to stay, and he actually read it out at independence.’<sup>26</sup> Similarly, eighty-two kilometres north near Timau, Charles Braithwaite, a retired white farmer in his nineties, considered the reasons why he’d stayed in Kenya: ‘[England] is too sterile, it’s not dynamic, compared to the nature all around us... it’s been the natural world and my fellow settlers [which have made me stay].’<sup>27</sup> The fact that these two individuals could both remember the colonial period, which coincided with an exciting stage of their lives as young white hunters, led to an easier association with the label ‘settler’. The lack of young white Kenyan participants identifying with the term pointed toward a greater current awareness of, and sensitivity to, the colonial legacy within which the term is bound. Similarly, in Zambia there appears to have been a greater reticence to identify with ‘settlers’, despite its widespread use when talking about the colonial period.<sup>28</sup> David McShane, a farmer and lodge owner just outside Lusaka, went further when he argued, ‘we’ve never been considered settlers, we’ve always been *Zambian*.’<sup>29</sup> David’s assertion of his *Zambian* identity was made in direct reference to the ‘settler’ Other, indicating his awareness of the weight of colonial history which the identification bore.

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<sup>26</sup> Trevor Donaldson KI078.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Braithwaite KI069.

<sup>28</sup> None of the whites interviewed in Zambia self-identified as ‘settlers’, although two identified as ‘old colonials’, see Duncan Smith ZI002 and Bill Newton ZI031.

<sup>29</sup> David McShane ZI016.

The designation of ‘white settler’ linked whites in Kenya and Zambia into the wider pattern of white settlement and indigenous displacement in various dominions of the British Empire.<sup>30</sup> ‘Settler’ was intrinsically othering as it drew a distinction between the indigenous inhabitants of the country and those who arrived under colonial rule in a privileged position, securing economic, political and social supremacy. The term had inherently negative connotations in the colonial context in which it was embedded – with missionaries, colonial officials and humanitarians in Britain often viewing settlers as rough and exploitative.<sup>31</sup> Alan Lester’s work has shown how the term settler could be loaded with highly negative connotations within Britain, yet could travel from the metropole to Australia and other parts of the empire, in ways analogous to the transfer of imperial whiteness between colonial locales.<sup>32</sup> When the anti-colonial activist Norman Leys agitated in London in the 1930s for equality regardless of race in Kenya, he did so with a keen awareness that the notion of the ‘settler’ as the dispossessor of Africans was relatively well known. He invoked the discourse of slavery to damn settler society in Kenya and used his book *A Last Chance in Kenya* to make clear his position of ‘no possibility of compromise with the settlers’.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Kennedy, *Islands*; Shadle, *Souls*; Lewis H Gann and Peter Duignan, *White Settlers in Tropical Africa* (London: Penguin books, 1962), XIII; Stephen Constantine, ‘British Emigration to the Empire-Commonwealth since 1880: From Overseas Settlement to Diaspora?’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31.2 (2003), 16–35; Stephen Constantine, *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Hugh Tinker, ‘The British Colonies of Settlement’, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, 1995, 14–20.

<sup>31</sup> For the most prominent critiques of settler society by its contemporaries see Norman Leys, *Last Chance in Kenya* (Hogarth Press, London, 1931); Diana Wylie, ‘Norman Leys and McGregor Ross: A Case Study in the Conscience of African Empire 1900–39’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 5.3 (1977), 294–309; Colin Morris, *The Hour after Midnight: A Missionary’s Experiences of the Racial and Political Struggle in Northern Rhodesia* (London: Longmans, 1961).

<sup>32</sup> Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2005); Jonathan Hyslop, ‘The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself “White”: White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa before the First World War’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12.4 (1999), 398–421.

<sup>33</sup> Terrence L. Craig, *The White Spaces of Kenyan Settler Writing: A Polemical Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. xxviii; Norman Leys, p. 88.

Frantz Fanon's 1961 seminal anti-colonial work *The Wretched of the Earth* identified 'the settler' as the embodiment of colonialism's ills, since then the pejorative connotations of 'settler' have been utilized by African nationalists and politicians as a means of mobilizing political support.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the clearest example of this was the unofficial slogan adopted in the 1980s by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (PAC) in South Africa of 'One Settler, One Bullet'. This controversial slogan was further explained by the PAC General Secretary Benny Alexander in 1991 when he said 'settlers only applies to those whites who oppress indigenous people'.<sup>35</sup> Alexander allowed for a 'non-settler' white, 'whose only home and sole allegiance is to Africa'.<sup>36</sup> Across South Africa's northern border, in Zimbabwe in September 1993 Robert Mugabe was furious at white farmers' attempt to legally dispute his government's designation of their farms for acquisition. He told the Zanu-PF central committee: 'if white settlers just took the land from us without paying for it, we can, in a similar way, just take it from them without paying for it, or entertaining any ideas of legality or constitutionality'.<sup>37</sup> Mugabe used the term 'white settler' at various points of 'crisis' during his rule. The acceleration of farm acquisitions from 2000 onwards saw a direct conflict between ZANU-PFs 'war veterans' and 'white settlers' – pointedly invoking the language and binary of the bitter civil war or Second Chimurenga between 1966 and 1979.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* Trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove, 1963)

<sup>35</sup> Heribert Adam, Kogila Moodley, and Kogila A. Moodley, *The Opening of the Apartheid Mind: Options for the New South Africa*, 50 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 117.

<sup>36</sup> Benny Alexander, interview, *Monitor*, June 1991. Quoted in *ibid*, p.117.

<sup>37</sup> Martin Meredith, *Mugabe: Power, Plunder, and the Struggle for Zimbabwe's Future* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2009).

<sup>38</sup> Peter Alexander, 'Zimbabwean Workers, the MDC & the 2000 Election', *Review of African Political Economy*, 27.85 (2000), 385–406; Brian Raftopoulos, 'Nation, Race and History in Zimbabwean Politics', in *Making Nations, Creating Strangers* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 181–194; Fay Chung, *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from the Liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe* (Oxford: African Books Collective, 2006); Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'Rethinking Chimurenga and Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe: A Critique of Partisan National History', *African Studies Review*, 55.3 (2012), 1–26.

The term ‘settler’ has also re-emerged during recent conflicts over land in Laikipia, central-northern Kenya, mobilized by some Kenyan politicians and pastoralists to highlight historic injustices and vindicate their attempts to ‘reclaim’ land and grazing rights. The former Laikipia North MP Mathew Lempurkel told Kenya’s *Star* newspaper on 12<sup>th</sup> March 2017:

People are struggling over the available water and pasture for their livestock, which is our livelihood. In my constituency there are a million hectares owned by thirty-six settlers. It’s very clear, it is white and black.<sup>39</sup>

Lempurkel faced a backlash for his alleged incitement of violence against white landowners and was arrested over suspicion of involvement in Tristan Voorspuy’s murder in March 2017. However, his distillation of the conflict into simple racial terms gained traction, both with international media sources and amongst Laikipians who lived in the shadow of large private landholdings. Lemerigi Letimalo, a 28-year-old Samburu herder interviewed by local journalists explained that ‘the reason we go there [on to ranches] is not to grab the land, we go for pasture, nothing else. The white settlers are the ones who call the police forces to attack us.’<sup>40</sup> It is important to note that either Lemerigi used a Samburu word literally meaning settlers, or the translator/editor used the term because of its historical and emotive resonance with the publication’s readers. The continual invocation of the term ‘white settler’ by Africans during moments of conflict points to the potential vulnerability of postcolonial whites. Naomi Andrews, a white businesswoman in Nairobi, explained her nephew’s reaction on returning to Kenya after a decade away in the UK. Whilst out in Nairobi for the evening, Max was shocked when

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<sup>39</sup> Star Newspaper, quote taken from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/kenyan-mp-matthew-lempurkel-kenya-white-landowners-eviction-laikipia-conservation-wildlife-a7625886.html> - accessed on 26/08/2019.

<sup>40</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-07-20-kenyan-cattle-herders-defend-necessary-land-invasions> - accessed on 26/08/2019.



a black Kenyan responded to finding out that Max was born in Kenya with ‘I hope you’re not the child of a settler.’<sup>41</sup>

Alongside the pejorative use of the term by some black Kenyans was the paradoxical invisibility of white Kenyans to much of the Kenyan population. Professor Wainani, a black Kenyan academic in Nairobi, argued that ‘most whites in Kenya are seen as tourists, they are respected for their wealth but not considered Kenyan. Most Kenyans don’t realise that white Kenyans exist.’<sup>42</sup> White Kenyans have been subsumed by the generic category of ‘tourist’, alluding to the idea that the colonial period was itself a passing phase. However white Kenyans’ conspicuous links to the colonial past, combined with their synonymy with other whites, highlights their need for a reflexive white interpretation of postcolonial history, which not only offers a break from the legacy of the ‘settler’, but also a future in which they are recognized as white citizens, rather than *mzungu* or tourists.<sup>43</sup>

In white discourse, the term ‘settler’ began to recede after independence, a process Peter Godwin – a white Zimbabwean writer - described as, the slow ‘metamorphosis from settler to expatriate.’<sup>44</sup> But neither the term expatriate, or settler, accurately capture the particular forms of postcolonial identity which developed amongst whites born and raised in Kenya and Zambia. This thesis questions how ‘settled’ a settler really was, and explores what Robert Bickers describes as ‘the central fact of unsettlement, and of the unsettled, and this churning, turning world of empire life’ which has been

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<sup>41</sup> Naomi Andrews KI036.

<sup>42</sup> Professor Wainani KI029.

<sup>43</sup> *Mzungu* is the Ki-Swahili term for a white. It is widely used across eastern and central Africa and is often viewed to have derogatory implications.

<sup>44</sup> By 1965 the term ‘settler’ in the Kenyan National Archives was being used to describe black Kenyans being re-settled around Nyeri as part of the ‘African Resettlement Scheme’ see KNA AAN/1/2 Settlers interviews 1965-6. For similar terms in settlement around Naro Moru see KNA AAN/1/1 – Administration settlement file and settlers 1962-65.

neglected in the literature.<sup>45</sup> Whites who decided to stay in Kenya and Zambia have tried to mitigate this state of ‘unsettlement’ through their commitment to the new nation, in direct contrast to white expatriates and tourists, through a claim to an African identity – albeit a distinctly white one. They reinstate race by claiming an African identity which is, for many, synonymous with Blackness, whilst at the same time attempting to differentiate themselves from the racial construct of ‘the settler’. This paradoxically racialised identity is then set against the backdrop of the colonial codification and entrenchment of racial categories.<sup>46</sup> The same systems of rule which dispossessed black Africans have created the space in which white settlers could claim African identities.

Postcolonial whites in Africa have claimed a form of African identity at various times and for various reasons, highlighting the tension between an occasional *need to seem* white African and a *desire to be* white African. The tension between desire and need were mutually supporting; in one sense a white African identity has been a means of protecting property and privilege in the face of black African calls for recompense for colonialism through targeting wealthy white ‘others’. This was an argument put forward by Joe Cleall, a former white Zimbabwean politician exiled in Zambia, who was at pains to stress the existence of white Africans: ‘they are a fact, but they are not accepted. The politics of race has been used against whites since decolonisation.’<sup>47</sup> However claims to this identity have also been an emotional expression of allegiance to both the nation and the continent. The ‘authenticity’ of this emotion often appraised through the ability to have relationships

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<sup>45</sup> Robert Bickers, *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 242.

<sup>46</sup> Antoinette Burton, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* (London: Routledge, 2005); Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Homi K. Bhabha, “Race”, Time and the Revision of Modernity’, *Oxford Literary Review*, 13.1 (1991), 193–219; Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* Trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove, 1963); Frantz Fanon, *The Fact of Blackness* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968).

<sup>47</sup> Joe Cleall ZI074.

with African people beyond the colonial. A large part of these more 'decolonial' relationships has been the sharing of mutual spaces and knowledge, expressed through an understanding of African languages and social structures alongside proclaimed friendships with black Africans.

### ***Geo-politics and international whiteness in Kenya and Zambia***

Kenya and Zambia provide two new perspectives on postcolonial white identity, both as understudied contexts and due to the frustrated nature of settler colonialism in both countries.<sup>48</sup> Both had tense colonial relationships with Britain due to their small but vociferous settler populations and the resulting political and racial disturbances. As the two countries were granted independence from British rule under majority African governments, Kenya and Zambia had large resident white populations who faced an uncertain future.<sup>49</sup> In Zambia this uncertainty took on a particular intensity in the years immediately after independence and diverged from Kenya's history of racialised land pressures. After UDI by white-ruled Rhodesia in 1965 and the ensuing civil war, whites in Zambia became an increasingly conspicuous group whose close ties with whites south of the Zambezi were a source of suspicion to black Zambians. The specific racial politics of southern Africa from Zambian Independence in 1964 until the 1980s was shaped by the recalcitrance of white supremacist regimes in Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. The late colonial insurgencies in these countries in the 1960s and 1970s heightened racial tensions and questioned the legitimacy of whites living in southern Africa. However, these tensions only sporadically flared up

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<sup>48</sup> For the limited literature on postcolonial whites in Kenya and Zambia see McIntosh, *Unsettled*; Janet McIntosh, 'Land, Belonging and Structural Oblivion among Contemporary White Kenyans', *Africa*, 87.4 (2017), 662–682; Duffy, 'Staying on or Going "Home"'; Duncan Money, "'No Matter How Much or How Little They've Got, They Can't Settle down": A Social History of Europeans on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1926-1974' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2016).

<sup>49</sup> For the Kenyan statistics see Nardocchio-Jones, 'Mau-Mau' p. 497. And for the Zambian statistics see Duffy, 'Staying on', p. 214.

over the specific issue of land (as was often the case in Kenya) with accusations of disloyalty to the Zambian nation and violent crime being the more common flashpoints.<sup>50</sup>

There are some key divergences in the discourses and experiences which have shaped adherence to white 'Africanness' in both countries. Kenya's international reputation for glamorous 'wilderness' tourism, which peaked at 2,025,206 foreign tourists visiting the country in 2018, has meant the continual presence of large numbers of white tourists since independence.<sup>51</sup> Kenya's international whiteness has also been dramatically shaped by Nairobi's development as a hub for the International Development and NGO world in East Africa, epitomised by the UN headquarters in Nairobi. Nairobi and Kenya more generally became a melting pot of transnational whites post-independence: tourists, NGO workers, business expatriates, and long-term German and Italian residents in Malindi and Mtwapa all lived alongside the white colonials who had been born and raised there. The international dimension of whiteness in Kenya has had a distinct impact upon the identity of white Kenyans who work, socialise and have romantic relationships with these other white groups. It has instilled a sense of separation from the newer white arrivals – reaffirming what is Kenyan about a white Kenyan – whilst also keeping white Kenyans close to Europe through the physical presence of Europeans.

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<sup>50</sup> Whites in Northern Rhodesia were not allocated the same quantities of land as their Kenyan counterparts (the average holding of a white farmer in Zambia in 2016 being in the low thousands of acres compared to the vast acreages of Laikipian ranches and Rift Valley farms). Northern Rhodesia/Zambia also had a smaller population than Kenya, with a larger land mass – Kenya has a total landmass of 569,140km<sup>2</sup> and population of 8.1 million in 1960 and 49.7 million in 2017, whereas Zambia is 743,390km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 3.04 million in 1960 and 17.09 million in 2017, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/sp.pop.totl> and <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ag.lnd.totl.kz>

<sup>51</sup> Figures taken from <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/economy/Kenya-tourism-earnings-rise-to-Sh157bn-as-2018-arrivals-cross-2m/3946234-4924636-15p97f6z/index.html#targetText=The%20latest%20statistics%20show%20there,with%203.6%20million%20in%202017>. – accessed 21/08/19. John S. Akama, 'The Evolution of Tourism in Kenya', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 7.1 (1999), 6–25; Evelyn Waugh, *A Tourist in Africa* (London: Penguin UK, 2011); Will Jackson, 'White Man's Country: Kenya Colony and the Making of a Myth', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 5.2 (2011), 344–368; Edward I. Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Woodbridge: James Currey Publishers, 2006).

In contrast, whilst there is an established white expatriate community in Lusaka, the number of white expatriates pales in comparison to that of Nairobi. Combined with Zambia's relatively fledgling tourist industry and less 'fashionable' colonial history, this has meant there is less cosmopolitan whiteness and less British influence. The result has been a sharper sense of being Zambian, a point which Timothy's brother, Terry Clarke made clear when we met at his business in Ndola:

I'm a Zambian. I'm proud to be a Zambian. You call me a white Zambian but I'm not, I'm a Zambian. That also makes me cross sometimes. My passport expired and they said, "prove you're a Zambian". I've got a Zambian passport, I've always had a Zambian passport, believe me. I got my passport, because I *am a Zambian*. I've got no other nationality. I will never have another one and don't want one. I'm proud to be Zambian.<sup>52</sup>

Terry's frustration at his limited acceptance as a Zambian, despite his denial of the racialised hybridity of his identity and his affective commitment to the country, demonstrated how whiteness has troubled white claims to Kenyan and Zambian identities. However the heightened awareness of race has been more pronounced in Zambia due to the postcolonial racial turbulence of southern Africa. This argument takes direction from Gressier's work on white identity in Botswana and its relatively peaceful postcolonial history. Just as Gressier observed white Batswana extolling the uniquely positive racial dynamics of their country and identifying against 'racist' settler-descendants further south, this thesis notes how whites in Zambia have also constructed identities in relation to stereotypical figures in the south, as well as holding up Northern Rhodesia's Protectorate status as evidence of the less violent and dispossessing history of the country.<sup>53</sup> The tendency of white Zambians to look to the south, rather than Europe or the US as many white Kenyans have, has meant that it is Durban, Pietermaritzburg, the

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<sup>52</sup> Terry Clarke ZI063.

<sup>53</sup> Catie Gressier, *At Home in the Okavango: White Batswana Narratives of Emplacement and Belonging* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), p. 5.

Cape, or Harare which white Zambians considered holiday destinations, sites for children's schooling or the homes of relatives.

Until the advent of cheaper air travel in the 1970s with the development of jet aircraft, travel to Northern Rhodesia, later Zambia, from the UK required a sea journey to Cape Town, followed by a train journey through South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, later Rhodesia.<sup>54</sup> Conversely in Kenya whites could take an arduous multi-stop flight across north Africa, or travel through the Suez Canal via Aden, in a journey which invoked much orientalist nostalgia about the Arab world and the passage to India. In this vein Buettner has argued that British-Indian families 'owed their identity to travels to and from the metropole on the 'exiles line'.<sup>55</sup> Travel to Zambia played a similarly important role for whites, although not only due to the experience of Britain and the sea journey, but also the experience of travelling through the two established white supremacist states of Rhodesia and South Africa. Participants vividly recalled such journeys in their childhood. Such experiences reaffirmed a sense of 'white Africa', as well as an increasing sense of embattlement as friends and family became embroiled in the violent conflicts of decolonisation in both countries. This not only communicated the tensions between white political control and white vulnerability, but also heightened awareness of racial animosity, and the perceived racial 'harmony' of postcolonial Zambia. This raises the ironic possibility that the settler colony of Kenya became a more transient and internationalist space for postcolonial whites, whilst the African protectorate of Northern Rhodesia contained whites who had a subjectivity more rooted within the continent, albeit within white enclaves and former settler territories. Following the observations of Gressier in Botswana and McIntosh in Kenya, this thesis builds upon the value of

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<sup>54</sup> Marc Dierikx, *Clipping the Clouds: How Air Travel Changed the World: How Air Travel Changed the World* (Santa Barbara: -CLIO, 2008), p. 72.

<sup>55</sup> Buettner, *Empire Families*, p. 4.

addressing postcolonial whites in contexts outside the more well-publicised examples of South Africa and Zimbabwe.<sup>56</sup> In doing so we might further understand the differing colonial legacies of settler colonies and African protectorates. The intricacies of postcolonial white identity will be teased out through the triangular methodology adopted in the thesis: the comparison of Kenya and Zambia, the use of ethnographic oral history methods and the contextual grounding in the processes of decolonisation.

***Entangled whiteness: writing a history of white identity***

This thesis is not just a history of identity, but also a social history of decolonisation through the eyes and experiences of Kenya and Zambia's colonial racial and economic elites. As such this is both a history and sociology of a contemporary phenomenon, one which has deeply complex and uncomfortable connections to the past. Dane Kennedy has argued that in colonial Kenya 'to be white was to be privileged, but it was also to be conscious of the tenuous and exclusionary character of that privilege'.<sup>57</sup> After independence whites were even more conscious of their privilege under majority rule, due to the ability of the postcolonial state to take away their material advantage. This sharpened the ideological power of race in Kenya and Zambia, as whiteness became synonymous with a neo-colonial socio-economic influence. The white subjects at the centre of this research are preoccupied with the experiences and subjectivities which form their identities, namely: a keen awareness of their colonial history; the visibility of their whiteness - and its attendant privilege; and their perceived precarity within postcolonial society. This builds an understanding of identity which relies both upon white self-perceptions and their external categorisation by black Africans - the two influences being indivisible from each other. This standpoint is informed by Brett Shadle's

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<sup>56</sup> Gressier, *At Home*; McIntosh, *Unsettled*.

<sup>57</sup> Kennedy, *Islands*, p. 6.

conceptualisation of ‘a settler soul’, which itself was built upon WEB Du Bois’ idea of the souls of black folk.<sup>58</sup> Shadle went further into the psychology of interracial relationships when he argued that settlers in Kenya ‘constantly observed themselves through others’ eyes, but it was the eyes of the dominated. Their fear was that Africans would measure the white soul – using the tape the settlers had made – and find that soul lacking.’ Whiteness scholars more generally draw upon Du Bois’ ideas, as David Roediger’s edited collection makes clear, as a means of thinking through how whites have viewed themselves through the eyes of others.<sup>59</sup> Whilst this thesis draws upon Shadle’s notion of settlers’ double consciousness, it does so with direct reference to what Janet McIntosh has more accurately termed the ‘embryonic double consciousness’ of white Kenyans.

It is odd to be talking about double consciousness, the term developed by WEB Du Bois to describe African Americans internalisation of the white gaze, to describe the identities and subjectivities of postcolonial whites in Africa. By using double consciousness this thesis is not attempting to collapse the African American experience of repression into postcolonial whites’ experience of uncomfortable racial privilege in Africa. As McIntosh rightly notes, it would be absurd to draw direct comparisons between African Americans experiences of ‘legal, economic, and cultural immiseration, whereas settler descendants in Kenya are still reaping the benefits of white privilege’.<sup>60</sup> However, it is productive to think of the ways in which white Kenyans and Zambians have considered themselves through the eyes of their black compatriots, not least in the

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<sup>58</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, pp. 19–20; William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903).

<sup>59</sup> David R. Roediger, *Black on White: Black Writers on What It Means to Be White* (New York: Knopf Group E-Books, 2010).

<sup>60</sup> Janet McIntosh, *Unsettled: Denial and Belonging Among White Kenyans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 5–6.



self-critique and querying of their economic and social privilege and the troubling of the colonial notion of whites representing the ‘paragon of humanity’.<sup>61</sup> Whilst whites in these contexts have the ability to move toward or away from the awareness of their critics, they are inescapably aware of their own ‘othering’ and the essentialist stereotypes that they are portrayed as. McIntosh highlights another salient point within Du Bois’ theory of double consciousness for highly self-aware yet privileged postcolonial whites in Africa, namely the dualism of identity created by ‘African-Americanism’. Whilst whites in Kenya and Zambia do not experience the disenfranchisement, or internalisation of white supremacy, which Du Bois detailed, they do face ‘an awkward tension’ between their ethno-racial and national identities in a nation where in public discourse, entitlement to belong and to own land increasingly hinges on having deep ancestral roots in local soil.<sup>62</sup>

Thus racial whiteness in the thesis is conceptualised in two ways. First as a self-conscious identity, inseparable from colonialism, along the lines of McIntosh’s idea of ‘embryonic double consciousness’. Secondly as a form of ‘cultural politics’, conceptualised in response to Ann Stoler’s call for a more nuanced ethnographic understanding of European ‘colonizers’ and the culturally ‘unique’ forms of European-ness formed in the colonies.<sup>63</sup> It is to these unique forms of European-ness, and how they were impacted on by decolonisation, which this thesis is attentive to. Building upon Stoler’s analysis of colonial Sumatra and Java the thesis seeks to complicate the homogeneity of colonial elites, utilising ethnography – as Stoler does – to examine the ‘cultural politics of the communities in which colonizers lived’.<sup>64</sup> Crucially this study moves beyond the colonial period which Stoler interrogates and considers the cultural

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid, p.6.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, p.6.

<sup>63</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, "Rethinking colonial categories: European communities and the boundaries of rule." *Comparative studies in society and history* 31.1 (1989), 134-161 (pp.135-6).

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, pp.135-6.

politics of postcolonial whites, questioning what whiteness is, and how it is articulated, in a postcolonial African context. As such the thesis focuses upon aspects of white culture identified by anthropologists of eastern and southern Africa – especially fictive kinship, language and social practices such as the *braai*.<sup>65</sup> Such works have informed the approach within this thesis, specifically the participant observation methodology and the idiosyncrasies of an identity rooted in an uncomfortable history – one which granted whites' contemporary material privilege and as a result has been critiqued. Neither Kenya or Zambia has the wealth of whiteness literature found in South Africa and Zimbabwe, partly due to far larger white populations of both countries. Focusing on these smaller populations who had closer ties to Britain in the late colonial period than either apartheid South Africa or the renegade Rhodesia allows for an analysis of how minority white identities have also been constructed in a much more self-aware way, with direct relation to colonial heritages and the black Africans that surround them.

The cultural politics of whiteness which Stoler alluded to can be accessed through a methodology employed in Catie Gressier's ethnography of whites in Ngamiland, Botswana.<sup>66</sup> Gressier approached white Batswana claims to belonging through discursive techniques and narratives.<sup>67</sup> In a similar vein, this research analyses the stories, language and relationships which have articulated whites' cultural politics, identity and postcolonial positioning.<sup>68</sup> The emphasis upon intimate relations between whites, Africa and Africans which participants foregrounded, demonstrates that whiteness was always entangled with

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<sup>65</sup> Melissa Steyn, 'White Talk': White South Africans and the Management of Diasporic Whiteness', *Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire*, 2005, 119–135; Cornel Verwey and Michael Quayle, 'Whiteness, Racism, and Afrikaner Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *African Affairs*, 111.445 (2012), 551–575 (pp. 552 and 558). McIntosh, *Unsettled*; Janet McIntosh, 'Linguistic Atonement: Penitence and Privilege in White Kenyan Language Ideologies', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 2014, 1165–1199.

<sup>66</sup> Gressier, *At Home*, p. 5.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the objects against which it defined itself. Indeed, in the contexts of postcolonial Kenya and Zambia such distance was almost impossible to achieve. Ultimately the thesis shows the equivocal, uncertain and hesitant nature of whiteness.

*Intimate histories of the postcolonial*

Stoler's influence on the thesis is evident once again for her interrogation of intimate relations to understand the workings of colonial power.<sup>69</sup> Stoler's focus upon the intimacy of childhood and domestic service as two of the central pillars which constructed white identities in the colonies not only informed the approach of the thesis, but has wider implications for challenging the notion that 'the boundaries separating colonizer and colonized were self-evident and easily drawn'.<sup>70</sup> Stoler's emphasis upon intimacy and the blurred boundaries of difference became methodologically pertinent as I conducted intimate, interactional research dialogues with participants in their familiar spaces of homes, social clubs and workplaces. Participants' privileging of close relationships as a means of business, socialising and security quickly became evident, and my incorporation into these circles highlighted intimacy as a mode of action that shaped my interlocutors' lives. A focus upon intimacy also draws upon the rich archival historiography on intimacy and colonialism. Such work has shown how the 'intimate frontiers of empire defined and defied racial classifications through the relations between colonizer and colonized'.<sup>71</sup> It is

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<sup>69</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>70</sup> Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 42.

<sup>71</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies', *The Journal of American History*, 88.3 (2001), 829–65; Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Esme Cleall, Laura Ishiguro, and Emily J. Manktelow, 'Imperial Relations: Histories of Family in the British Empire', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 14.1 (2013); Burton.

the interracial intimacy fostered through shared spaces, experiences and relationships which provides the lens through which white racial identity can be explored.

This thesis builds upon the rich body of literature on colonialism and intimacy by utilising oral history methods within a postcolonial context. This focus upon the intimate allows for a better understanding of social relations in Kenya and Zambia, and connectedly the contestation and re-imagination of white identity through the continuing process of decolonisation. The intimate facets of whites' lives are organised into the various chapters of the thesis, ranging from the spatial, to the sensorial, the lingual and finally to the temporal. By focusing on intimacy in this way a deeper understanding of how whites have mediated and understood the postcolonial landscape can be grasped, without falling into a hackneyed form of historical analysis concentrating upon continuity and change.<sup>72</sup>

#### *Emotions, memory and reverie*

Another theme which runs through the chapters of the thesis is the emotional contours of postcolonial white identities. This approach stems from the emotional justifications of white participants in their decisions to stay beyond independence; their senses of anticipation, hope and loyalty. As well as the emotionality of white reviews of their decisions to stay; their fear, anger, longing and sadness. Emotions in this thesis intersect closely with memory, as whites look back at their pasts and those of their families to understand the present and *feel* more at home. This intersection is conceptualised through the twinned notions of nostalgia and reverie, elucidating how nostalgic memories are invoked through everyday experiences of reverie (a conceptual development

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<sup>72</sup> Will Jackson, 'Ruling Minds: Psychology in the British Empire by Erik Linstrum, and: Hunting Africa: British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire by Angela Thompsell, and: Beyond the State: The Colonial Medical Service in British Africa Ed. by Anna Greenwood', *Journal of World History*, 28.3 (2017), 672–686.

explained fully in the methodology section). The emotional contours of colonial projects are not new territory.<sup>73</sup> Shadle has explained how white settlement was ‘emotionally enriched’ by the notions of paternalism and trusteeship. He argued that ‘paternalism would become one of the defining features of settler thinking: it was both a *duty* to civilize Africans and emotionally and psychologically *pleasurable* to do so.’<sup>74</sup> Taking up his direction this thesis looks at the emotional strategies of postcolonial whites to understand rationalisations of white positions and their understanding of their relationship to the colonial past. Whilst Shadle focused upon trusteeship and paternalism, this thesis addresses the emotional nature of white relationships with Africans through the postcolonial development of fictive kinship and patronage networks.

Participants employed emotional language and expressed emotions during research dialogues, ranging from incredulity at questions of their positionality, shame at the living conditions of their workers, anger at their perceived treatment by the state and pride in their national ‘contribution’. Whilst the emotional language and expression of participants reflected individual experiences, the palette of emotional discourse and performance was often similar. The postcolonial whites I interviewed loosely represented what Barbara Rosenwein has termed an ‘emotional community’ – ‘groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions’.<sup>75</sup> Emotions were described and expressed in ways which broadly aligned, but the theorisation here stops short of suggesting a coherent, ‘settler soul’.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); Will Jackson, ‘The Private Lives of Empire: Emotion, Intimacy, and Colonial Rule’, *Itinerario*, 42.1 (2018), 1–15; Jonathan Saha, ‘Murder at London Zoo: Late Colonial Sympathy in Interwar Britain’, *The American Historical Review*, 121.5 (2016), 1468–1491; Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen, ‘Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in British Protestant Women's Missionary Publications C.1880–1920’, *Journal of Social History*, 41.3 (2008), 691–716.

<sup>74</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> Barbara H Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 4.

Instead the thesis takes instruction from the work of Michael Roper, who ‘stressed the significance of the material, of bodily experiences, and of the practices of daily life in which emotional relations are embedded.’<sup>77</sup> Building upon Roper this thesis analyses emotions but roots them in the socio-cultural contexts in which they are expressed, and foregrounds the ‘complexity of human relationships’ which underpins them.<sup>78</sup>

On a self-reflective note, the study of emotions became a natural part of the research process as participants trust at my presence and acceptance of my research topic were surprising to me. The absence of scepticism and distrust reflected participants’ apparent comfort with me as a researcher - a perception rooted in my position as a white British man and therefore a ‘familiar and welcome type of outsider’.<sup>79</sup> These emotional engagements came close to what Roper has termed ‘the unconscious work of history’, where historian and subject begin to represent the analyst and analysed.<sup>80</sup> This implies issues of transference, counter-transference and the potential for an impasse of mis-recognition, amplified by what Roper has described as the ability to be drawn into ‘the unconscious dramas’ of historical actors and develop empathy for my participants.<sup>81</sup>

### *Relationships, families and identities*

Timothy, who opened the thesis, made clear that whites in Africa are to a very large degree constructed in relation to the black Africans around them. This has been noted in the colonial period by Shadle, who convincingly argued that ‘we find the core of white settlement in their [settler] (real and imagined) relations with Africans, state officials

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<sup>77</sup> Michael Roper, ‘Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History’, *History Workshop Journal*, 59 (2005), 57–72 (p. 69).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>79</sup> William Monteith, ‘Heart and Struggle: Life in Nakasero Market 1912-2015’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of East Anglia, 2016), p. 32.

<sup>80</sup> Michael Roper, ‘The Unconscious Work of History’, *Cultural and Social History*, 11.2 (2014), 169–193.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

and one another.<sup>82</sup> It is these relations which this thesis builds upon, arguing that the 'tense and tender' relations between Africans and whites are one of the key means to understanding postcolonial white identities.<sup>83</sup> These intimate interracial relationships were violent and exploitative yet simultaneously co-dependent and central to whites' understandings of themselves.

Moving beyond the imagined relationships with Africans – the double consciousness which has already been discussed - this thesis foregrounds specific relationships within domestic spaces, relations within family units and relationships with domestic servants – often conceptualised as 'familial' or kin-like. These relationships have been intimate – in the sense outlined above of knowing the inner spaces of white subjectivity – and confounded ideas of separation and aloofness which settler colonialism allegedly rested upon, as they affectively tied whites to Africa. On the surface white relationships with Africans can often be characterised as colonial and paternalistic. However, through an analysis of these relationships, their tensions and the potential for the transgression of racial norms can be unearthed, providing a valuable complication to the supposed characteristics of white identity in Africa.

The focus upon the family in this thesis builds upon work on colonialism, intimacy and familial relations by Durba Ghosh, Cleall, Ishiguro and Mankeltow, but principally Buettner, to posit the idea that white identities were constructed through the family and connectedly their colonial heritage.<sup>84</sup> Buettner argued that families with generation serving in India, 'both made, and were made by the Raj'.<sup>85</sup> She goes on to

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<sup>82</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup> Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties'.

<sup>84</sup> Cleall, Ishiguro, and Manktelow; Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), XIII; Buettner, *Empire Families*.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

argue that ‘children and family life more broadly construed, were pivotal to perceiving what the white community connected with late imperial India stood for.’<sup>86</sup> This thesis takes a similar approach, by centring the family within this analysis but expanding into a generational concept of family, in which the colonial heritage is passed down through both skin colour and material privilege. Settler families made the world around them as they physically constructed the homes, fences and farms which circumscribed their identities, with energies concentrated on shaping the spaces and subjectivities they occupied. This process of circumscription involved establishing what constituted one’s family, comprising multi-racial and multi-generational kin networks. For example, kin-like relationships with African staff, and intimate relations with land, often passed from one generation to another. Kinship networks are explored throughout the thesis, but most explicitly in Chapter Five.<sup>87</sup>

Chapter Five also considers how gender and generation shape the contours of these kin and family networks, as previous generations continue to shape the experiences and identities of later ones. Within an individual’s life, intimate relations are configured through one’s life course. Early life was characterised by white ‘friendships’ with Africans, in a kind of pre-racial state of childhood. Intimate relations became more codified and regimented in adulthood as they ‘learnt race’ and became established at the head of racial hierarchies with Africans dependents. Then as whites aged their intimates become more African again, as white friendships dissolved and the importance of relations with, and care from, African staff became paramount.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>87</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042, Greg Simmonds ZI010 and Charles Braithwaite ZI069.



## ***Sources and Methodologies***

### *Oral history and elite sources*

The conceptual focus upon intimacy and emotions was an organic development from the distinct research experience which underpins the thesis. The subjective and personal nature of oral history dialogues conducted lends itself to a self-reflexive and nuanced historical approach to relationships. I use the term dialogue, as opposed to interview, to demonstrate that the interview process is productive of knowledge, rather than extractive, and is shaped by the class, gender and racial subjectivities of both myself and participants.<sup>88</sup> During the research I was repeatedly invited into the intimate spaces of people's homes and workplaces; within these intimate spaces I became not just an observing researcher but an active participant in research dialogue and social and family events. The hospitality, openness and self-reflexivity of my participants towards myself – as a white British man - is representative of white groups in both countries who are trying to negotiate and understand their place in the post-colonial context.

It could perhaps appear anomalous to be using the methodology of oral history for this research into a privileged elite group, more pointedly so within the African context, as oral history remains one of the most powerful tools for researching African history from an African perspective.<sup>89</sup> However oral history remains a key method with which to research the history of decolonisation for these white communities due to their relative absence from the official archives of independent African states. As Paul Thompson has argued, official archives are shaped by the power structures which create

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<sup>88</sup> Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Amanda Chisholm, 'Clients, Contractors, and the Everyday Masculinities in Global Private Security', *Critical Military Studies*, 3.2 (2017), 120–141 (p. 6).

<sup>89</sup> For the use of oral history within Africa see Jan Vansina, 'Once upon a Time: Oral Traditions as History in Africa', *Daedalus*, 1971, 442–468; Isabel Hofmeyr and Asabel Hofmeyr, *We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chieftdom* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1994); Carolyn A. Hamilton, 'Ideology and Oral Traditions: Listening to the Voices "From Below"', *History in Africa*, 14 (1987), 67–86.

and feed them - they preserve what is deemed official and 'important'.<sup>90</sup> In the context of post-colonial Kenya and Zambia, whites both removed themselves from the public sphere in order to preserve residual privilege and were also removed in the process of Africanisation.<sup>91</sup> This is not to argue that whites in both countries represent a subaltern group, but rather to address their absence from the archives by using history techniques usually associated with unearthing subaltern voices. By engaging with oral history, we can gain a deeper understanding of how individuals understood and experienced decolonisation, as their previously unchallenged racial privilege now had to be reconceptualised, justified and defended. The ways in which participants spoke to me reflected this reassessment. During dialogues participants usually spoke of someone else who had regressive attitudes, seemingly as a means of conveying wider trends, whilst they could cast themselves as the more enlightened postcolonial white. Similarly, coded language was often used to describe relationships with Africans that participants perceived I may have been uncomfortable with. Thus, workers were often described as 'friends', albeit with clear caveats. In a similar vein, coded white slang was used during dialogues, both as a reflection of the ease with which such language was spoken, as well as my admittance into white social circles as both a racial, class and ethnic British 'insider'.

The context in which these oral histories were recorded was inseparable from the memories which were being remembered. By engaging participants in an act of recall I was prompting collective memory in the sense developed by Maurice Halbwachs. Halbwachs conceptualised remembering as a social activity. It is through shared

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<sup>90</sup> Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

<sup>91</sup> For arguments about residual privilege see McIntosh, *Unsettled*; McIntosh, 'Linguistic Atonement'. For examples of Africanisation see Philip Daniel, *Africanisation, Nationalisation and Inequality: Mining Labour and the Copperbelt in Zambian Development* (Cambridge: CUP Archive, 1979), IV; Robert H. Bates and Paul Collier, 'The Politics and Economics of Policy Reform in Zambia', *Journal of African Economies*, 4.1 (1995), 115–143; S. Sian, 'Reversing Exclusion: The Africanisation of Accountancy in Kenya, 1963–1970', *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 18.7 (2007), 831–872; David Himbara, 'Myths and Realities of Kenyan Capitalism', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 31.1 (1993), 93–107.

recollection that memories come into existence – they are brought to life through recounting.<sup>92</sup> As I represented a type of ‘insider’ I took part in this act of remembering, becoming the social actor who prompted the recollection. I entered into this collective memory by dint of my racial whiteness, my Britishness and my position as researcher with ‘knowledge’ of the contexts which they were recalling. Similarly the context of wider postcolonial society had a bearing upon this process of recollection. Halbwachs argued that ‘even at the moment of reproducing our past our imagination remains under the influence of our present social milieu.’<sup>93</sup> As such participants were recalling memories I instigated which in turn led to recollections taking place through the lens of an oral history interview as well as the five decades of postcolonial rule. Thus such recollections were self-consciously nostalgic, in the sense of justifying their contemporary postcolonial position whilst also engaged in a yearning for an unreachable colonial past, in which they sensed both they and their lives were better, as Halbwachs would term it.<sup>94</sup>

Oral histories were used in conjunction with archival sources – both official documents and ego documents from private and state archives. This mixed methodology allows for the late colonial historical context to be constructed through archival sources, newspaper articles, European schooling reform, reports and correspondence between government departments, politicians and settlers around issues of desegregation, land sales, destitute whites and independence preparations. These sources are approached qualitatively to search how whites represented themselves to the colonial state as well as how the state conceptualised decolonisation and the place of the whites it had facilitated settling. Whilst many of these official sources are androcentric, a large proportion of the

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<sup>92</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory Edited, translated, and with an Introduction by Lewis A. Coser* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), p.38.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, p.49.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, p.49.

ego documents within the archives - letters written to the state, personal diaries and correspondence - are written by women. Similarly, women are prominent in the published memoirs of whites born in Africa, and female participants in oral history dialogues have helped counter some of the androcentric bias.

### *Memory and Nostalgia*

These 'lived histories' revolve around a constant tension between the imagined past and the ever-changing present – participants negotiated these tensions through strategies which sought to legitimise their current existence by drawing affective strength from their family history. The oral sources in particular provided a tool by which to read this subjective experience of history, as remembered from a vantage point that is not itself outside that history. This links directly with Halbwachs conceptualisation of 'collective memory' discussed above. The memories which are recalled are not an unadulterated 'reliving' of the past but have been changed through the continual process of re-remembering. However, such memories – distorted as they are – form important parts of white identities. Their continual recollection informs identities through a reaffirming sense of self, whilst this recollection also changes them, as they are brought from the past, re-remembered and then put back into the subconscious.<sup>95</sup> Whites' preoccupation with historical legitimacy – a symptom of their fraught relationship with the colonial past- has been enacted through such memory work and has taken place through storytelling and narratives: the linguistic tools which construct and recall 'collective memory'. Such tools have become central to whites' understanding of their place in the continent, a behaviour noted by Cate Gressier in Botswana.<sup>96</sup> The intimate social history which this thesis details was the product of whites' collective memory: their engagement between past and

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid, pp.46-7.

<sup>96</sup> Gressier, *At Home*, pp. 3 and 33.

present, as speaking and living with participants reproduced memories and experiences which were central to whites' construction of themselves.

The majority of the analysis will focus upon white interlocutors interspersed with black voices, the purpose of this being to not necessarily uncover what historic relationships were 'like' but to understand how these relationships have been thought of, justified and understood. These research dialogues have been read as ego documents, as historians have done with letters and diaries, to uncover group identities by looking at the repetition of language and behaviour to illuminate structures of thought.<sup>97</sup> By focusing in on the repeated discursive and emotional strategies adopted by participants – the notions of contribution to society, symbiosis with Africans and the corresponding vulnerability – a clearer picture of postcolonial white identity emerges. However, this relies upon the methodology of living amongst participants to uncover what people do – not just what they say. This methodology was made all the more important by participants' wariness of vocally engaging with African identities. By understanding the spaces people inhabit – and their behaviour within those spaces - a more holistic conceptualisation of identity and subjectivity can be proposed.<sup>98</sup>

This approach feeds into the emerging field of diachronics within history and how to construct past subjectivities through the present subjectivities found in oral histories.<sup>99</sup> These personal narratives are valuable windows onto social history, but they are rarely transparent. Nostalgia, in the sense of wistful yearning for the past, play a central

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<sup>97</sup> Kaspar Von Greyerz, 'Ego-Documents: The Last Word?', *German History*, 28.3 (2010), 273–282; Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack, 'In Relation: The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents', *German History*, 28.3 (2010), 263–272. This approach was informed by a paper given by Lyndal Roper at 'Subjectivity, Self-Narrative and the History of Emotions' at The University of Sussex, Brighton on the 18/01/19.

<sup>98</sup> Lyndal Roper, 'Beyond Discourse Theory', *Women's History Review*, 19.2 (2010), 307–319.

<sup>99</sup> Roper, 'Slipping out of View'; Michael Roper, 'Re-Remembering the Soldier Hero: The Psychic and Social Construction of Memory in Personal Narratives of the Great War', in *History Workshop Journal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), MM, 181–204; Emma Griffin, 'The Emotions of Motherhood: Love, Culture, and Poverty in Victorian Britain', *American Historical Review*, 123.1 (2018), 60–85.

role in shaping these histories. The approach to nostalgia in the thesis builds upon Buettner's assertions about nostalgia for colonial India amongst Anglo-Indians. She argued that the 'chronological and spatial distance from the settings of colonial childhood, as well as the end of empire, determine the contours of recollection'.<sup>100</sup> Similarly the participants in this research have recollections shaped by decolonisation, and many have childhood memories of empire, however the whites 'after empire' who form the basis of this research are spatially close to the settings of their colonial childhood, unlike Buettner's Anglo-Indians. As such the sharp nostalgia Buettner described was lessened amongst participants who have maintained a close spatiality with their childhoods, often living in the same regions - if not the same farms - as their youth. Thus, memories are embodied, and reinforced by the sensorially rich, lived experiences in the spaces of their childhood, as Chapter Three demonstrates.

Nostalgic recollections of the past are often considered unreliable data. However, as Barbara Shircliffe has argued, 'nostalgia can enhance, rather than diminish, the use of oral history by understanding how we use historical consciousness to make sense of and comment on the present'.<sup>101</sup> Whilst aware of the dangers of what Stephanie Coontz has termed 'the Nostalgia Trap' - a lack of engagement with contemporary issues due to a romanticised vision of the past - this research also conceptualises nostalgia as 'a yearning for something past that is no longer recoverable'.<sup>102</sup> This notion of nostalgia provides the theoretical link to reverie, specifically the Bachelardian definition of 'reveries toward

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<sup>100</sup> Buettner, *Empire Families*, p. 62.

<sup>101</sup> Barbara Shircliffe, "'We Got the Best of That World": A Case for the Study of Nostalgia in the Oral History of School Segregation', *The Oral History Review*, 28.2 (2001), 59–84.

<sup>102</sup> Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (London: Hachette UK, 2016). Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw, 'The Dimensions of Nostalgia', *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*, 1989, 1–17.

childhood'.<sup>103</sup> In this sense the thesis integrates the theories of Bachelard with those of Halbwachs. The collective memory of these postcolonial whites has been recalled through the sensory reveries this thesis details. Thus reveries are intentional actions which reach back toward something irretrievable in the past in order to move forward in the present.<sup>104</sup> The mechanisms whites developed to understand the changes around them; the romanticisation of the past, allied with the framing of the postcolonial present as deficient, represented this reaching back into the past as a means of rationalising the present. The continued existence of colonial architecture, objects, images and language has also created ideal conditions for the development of nostalgia, which situates the past as unrecoverable and distinct from the present and imagined future.<sup>105</sup>

Nostalgia also plays a key role in collective memory - the language, memoirs, architecture, schools and experience which construct particular representations of the past.<sup>106</sup> This may come into conflict with competing narratives of the past, especially those memories or experiences which are contemporaneously unacceptable, as Juliette Pattinson has clearly shown in her work on Special Operations Executive agents during World War Two.<sup>107</sup> In the Kenyan and Zambian context this is particularly pertinent in regard to racism and violence. In these instances participants may invoke a particular narrative to evade uncomfortable pasts, for example an emphasis upon 'times being

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<sup>103</sup> Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie: Childhood, Language, and the Cosmos* (Beacon Press, 1971), chap. 3.

<sup>104</sup> I found this idea of reaching back to move forward from the writer Ann E Michael, see <https://annemichael.wordpress.com/2012/05/21/reveries-toward-childhood/> - accessed 05/06/19.

<sup>105</sup> Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase, *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); Chase and Shaw.

<sup>106</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*; Laurent Licata and Chiara Volpato, 'Introduction: Collective Memories of Colonial Violence', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)*, 4.1 (2010), 4–10 (p. 6); Ginsburgh, pp. 42–43.

<sup>107</sup> Juliette Pattinson, *Behind Enemy Lines: Gender, Passing and the Special Operation Executive in the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

different then' and 'Africans now being more educated'.<sup>108</sup> There has been a tendency in Kenya and Zambia toward a homogenising white collective memory which plays upon the same narratives to construct belonging and legitimacy. However, by pondering 'the points where collective and personal memory converge and diverge', as Edna Bay has argued, we can begin to understand how individuals both supported and contradicted collective memory in forging their own sense of self.<sup>109</sup> This provides a more complete sense of the ways in which white African identity has been refracted through the prisms of race, gender, class and age within the white Kenyan and Zambian populations.

#### *Building networks of participants*

Participants were initially selected by their geographical spread around the country and correspondingly their occupation, however as networks grew and developed the age and gender of participants also became a deciding factor. The aim throughout was to cover a cross-section of whites in both countries; from those who lived through independence in the early 1960s, to those whose entire life experience had been postcolonial; from lawyers in Nairobi to relatively small-scale farmers in rural Zambia and from younger women involved in conservation or farming through to elderly female homemakers. The means of conducting this research was borne out of relationships formed through contacting authors of academic and non-academic writing on whites in Kenya and Zambia, alongside appeals for participants through *Jambo* magazine and the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association (OSPA). Contact with one author in particular led to my introduction to the Northern Rhodesia/Zambia Facebook group – a valuable source of participants both resident in Zambia and now diasporic – as well as a small list

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<sup>108</sup> Ginsburgh, 'White workers', p. 43.

<sup>109</sup> Edna G. Bay, 'Protection, Political Exile, and the Atlantic Slave Trade: History and Collective Memory in Dahomey', *Slavery and Abolition*, 22.1 (2001), 22–41 (p. 47).



of names of Lusaka residents to begin contacting on arrival in Zambia.<sup>110</sup> This was the seed which branched out into a large network of contacts in Zambia, whilst also providing the first points of contact in Kenya, demonstrating the continued cross-referencing between whites in the two countries. Janet McIntosh described a similar methodology in her own research with white Kenyans in the mid-2000s.<sup>111</sup> Whilst these networks cannot be treated as a 'representative example' due to this 'tree growth' methodology, such a method both results in reaching groups who do not know one another, as well as mapping out the networks white groups have fostered since independence.<sup>112</sup> The result was one-hundred-ninety-six research dialogues across both countries, ranging from short participant observations to dialogues lasting several hours.

As the vast majority of my participants were located within Kenya and Zambia, they represented the 'stayers' as opposed to the 'leavers'. All participants also had a family connection to colonialism. The older members of the research cohort had memories of the colonial period, whilst their children and grandchildren shared a family history which rooted their very existence in Africa with colonialism. Thus, participants represented a group whose life experiences aligned with the process of decolonisation, albeit experienced through different generations. The opportunity to conduct this kind of generational research meant that I was not just able to see shifting attitudes over time, but the views of those shifts held by people at different ages, as expressed largely in terms of their relations with each other. As whites' identities were enmeshed in relations with their colonial family heritage, strategies were adopted to mitigate this potential angst. This

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<sup>110</sup> My particular thanks to Dr Pam Shurmer-Smith for her introductions and assistance with the initial research process. I mention diasporic participants, but it should be noted that these were only a small number, in Zambia out of 100 interviews 4 were conducted with diasporic whites. In Kenya out of 93 interviews 1 was conducted with diasporic whites.

<sup>111</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 16-17.

phenomenon was noted by McIntosh as a process she described as ‘structural oblivion’: the means by which white Kenyans located ‘their comfort zone – that mode of moral consciousness in which white Kenyans use their *own* yardstick – requires particular dismissals and blind spots, and particular ideas of the good.’<sup>113</sup>

The focus upon ‘stayers’ means that the full picture of white identity and decolonisation in Africa cannot be approached in this thesis, as those who left at independence are not included. Likewise, the serial migration of whites around Africa, largely heading south as the end of white rule moved to the tip of the continent, would be an important parallel piece of research to this one. However, I would argue that those whites who chose to stay in Kenya and Zambia, when others left and they could have also, represent a particularly interesting group to study. They had the privilege of mobility through their whiteness and often their citizenship; the fact of being a ‘settler’ gave them the chance to unsettle themselves, yet they chose to stay. That decision, and the resulting emotional and psychological strategies to justify it, have embedded these whites into the continent to an extent which moves beyond the colonial white enclaves depicted by scholars such as Shadle and Kennedy.<sup>114</sup>

Black Kenyans and Zambians are a significant minority amongst the participants.<sup>115</sup> Wherever possible I spoke with the black colleagues, employees and compatriots of my white subjects, resulting in dialogues with farm workers, anti-colonial activists, artists, businesspeople and domestic workers. Whilst these dialogues do not receive the weight of analysis, they provide important counterpoints and insights to both the archival material and the white participants’ contributions. If white identities in both

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<sup>113</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, p. 10.

<sup>114</sup> Shadle, *Souls*; Kennedy, *Islands*.

<sup>115</sup> In Zambia 5 participants identified as mixed-race/‘coloured’ and 16 identified as black out of 103 and in Kenya 1 participant identified as mixed-race, whilst 9 identified as black, out of 93 participants.

countries are constructed against black Africans and also contradictorily through their recognition by black Africans, then it is vital to begin to grasp what black Kenyans and Zambians thought of their white compatriots.

Whilst attempting to cover as wide a demographic range as possible, the dataset invariably became dominated by whites with rural backgrounds focused on the occupations of agriculture, aviation, conservation and tourism. Although voices from urban, professional whites are present, they represent a minority, due to the reality of white occupations. Similarly, the class dynamic within the data reflects the socio-economics demographic of whites in Kenya and Zambia, they represent a predominately middle-upper class section of society, being both landowners and employers in many cases. Lower-class perspectives emerge in the thesis but are not the majority experience for the whites involved in the analysis. The relatively small numbers of whites in both countries means the 'poor white' demographics of South Africa and Zimbabwe are not reflected here.<sup>116</sup>

Gender was another important dimension of participant involvement. Women's voices are a central part of the thesis', although men provided the majority of research dialogues.<sup>117</sup> This can be attributed to two factors. Firstly, a number of women declined to take part, claiming their partners 'know more about that stuff [politics]', although in a number of cases their unhappy memories were cited by their partners as a reason.<sup>118</sup> Second, the demographic reality of both countries is that young white women have been

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<sup>116</sup> Lis Lange, *White, Poor and Angry: White Working Class Families in Johannesburg* (London: Routledge, 2018); Neil Roos, 'The Second World War, the Army Education Scheme and the 'Discipline' of the White Poor in South Africa', *History of Education*, 32.6 (2003), 645–659; Robert Morrell, *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa 1880-1940* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992); Edward-John Bottomley, 'Governing Poor Whites: Race, Philanthropy and Transnational Governmentality between the United States and South Africa' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2017).

<sup>117</sup> In Kenya 7 Female/Male couples were interviewed, 24 women and 55 men. In Zambia 18 Female/Male couples, 19 women and 44 men were interviewed.

<sup>118</sup> This comment was made by Bill Newton's wife during our dialogue (ZI031).

less likely to remain in the country than their white male compatriots. This ties into the old colonial discourse of Africa as a particular space for imperial white masculinity.<sup>119</sup> Whilst several high-profile white female conservationists and farmers have started to change the public perception of what a white in Africa looks like, the predominant pattern of fathers passing land to sons, and thereby cementing their position within the country, has remained dominant.<sup>120</sup> Allied to this has been a tendency to view white men as more tied to the country – a viewpoint drawing roots from the immediate postcolonial propensity for white husbands to take Kenyan/Zambian citizenship and for their wives to retain British passports as an ‘insurance policy’.<sup>121</sup> In more recent decades white women’s nationality has been viewed as more transient than men’s, being intrinsically linked to their future husband. Terence Dobson, a retired architect living outside Lusaka, put this in simple terms, ‘my son is a Zambian, but I don’t know where my daughter will end up.’<sup>122</sup> His son’s identity was static whereas his daughter’s depended on her future husband. He envisaged that it would be a white man, but with the numbers of ‘eligible’ white men limited, he imagined a white man from Europe or the neo-Europes of North America or the Antipodes. This was a recurrent theme amongst participants, of sons remaining in the country, often to farm, whilst daughters would leave after marriage to a white outsider. With these demographic dimensions in mind and the large number of participants involved in the research it seems only pertinent to go into some depth about the ethical considerations of conducting this type of research.

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<sup>119</sup> John Tosh, ‘Imperial Masculinity and the Flight from Domesticity in Britain 1880-1914’, *Gender and Colonialism*, 1995, 72–85.

<sup>120</sup> For women changing the narrative see June Grout KI018, Barley Hogg KI084, the James’ family ZI004, the Percival Family ZI009.

<sup>121</sup> For examples of this behaviour around independence see the Smiths ZI002, June Rasch ZI033, Becca Coulson ZI066, Geraldine Cleall KI047, Ruth Deacon KI058, Deidre Walton KI062.

<sup>122</sup> Interview with Terence Dobson ZI034.

*Ethics and positionality: Navigating networks of 'colonial' hospitality*

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2016 I arrived in Choma (see Figure 2), a small but sprawling agricultural town in the southern province of Zambia. I had been offered a lift from nearby Monze (see Figure 2) by Mirriam and Douglas Chona, a black Zambian couple, after a day spent at their farmstead. I was on my way to stay with an elderly white Zambian couple – the Smiths - who had been farming outside Choma since the 1950s. Mirriam knew the couple and had given me a large bag of linseed to give them, a return exchange for some jam Moira had given Mirriam in the months before. It later emerged that they were not close friends, but Mirriam felt it remiss to ignore the opportunity to use my appearance to maintain a pattern of exchange with the Smiths.<sup>123</sup> This was one of my first experiences of the networks of mutual exchange and patronage which would emerge as a feature of interracial relationships.

The Smiths were generous hosts, with their time, their address book and their home. They provided access to a large network of contacts in Choma as well as accommodating me for several days. My experience with the Smiths informed my understanding of how to fruitfully conduct research in these contexts and became the blueprint for the research dialogues across Kenya and Zambia, in which I became absorbed into participants' domestic and social life. The time spent with the Smiths and their surrounding farming community was an introduction to a colonial pattern of hospitality which Dr Cassandra Bramley, a research contact in the UK, described, 'you are directly experiencing how colonial society worked', she went on, 'if they didn't like you, you wouldn't be passed on, but word of your existence certainly would be!'<sup>124</sup> Cassandra's centring of my acceptance into white groups being based upon their 'liking

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<sup>123</sup> Participant observation in Monze and Choma 23-24<sup>th</sup> November 2016.

<sup>124</sup> Email correspondence with Dr Cassandra Bramley, ZI082.

of me' resounded as I began to navigate the networks of colonial hospitality which opened up as I travelled through Zambia and later Kenya. My access to research contacts and private archives based upon whether or not I was 'liked' raised challenging methodological and self-reflexive questions. Why was I 'liked'? And perhaps more provocatively, did I begin to like them? As a researcher one tries to be liked, to secure research access and to make the experience of fieldwork more enjoyable. The intimate day to day nature of the research conducted meant that I naturally became close to participants whom I spent a lot of time with. Sometimes this led to deeper levels of discomfort with participants I found challenging to be around, whilst at other times I became friendly with participants and their families, blurring the boundaries of participant/researcher further and raising questions about their influence upon what I was writing.

This time spent living amongst colonial whites was punctuated with periods living and socialising with black Zambians, black Kenyans, European-based researchers and white expatriates. This constant movement between segregated 'white enclaves' into the more socially and racially diverse settings of Lusaka and Nairobi was morally challenging, as Thomas Hendriks noted in his own study of whiteness in a Congolese logging camp.<sup>125</sup> His methodology of 'stumbling around racialized power structures' resonated with my own experience which was both emotionally demanding and illuminated the 'abiding force of whiteness' as he termed it.<sup>126</sup> This sparked a variety of self-reflexive questions. Would a woman, person of colour or someone who was not British have a comparable research experience? Were participants viewing me as a way of righting/writing the wrongs of their historic reputation? Any history of identity raises technical,

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<sup>125</sup> Thomas Hendriks, 'A Darker Shade of White: Expat Self-Making in a Congolese Rainforest Enclave', *Africa*, 87.4 (2017), 683–701 (p. 685).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 685.

methodological and interpretive problems. However, the research method which organically developed for this thesis raised particular questions in regard to self-reflexivity and positionality; methodological approach and the nature of the source material and ethics.<sup>127</sup>

The eleven months of fieldwork in Kenya and Zambia resulted in extended periods of time living with participants. The ways in which the observer/participant binary was blurred informed and shaped the research, as I became a less conspicuous researcher. This often provided a seemingly more candid experience, albeit tempered by an awareness that whilst participants seemed more open with me than I had expected, like all sources there were concealments, self-censoring and self-deceits. Richard Schroeder's concept of 'neutral curiosity' was useful in this regard. Schroeder conducted research on white South Africans living in Tanzania after the fall of apartheid. He described a technique he developed for engaging in conversations with participants with whom he had radically different views and perspectives. 'Neutral curiosity' was the means of expressing interest without either condoning views or shutting down research dialogues, whilst also not provoking participants' need for self-censorship.<sup>128</sup> This foregrounded positionality within exchanges with participants who often expressed views on race and inequality which were at odds with my own views, yet I was privy to such comments due to the access my positionality had granted me. My access to such contexts, and the potential for beginning to form relationships with participants, could have jeopardised my political views or constrained the ways in which I conducted the interview process. This required neutral curiosity not only being a passive means of allowing

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<sup>127</sup> I am grateful to Dr Janet McIntosh and Dr Thomas Hendriks for their advice on ethnographic fieldwork with whites in Africa.

<sup>128</sup> Richard A. Schroeder, *Africa after Apartheid: South Africa, Race, and Nation in Tanzania* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), chap. Preface.

research to take place as Schroeder describes it, but also meant teasing out points of disagreement and awkwardness.<sup>129</sup> One area in which this approach did limit research opportunities was in regard to the ability to speak with domestic servants. My acceptance of hosts' hospitality, and positioning as their guests, restricted my ability to question staff, and affected their willingness to discuss their employment. I did not pursue such avenues of research for fear of interrupting patterns of employment or imperilling staffs' livelihoods, but instead spoke with ex-employees or workers whose employers were not known to me.

My negotiation of colonial networks of hospitality rested upon my position as white, British, male, speaking the language (with the 'correct' accent) of my participants. Whilst participants provided their accounts and memories, I offered my perceptions of their societies as an outsider as well as being a conduit of first-hand 'knowledge' from the United Kingdom - still a reference point for many participants and a particular topic of interest after the 'Brexit' vote of 2016. This exchange brought up many participants' assumptions about my personal politics as a 'lefty, liberal academic' and correspondingly what my arguments and analysis of their research dialogues would be.<sup>130</sup> Interestingly this did not hinder dialogue, nor seemingly the candid nature of the material shared. If anything, dialogues became more animated as participants sought to explain their views and experiences.

The research methodology raised a number of ethical challenges around representation and research access. Should anonymity be compulsory or optional? What kind of consent needed to be gained to use private archives? Would participants have the

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<sup>129</sup> My thanks to Dr Janet McIntosh for advising on this approach from her own experience researching with white Kenyans.

<sup>130</sup> Quote taken from research dialogue with the Smiths ZI002.



right to redact or withdraw their testimonies after interviews? These questions framed the approach toward representation and ethics, as participants were anonymised, they had the option to review their transcripts and all gave consent to their involvement in the research. The ethical dilemma which arose centred on the hospitality and forthcoming nature of participants who expect their stories to be reported faithfully. Although only a tiny fraction requested to see how their material was used, I volunteered to share the final work with participants, all of whom have access to my contact details. Thus, participants imaginatively became part of my audience, and whilst ethically it was correct to allow participants access to my research, it would be remiss to ignore the potential that such an approach *may* have had upon my analytical voice. It is only honest to acknowledge that my writing was profoundly shaped by the research access participants offered, and the opportunities to not only witness but partially experience the lives of my research subjects. This had the methodological benefit of providing not only examples of personal context and experiences but also illuminating the wider trends within white groups through social situations, allowing a more holistic analysis to take place. Awareness of this positioning foregrounds the specific research context in which this knowledge was produced. This research can make no claims to understanding the totality of decolonisation and white identity in Kenya and Zambia, but it can offer some provocative insights into these specific contexts.<sup>131</sup>

### ***Chapter outline: Mapping the history of white Africans***

The thesis begins with an explanation of the historical context of Kenya and Zambia in Chapter One, drawing out commonalities and differences to set the scene for the ensuing discussion of postcolonial identity in both countries' white populations, and

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<sup>131</sup> Gillian Rose, 'Situating Knowledges: Positionality, Reflexivities and Other Tactics', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21.3 (1997), 305–320.

the physical and cognitive strategies which have been deployed— consciously and unconsciously – to attempt to more readily fit into postcolonial Africa. These strategies are considered alongside ways of disengaging with decolonising society and the retreat into colonial spaces of comfort.

To understand the lived experience of postcolonial whites we must first understand the physical spaces which have been inhabited by them. Thus, Chapter Two analyses white African spaces, from the white home out into the surrounding urban and rural spaces of Kenya and Zambia. Through a spatial analysis of whiteness, the dynamics of race and power are illuminated by showing how relationships were spatially structured and how white spaces were imagined. By questioning which spaces can be imagined - and policed - as white and which are designated 'black', insight can be shed on how postcolonial power dynamics designate some spaces which whites inhabit as comfortable or not. Through examination of these spaces – how and why they are designated as comfortable – and the transgression of spatial boundaries by racial others, the contours of interracial power relations can be unearthed.

Chapter Three moves on to explore subjectivity. This is achieved through understanding the ways people have sensed the world around them. This chapter uses the concept of sensory knowledge to root whites within the different African environments they inhabit. Through analysing taste, touch, sound and smell; the politics of food, sexuality and belonging are explored. One of the central themes of the chapter is advancing reverie as an analytical tool, in the Bachelardian sense of escape into daydream.<sup>132</sup> The chapter argues that the senses have been key in invoking whites' sense of reverie, a tool which has been used to mitigate postcolonial angst about racial privilege

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<sup>132</sup> Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie*.

and vulnerability by escaping to a nostalgic, non-racial childhood of their past and through doing so strengthen their claim of belonging to the present.

The ability to communicate, and the means through which that communication occurs, are not simply matters of linguistics but also of identity and power. It is for this reason that Chapter Four explicitly tackles language. It addresses types of language, from colonial pidgin, to English and African vernaculars and finally to slang to understand how whites have simultaneously used language to express their affinity and knowledge of Africa, whilst also cementing colonial-era divisions between whites and black Africans. In this chapter language becomes the means through which the levels of white integration with African cultures, and their anxieties about its shallowness, are explored. Ultimately the chapter demonstrates the power of words to *do* things since independence; words are not merely points of reference or symbolic indicators, but actions that have structured the social relationships of these post-colonial societies.<sup>133</sup> This reiterates the role of language beyond the linguistic, demonstrating how words have been used by whites as a system of actions to codify identities. Similarly, the use of vernacular language has been part of a white attempt to move beyond the colonial legacy, a difficult proposition for groups so intimately connected to colonialism, a dynamic most clearly articulated in the continued use of white slang to other Africans.

Relationships are an underpinning feature of the thesis, with intimate interracial relationships one of the central facets of analysis. To properly understand these relationships within the context of wider African society, patronage and kinship needs to be considered. White connections to African social networks ebbed and flowed through their lives, depending on their position within racially hierarchical kin systems. Thus, the

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<sup>133</sup> John.L Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

fifth and final chapter is focused upon ageing and its relationship to ideas of patronage and fictive kinship. The chapter builds upon Janet McIntosh's notion of 'fictive kinship' between white Kenyans and their black staff by tracing the shifting patterns of care, dependency and kinship between whites and Africans from childhood through to old age.<sup>134</sup> This allows not only for an examination of the experience of ageing and the non-linear conception of time inherent in the process of re-remembering, but also considers how African agency has shaped the ways in which whites have considered themselves.<sup>135</sup> Through this analysis the chapter argues that by thinking about interracial relationships in postcolonial Africa as a form of fictive kinship – defined by interdependence and patronage – we can begin to understand the lived experience of white African identity. Whites' engagement with kinship has been contested, incomplete and often unrecognised, depending on the age and integration of different groups. However, it has been through these systems of African kinship that whites have their strongest claim to a form of postcolonial African identity as they participate in communal ties and co-dependencies with African communities.

Together the various chapters detail a history of how white identity in Kenya and Zambia has developed since independence; rooting the various features of postcolonial whiteness within the longer history of colonialism and highlighting the ways in which white colonial mentalities and behaviours have interacted with the postcolonial realities of both countries. In the post-settler contexts of Africa whites claiming an African identity remains fraught, as issues of land redistribution and social and economic privilege stay unresolved. This thesis historicises how – and under what circumstances – whites

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<sup>134</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, pp. 132–33.

<sup>135</sup> Lynne Segal, *Out of Time: The Pleasures and the Perils of Ageing* (New York: Verso Books, 2013); Will Jackson, 'No Country for Old Men: The Life of John Lee and the Problem of the Aged Pioneer', *History Workshop Journal*, 87 (2019), 139-159.

have attempted to claim an African identity, and the extent to which these claims have entangled postcolonial whiteness deeper into the African context.

## **CHAPTER ONE - WHITE POLITICAL HISTORY IN KENYA AND NORTHERN RHODESIA**

### ***(Settler) colonialism in Kenya and Zambia: 1890s – 1960s***

During 1925 and 1926 the British government toyed with the idea of a grand federation of their territories in East and Central Africa. When the colonial governments of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika and Uganda gave a lukewarm response to the tentative plan, the ‘unofficial Europeans’ of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia began meeting to put forward their own agenda.<sup>136</sup> These Europeans were led by Lord Delamere, the eccentric, self-styled ‘leader’ of Kenya’s white settler population.<sup>137</sup> They ‘resolved to encourage increased white settlement, and to seek an official discouragement of cash-cropping by Africans in “white” areas, the annexation of the protectorates to the Crown, and the general preservation of white interests in any future federation.’<sup>138</sup> The white settlers of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia were positioning themselves as the custodians of the ‘African’ territories around them and attempting to secure their hegemony in the face of African opposition. They also made these resolutions with a keen awareness of the political power of the settlers in Southern Rhodesia (after the 1922 referendum on Responsible Government) and the longer history of white domination in South Africa.

The dialogue between the white settlers of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia in the mid-1920s highlighted several wider trends within the history of white settlement in both territories. These relatively peripheral talks had no definitive conclusion and settler plans for amalgamation between British territories in East and Central Africa did not come to

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<sup>136</sup> Robert I. Rotberg, ‘The Federation Movement in British East and Central Africa 1889–1953’, *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 2.2 (1963), 141–160 (p. 144).

<sup>137</sup> Elspeth Joscelin Grant Huxley, *White Man’s Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya* (London: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1935). For a critique of both Huxley’s account of Delamere, and of Delamere’s petulant frontier masculinity see Schwarz, *White Man’s*, pp. 115–16.

<sup>138</sup> Rotberg, ‘The Federation Movement’, p. 144.

fruition. The lack of political will in London and the fragility of the respective economies and state machineries undermined settler's political ambitions. Whilst at the same time wider medical debates about the suitability of 'tropical Africa' for white settlement continued under the guise of tropical neurasthenia. Neurasthenia was the idea that the tropics induced an *ennui* or 'loss of edge', as Anna Crozier terms it, but which historians widely agree was instead a context-specific condition which revealed the depth and nature of colonial anxiety.<sup>139</sup> Crozier and Dane Kennedy have demonstrated how, in early twentieth century British East Africa, neurasthenia fears were prevalent amongst the white population, notably not only of settlers, the condition was deemed to imperil any white who stayed in the country too long.<sup>140</sup> This was discourse particularly pervasive in East Africa due to the *East African Medical Journal's* fascination with the condition right up until the Second World War.<sup>141</sup> For settlers it was the perceived susceptibility of women and children to neurasthenia which caused the most alarm. As Kennedy has demonstrated, colonial whites became concerned that 'in a generation or two there will result a race with little resemblance to the mother stock, small, puny, weak-minded, in fact a degenerate race which would soon cease to exist if new stock did not continually come from the home land'.<sup>142</sup> If white children could not be raised in these African territories, and the British government refused to cede power to settlers, what future did Kenya and Northern Rhodesia have as 'white men's countries'?

Settlers' exasperation with their relatively weak political position, and the on-going debates about their position as temporary sojourners or permanent colonists, was

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<sup>139</sup> Anna Crozier, 'What Was Tropical about Tropical Neurasthenia? The Utility of the Diagnosis in the Management of British East Africa', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 64.4 (2009), 518–548.

<sup>140</sup> Dane Kennedy, 'Diagnosing the Colonial Dilemma: Tropical Neurasthenia and the Alienated Briton', in *Decentring Empire: Britain, India and the Transcolonial World*, 2006, pp. 157–81.

<sup>141</sup> Crozier, 'What Was Tropical about Tropical Neurasthenia?', p. 531.

<sup>142</sup> Dane Kennedy, 'The Perils of the Middy Sun: Climatic Anxieties in the Colonial Tropics', in *Imperialism and the Natural World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 130.

made sharper by their understanding of developments further south in the continent, where white power was becoming further entrenched and white longevity seemingly secured. It is within these conditions of frustrated settler colonialism that the specificities of white postcolonial identity are rooted. Whites in both territories would develop a keen understanding of their own position in relation to whites in southern Africa, as well as the black African population who continually resisted their claims to hegemony. The result was a white preoccupation with notions of racial legitimacy and an emphasis upon white contributions to the nation, both within the networks of fictive kinship they developed with the surrounding African population and their wider participation in the national economy. Thus, by inspecting the particularities of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia's colonial histories, it is possible to begin to understand the development of distinct postcolonial identities. As such this chapter presents a largely narrative framework of the colonial history of both territories, which supports the conceptual chapters which will follow.

*Kenya: 1895 - 1963*

The East Africa Protectorate was formed in 1895 as a result of the collapse of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which had previously claimed control over the territory which would become Kenya. It was termed a Protectorate due to the original agreement between the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Company, which had secured British influence in the region.<sup>143</sup> The early years of colonisation were marked by violent campaigns of 'pacification' against the Nandi and Kikuyu in Central Kenya at various points between 1895 and 1906.<sup>144</sup> These punitive expeditions served the purpose of

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<sup>143</sup>Gordon Hudson Mungeam, *British Rule in Kenya, 1895-1912: The Establishment of Administration in the East Africa Protectorate* (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1966).

<sup>144</sup>Richard Meinertzhagen, *Kenya Diary (1902-1906)* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1983); Albert Thomas Matson, *Nandi Resistance to British Rule, 1890-1906* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972), xv.



clearing certain areas of Central Kenya of their indigenous inhabitants; it took place as interest was growing from prominent white aristocrats such as Lord Delamere and colonial officials such as Charles Eliot in the prospects of the territory for European settlement.<sup>145</sup> In 1904 the colonial government also enforced a land treaty with the Maasai in the Rift Valley, which ceded control of the area to the colonial government and restricted the Maasai to a reserve in Laikipia and Kajiado (see Figure 1).<sup>146</sup> This treaty was followed by another in 1911 which removed the Maasai from Laikipia to Kajiado – effectively opening the Laikipia plateau to European settlement. Despite colonial claims that the Highlands of the Rift Valley and Laikipia were ‘empty’ of inhabitants due to a rinderpest epidemic and the roving habits of the pastoralist Maasai – a more nuanced picture shows the relocation of indigenous communities due to a combination of epidemiological disturbance and the intervention of colonial power and growing numbers of white settlers.<sup>147</sup>

In 1920 the East Africa Protectorate was replaced by the Crown Colony of Kenya – the formal annexation of the territory by Britain supposedly designating Kenya as a ‘white man’s country’. CJ Duder has demonstrated how the apparent suitability of Kenya for considerable European settlement had been confirmed in the decades prior, as British aristocrats, retired soldiers, India Servicemen and then demobilised officers after the First World War were all encouraged to settle with large tracts of land.<sup>148</sup> Whilst the reality of

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<sup>145</sup> Charles Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate* (London: E. Arnold, 1905); Elspeth Huxley, *White Man’s Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya* (London: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1935); Kennedy, *Islands*, chapters 1 and 2; Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa* (Woodbridge: James Currey Publishers, 1992) book 1, chapter 2 and 3; Errol Trzebinski, *The Kenya Pioneers* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1985).

<sup>146</sup> Lotte Hughes, *Moving the Maasai: A Colonial Misadventure* (New York: Springer, 2006); Robert L. Tignor, *Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu, and Maasai from 1900-1939* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015); Parselelo Kantai, ‘In the Grip of the Vampire State: Maasai Land Struggles in Kenyan Politics’, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 1.1 (2007), 107–122.

<sup>147</sup> Huxley, *White Man’s*; Thomas P. Ofcansky, ‘The 1889-97 Rinderpest Epidemic and the Rise of British and German Colonialism in Eastern and Southern Africa’, *Journal of African Studies*, 8.1 (1981), 31; Tignor.

<sup>148</sup> C. J. Duder, “Men of the officer class”.

white settlement was often marked by failure and the spectre of neurasthenia, the myth developed that Kenya was a prime location for ambitious, adventurous and ideally wealthy whites.<sup>149</sup> In the early twentieth century this was epitomised by the travels – and writings – of Teddy Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Ernest Hemingway, who all extolled the beauty and hunting of Kenya, increasing its desirability as a tourist destination.<sup>150</sup>

The reality of white failure and myth of white decadence overlapped during the colonial period, as the hedonistic scandal of the Happy Valley Set (as the aristocratic white clique living in the Rift Valley became known) shared the imagined fears of white degeneracy which neurasthenia and poor white discourse prompted. For ‘responsible’ committed settlers, Happy Valley misbehaviour and white vagrancy in Nairobi and the Coast (see Figure 1) were both equally responsible for tarnishing ‘white prestige’. A point reiterated by Brett Shadle who argued, ‘if one white should lose prestige, all whites lost prestige’, it was the ‘invisible armour’ which protected settlers amidst the potentially hostile, and vastly more numerous, African population.<sup>151</sup> The glamour and scandal of colonial white Kenya meant that the country occupied, and continues to occupy, a particular place within British popular culture and literature.<sup>152</sup> This has been further

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<sup>149</sup> Alyse Swiss Simpson, *The Land That Never Was* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1985); Will Jackson, ‘Dangers to the Colony: Loose Women and the "Poor White" Problem in Kenya’, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 14.2 (2013); Jackson, *Madness*; Crozier; Dane Kennedy, ‘Diagnosing the Colonial Dilemma’, pp. 157–81.

<sup>150</sup> Roderick P. Neumann, ‘Churchill and Roosevelt in Africa: Performing and Writing Landscapes of Race, Empire, and Nation’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 103.6 (2013), 1371–1388; Akama; Edward I. Steinhart, ‘Hunters, Poachers and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya’, *The Journal of African History*, 30.2 (1989), 247–264; Ernest Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa: The Hemingway Library Edition* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2015); Ernest Hemingway, *The Snows of Kilimanjaro and Other Stories* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995).

<sup>151</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 59.

<sup>152</sup> Jackson, ‘White Man’s Country’; Isak Dinesen, *Out of Africa* (London: Putnam, 1937); Juliet Barnes, *The Ghosts of Happy Valley: Searching for the Lost World of Africa’s Infamous Aristocrats* (London: Aurum Press Limited, 2013); C. J. D. Duder, ‘Love and the Lions: The Image of White Settlement in Kenya in Popular Fiction, 1919-1939’, *African Affairs*, 90.360 (1991), 427–438; James Fox, *White Mischief* (New York: Random House, 2012); Nicholas Best, *Happy Valley: The Story of the English in Kenya* (London: Thistle Publishing,

entrenched in recent years as Kenya's tourism, land disputes and Mau Mau legacy has kept it in the public eye in Britain.<sup>153</sup>

Despite Kenya's popularity in the white imagination, the demographics of the colony in 1921 showed the reality of the white settler position; out of an estimated population of 2,893,471, Europeans totalled 9,792, Indians 22,504, Arabs 9,279 and Africans were by far the largest group totalling 2,848,788.<sup>154</sup> These demographic imbalances came to a head in the 1920s as Africans protested against the alienation of land for white settlement and the use of coercion to secure their labour on white farms.<sup>155</sup> Similarly, Indians, who had been brought to Kenya as labourers to build the Uganda Railway at the turn of the twentieth-century, were always more populous than Europeans and resented their exclusion from owning land in the 'White Highlands' (the area of the Rift Valley and Laikipia which had been taken from the Kikuyu and Maasai in the previous decades) (see Figure 1).<sup>156</sup> Tensions between Indians and Europeans boiled over in 1923 due to Indian protests for political and social equality – a campaign supported by Indian nationalists and deemed to represent a considerable threat to European supremacy in the colony. In July of that year the colonial government attempted to resolve the issue through the Devonshire Declaration which effectively ended the dispute between Indians

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2013); Beryl Markham, *West with the Night* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1942); Elspeth Huxley, *The Flame Trees Of Thika: Memories of an African Childhood* (New York: Random House, 1959); John Henry Patterson, *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo* (London: MacMillan, 1932).

<sup>153</sup> Jackson, 'White Man's Country'; David M. Anderson, 'Mau Mau in the High Court and the 'Lost' British Empire Archives: Colonial Conspiracy or Bureaucratic Bungle?', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39.5 (2011), 699–716.

<sup>154</sup> *Colony & Protectorate of Kenya Annual Report 1921* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1923), pp. 6–7. Available on [http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530244/5530244\\_1921/5530244\\_1921\\_opt.pdf](http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530244/5530244_1921/5530244_1921_opt.pdf), accessed on 01/06/2019.

<sup>155</sup> Berman and Lonsdale, Book One, Chapters Four and Five.

<sup>156</sup> Sana Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya: The Politics of Diaspora* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), CLXXXV; Sana Aiyar, 'Empire, Race and the Indians in Colonial Kenya's Contested Public Political Sphere, 1919–1923', *Africa*, 81.1 (2011), 132–154; Christopher P. Youé, 'The Threat of Settler Rebellion and the Imperial Predicament: The Denial of Indian Rights in Kenya, 1923', *Canadian Journal of History*, 12.3 (1978), 347–360.

and Europeans by releasing a statement that African interests were to be paramount in the Colony.<sup>157</sup> Whilst the Declaration should have been a check on white settler supremacy, in reality white settlement continued to increase and the ‘White Highlands’ remained exclusively white owned.<sup>158</sup> It took a much more dramatic series of events to destabilise white supremacy in Kenya. In 1952 the Mau Mau Emergency started, feeding off the discontent which had been rumbling amongst the Kikuyu ethnic group since the first land was taken by white settlers in the early twentieth century.<sup>159</sup>

The exceptional violence of the insurgency and its anti-white, anti-colonial discourse were influential in shaping late colonial and postcolonial white subjectivity in Kenya, despite the conflict claiming far more black African lives than the thirty-four settlers killed.<sup>160</sup> The rhetoric of Mau Mau – or the Land Freedom Army as they called themselves – was explicitly anti-settler. It was this rhetoric and the prospect of independence only three years after the Emergency had officially ended which required white settlers to either leave – as high-profile participants in the counterinsurgency such as Frank Kitson and Ian Henderson did – or to rebalance their views of African nationalist leaders.<sup>161</sup> Peter Knauss has shown how those who chose to stay were aided in their decision by the conciliatory tone of Jomo Kenyatta – the alleged leader of Mau

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<sup>157</sup> Robert M. Maxon, ‘The Devonshire Declaration: The Myth of Missionary Intervention’, *History in Africa*, 18 (1991), 259–270; Robert M. Maxon, *Struggle for Kenya: The Loss and Reassertion of Imperial Initiative, 1912-1923* (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1993); B. G. McIntosh, ‘Kenya 1923: The Political Crisis and the Missionary Dilemma’, *Transafrican Journal of History*, 1.1 (1971), 103–129.

<sup>158</sup> Joanna Lewis, *Empire State-Building: War & Welfare in Kenya, 1925-52* (Athens: Ohio State University Press, 2000).

<sup>159</sup> Berman and Lonsdale, Book Two, Chapter Ten.

<sup>160</sup> David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain’s Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London: Hachette UK, 2011); Caroline Elkins, *Britain’s Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya* (New York: Random House, 2005); John Newsinger, ‘Minimum Force, British Counter-Insurgency and the Mau Mau Rebellion’, in *Modern Counter-Insurgency* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 227–237; Joanna Lewis, ‘Nasty, Brutish and in Shorts? British Colonial Rule, Violence and the Historians of Mau Mau’, *The Round Table*, 96.389 (2007), 201–223.

<sup>161</sup> Gavin Nardocchio-Jones, James Gibbs; Knauss; For settler soldiers who had to leave Kenya see Ian Henderson and Philip Goodhart, *The Hunt for Kimathi* (London: H. Hamilton, 1958); Frank Kitson, *Gangs and Counter-Gangs* (Barrie, 1960).

Mau and first president of independent Kenya. Nonetheless Mau Mau had a lingering presence in postcolonial whites' minds – most notably in the regulation of white children's contact with Africans and the ethnic recruitment of workers based upon a distrust of the Kikuyu.<sup>162</sup> Kenya's colonial politics was punctuated by spikes of racial tension and non-white efforts to wrestle economic, social and political supremacy away from the small white community. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1963 Kenya was granted independence, the white community had lost political control but the postcolonial contest over the economic and social role of whites would continue.

#### *Northern Rhodesia: 1899 - 1964*

The colonial history of Northern Rhodesia provides a number of contrasts to the more well-known Kenyan case. Northern Rhodesia was created in 1911 through the amalgamation of two Protectorates; Barotziland-North Western Rhodesia (1899) and North-Eastern Rhodesia (1900), both of which were administered by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) – as was Northern Rhodesia until 1924.<sup>163</sup> Although the BSAC largely controlled the territory as a colony – following Cecil Rhodes original ambition for the Company to carve out settler colonies across southern and central Africa – it was technically a Protectorate, due to the treaties which had been signed with the Barotse Kingdom in the west of Northern Rhodesia (see Figure 2).<sup>164</sup> Lubosi Lewanika, the paramount chief or *Litunga* of the Barotse, had agreed to the establishment of a Protectorate over his territory in 1900, to secure his – and the Barotses' – position.<sup>165</sup> This

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<sup>162</sup> See Sharon Mintram KI005, Mark Benson KI043, Deidre Walton KI062 and Camilla Watson KI063. Knauss.

<sup>163</sup> Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (London: Humanities Press, 1969); Lewis H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958).

<sup>164</sup> John S. Galbraith, 'Cecil Rhodes and His "Cosmic Dreams": A Reassessment', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1.2 (1973), 173–189.

<sup>165</sup> Gervas Clay, *Your Friend. Lewanika: The Life and Times of Lubosi Lewanika, Litunga of Barotseland 1842 to 1916*, 7 (Chatto & Windus, 1968); Eric Stokes, 'Barotseland: The Survival of an African State', *Stokes &*

initial agreement in 1900 would shape the future political organisation of Northern Rhodesia as the amalgamated territory retained Protectorate status – pointedly not becoming a Crown Colony as Kenya did. As such the pace and logistics of European settlement were shaped more by the ideas of Lord Lugard’s ‘Indirect Rule’, of ruling through traditional leaders in ‘African interests’, as opposed to the direct rule and encouraged white settlement found in Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.<sup>166</sup>

Lewanika’s initial decision to ask for ‘protection’ from the BSAC may well have been shaped by his relationship with a number of European missionaries, as he rejected a call for an alliance from the Ndebele in Southern Rhodesia against the encroaching colonialists prior to 1900.<sup>167</sup> The position of missionaries within Northern Rhodesia was a key part of its history, stemming from the prominent legacy of David Livingstone.<sup>168</sup> Livingstone’s heart was buried in Ilala, in what is now Zambia, in 1873; the old capital of Northern Rhodesia bears Livingstone’s name and his expeditions to the Zambezi and his sighting of the *Mosi-o-Tunya* (which he named Victoria Falls) in 1855 all helped cement not only Livingstone’s legend but also his association with the territory (see Figure 2).<sup>169</sup> Missionaries went on to play a large role in the history of colonial Northern Rhodesia. Building upon Livingstone’s myth, prominent missionary families such as the Moffats and Fishers established well-known missions, whilst the London Missionary Society and

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*Brown (1966)*, 1966, 261–301; Gerald L. Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1878-1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Mutumba Mainga and Mutumba Mainga Bull, *Bulozi under the Layana Kings: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia* (Oxford: African Books Collective, 2010); John S. Galbraith, *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South Africa Company* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), xiv.

<sup>166</sup> Lord Frederick JD Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (Edinburgh: WM Blackwood, 1922).

<sup>167</sup> Galbraith, *Crown and Charter*; Mainga and Bull, *Bulozi*.

<sup>168</sup> John M. MacKenzie, ‘David Livingstone—Prophet or Patron Saint of Imperialism in Africa: Myths and Misconceptions’, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 129.3–4 (2013), 277–291; Patrick Brantlinger, ‘Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent’, *Critical Inquiry*, 12.1 (1985), 166–203.

<sup>169</sup> Joanna E. Lewis, ‘Empires of Sentiment; Intimacies from Death: David Livingstone and African Slavery “at the Heart of the Nation”’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43.2 (2015), 210–237; Lawrence Drietsas, *Zambesi: David Livingstone and Expeditionary Science in Africa* (London: IB Tauris, 2010), i.

Church Missionary Society became influential in the territory.<sup>170</sup> These missionary groups became particularly important as tensions developed between the growing number of white settlers and Africans. Missionaries often became the key intermediaries between the colonial state, Africans and the white settlers.

Racial tensions in Northern Rhodesia centred on increased white migration in the years after 1924 and the ensuing debates over white supremacy in politics and society – physically represented by segregation in all aspects of public life. White migration to Northern Rhodesia was largely focused upon the mining industry. Since the first BSAC expeditions into what became Northern Rhodesia, there had been signs of considerable copper deposits. However, full exploitation of these reserves did not take place until the line of rail had been secured, joining Northern Rhodesia to both Southern Rhodesia and the sea ports of Portuguese East Africa, and high-quality ore had been found below the ground in 1924.<sup>171</sup> In the decades after 1924 large scale mining was established on the Copperbelt by large companies from the UK, USA and South Africa, including Roan Antelope, Rhodesian Selection Trust and the Anglo-American Corporation. This spike in interest drew black and white migrant workers from across the region and the world to the small section of Northern Rhodesia bordering the Belgian Congo, as Duncan Money's studies of white miners have shown.<sup>172</sup> The influx of workers into the racialised hierarchies of the Copperbelt created the pressurised conditions in which labour disputes and race intersected and amplified one another, producing some of the most volatile

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<sup>170</sup> Morris; Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015); Cecil Northcott and Robert Moffat, *Pioneer in Africa* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961).

<sup>171</sup> R. W. Steel, 'The Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia', *Geography*, 42.2 (1957), 83–92.

<sup>172</sup> Ian Phimister, 'Workers in Wonderland? White Miners and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1946–1962', *South African Historical Journal*, 63.2 (2011), 183–233; Duncan Money, 'The World of European Labour on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1940–1945', *International Review of Social History*, 60.02 (2015), 225–255; Money, "No Matter How Much".

political and social conditions in either Kenya or Northern Rhodesia.<sup>173</sup> The huge profitability of the copper reserves meant that the Copperbelt was at the forefront of both colonial and then Federal planning. The development of the line of rail, linking Northern and Southern Rhodesia, was primarily for the export of copper but also led to the start of formal white settlement. Farming and white settlement went hand-in-hand along the line of rail. European settlements established at Choma, Monze, Mazabuka and Kabwe (see Figure 2) were all adjacent to large white farming blocks which utilised the new rail system to provide produce for the mines as well as access to export markets in the South. By 1928 much of the land around the railway had been alienated for white settlement and Native Reserves had been created along the lines of the Southern Rhodesian model, heralding the start of a period of contested settler colonialism in Northern Rhodesia.

The politics of Northern Rhodesia was dominated by the white settler population, who were often at odds with the colonial government and missionary groups. The prospect of white minority rule had been raised by the advent of white self-determination in Southern Rhodesia in 1922, however the reality of this occurring in Northern Rhodesia was weakened by a significantly smaller white population. Settler politicians had then considered the possibility of connecting with settlers in Kenya but these thoughts were finally undermined by the Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield in 1930 when he made clear that the British government would not allow a white minority government in Kenya or

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<sup>173</sup> Charles Perrings, 'Consciousness, Conflict and Proletarianization: An Assessment of the 1935 Mineworkers' Strike on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 4.1 (1977), 31–51; Hugh Macmillan, 'The Historiography of Transition on the Zambian Copperbelt—Another View', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19.4 (1993), 681–712; James Ferguson, 'Mobile Workers, Modernist Narratives: A Critique of the Historiography of Transition on the Zambian Copperbelt [Part One]', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16.3 (1990), 385–412; Duncan Money, 'Trouble in Paradise: The 1958 White Mineworkers' Strike on the Zambian Copperbelt', *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 4.4 (2017), 707–716.



Northern Rhodesia.<sup>174</sup> This led to a continued flirtation with the idea of amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia – an idea popular south of the Zambezi as it would allow for unfettered access to the Copperbelt. Continuing settler pressure from both countries led to the Bledisloe Commission in 1937 which considered a closer association between the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The positive findings of the Commission were not implemented initially - forestalled by both the Second World War and Labour governments' hostility to overruling African opinion, which was overwhelmingly opposed to the idea due to Southern Rhodesia's overtly white supremacist government.<sup>175</sup>

Another group of whites played a notable role in building the external impression of Northern Rhodesia in the metropole as well as shaping colonial policy – and eventually pressuring Federal policy - in the territory. This group were the anthropologists who found Northern Rhodesia particularly rich ground for their research and who eventually formed the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Livingstone in 1938 and have been the focus of a number of historical studies.<sup>176</sup> The Institute would become the base for much of the mid-twentieth century's most pioneering social anthropology work.<sup>177</sup> Northern Rhodesia and particularly the urban centres of the Copperbelt became the testing ground for new anthropological theory. Professor Max Gluckman – Director of the Institute between 1941 and 1947- developed much of his innovative approach to social

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<sup>174</sup> Rotberg, 'The Federation Movement'; Rosaleen Smyth, 'The Development of British Colonial Film Policy, 1927–1939, with Special Reference to East and Central Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 20.3 (1979), 437–450; H. Iden Wetherell, 'Settler Expansionism in Central Africa: The Imperial Response of 1931 and Subsequent Implications', *African Affairs*, 78.311 (1979), 210–227.

<sup>175</sup> Carol Summers, *From Civilization to Segregation: Social Ideals and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1934* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1994).

<sup>176</sup> Jan-Bart Gewald, 'Researching and Writing in the Twilight of an Imagined Conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930–1960', *History and Anthropology*, 18.4 (2007), 459–487; Lyn Schumaker, *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Richard Brown, 'Anthropology and Colonial Rule: Godfrey Wilson and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Northern Rhodesia', in *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, ed. by Talal Asad (New York: Humanities Press, 1979).

<sup>177</sup> Max Gluckman, 'Seven-Year Research Plan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Social Studies in British Central Africa', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 4.12 (1945), 1–32.

anthropology in Northern Rhodesia, before founding the Manchester School of Anthropology in 1949. The work of anthropologists took on a particular urgency in the 1950s as racial tensions rose over the Central African Federation, segregation and the political future of the territory. The relatively new field of ‘race relations’ became the paradigm through which anthropologists and social scientists across southern Africa such as Gann, Duignan and Rosberg considered the societies of the Rhodesias and South Africa.<sup>178</sup> Importantly white society itself became a topic of consideration in these early social anthropology studies – opening the door to a wider critique of the impact of colonialism on both colonised and coloniser.<sup>179</sup> Although more recent anthropological work has noted how anthropology in Northern Rhodesia struggled to escape its colonial roots and dialectics, the increased study of ‘race relations’ during the heated 1950s in Northern Rhodesia meant that the colonial state’s actions were under the microscope in a more intense way than many other colonial contexts.<sup>180</sup>

Despite African resistance to the notion of closer association between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1953. The Federation was a complex – and at times conflicted – constitutional system, encompassing the African Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with the self-governing settler state of Rhodesia. This brought together five governments – the three territorial governments, the Federal Government

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<sup>178</sup> Richard Gray, *The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960); Carl G. Rosberg Jr, ‘The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Problems of Democratic Government’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 306.1 (1956), 98–105; Gann and Duignan, *White Settlers*.

<sup>179</sup> Max Gluckman, ‘Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand’, *Bantu Studies*, 14.1 (1940), 1–30; Godfrey Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*, 5–6 (Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1968); Arnold L. Epstein, ‘Linguistic Innovation and Culture on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia’, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 15.3 (1959), 235–253; Arnold Leonard Epstein and others, ‘Urbanization and Social Change in Africa [and Comments and Reply]’, *Current Anthropology*, 8.4 (1967), 275–295.

<sup>180</sup> James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

and the government in London.<sup>181</sup> Thus, political power was divided according to department and region between Salisbury, Lusaka, Zomba and London, and was supposed to represent the political views of a myriad of different interest groups, leading to bureaucratic rivalry and competing sources of authority.<sup>182</sup> In spite of the complex political arrangement the first years of the Federation were marked by an economic boom and substantial infrastructure investment. The cities of Bulawayo, Lusaka and Salisbury developed rapidly, the Kariba Dam project was started and the towns of the Copperbelt flourished under large foreign investment.<sup>183</sup> Whilst few historians doubt the economic benefits of the Federation, the ways in which money was invested generated many tensions. Whites in Northern Rhodesia felt Southern Rhodesia was disproportionately benefitting from the copper revenues from *their* mines. Africans in Northern Rhodesia resented the entrenchment of segregation in the urban centres of the territory and the stifling of their political ambitions. This was an issue shared with their African neighbours in Nyasaland who saw the underdevelopment of their infrastructure and industries to keep them as little more than a labour pool for the mines and industries of the other two territories.<sup>184</sup>

Despite the settler politicians' claim that the Federation was built upon the 'politics of partnership' between the races, the first Prime Minister of the Federation Godfrey

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<sup>181</sup> Schwarz, *White Man's*, p. 344.

<sup>182</sup> Sir Ivor Jennings, *Constitution-Maker: Selected Writings of Sir Ivor Jennings*, ed. by H Kumarasingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Andrew Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa: The Failed Experiment of the Central African Federation* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015).

<sup>183</sup> Julia Tischler, *Light and Power for a Multiracial Nation: The Kariba Dam Scheme in the Central African Federation* (New York: Springer, 2013); Larry J. Butler, 'Business and British Decolonisation: Sir Ronald Prain, the Mining Industry and the Central African Federation', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 35.3 (2007), 459–484.

<sup>184</sup> Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), XXXIX; Gray; John McCracken, 'Labour in Nyasaland: An Assessment of the 1960 Railway Workers' Strike', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14.2 (1988), 279–290. For resentment from whites in Northern Rhodesia see interviews with Duncan Smith ZI002 and Melvin Nowak ZI014.

Huggins explained what this meant in practice when he likened the policy to the ‘partnership between the horse and rider’.<sup>185</sup> Prior to Federation Northern Rhodesia had a system of nominally ‘informal segregation’ which actually segregated health care, public spaces, shopping and schooling.<sup>186</sup> Thus, whilst African activism peaked in the federal period – driven by the discourse of Southern Rhodesia’s racialism– the pre-federal racial organisation of Northern Rhodesia was one founded upon white supremacy and segregation. Nevertheless, the most concerted boycotts and protests took place in the 1950s and were often directed against the Federation.<sup>187</sup> It was in this environment that the United National Independence Party led by Kenneth Kaunda rose to prominence – and would later form the first independent government. The concerted efforts of African nationalists, the growing discomfort of the British government with white supremacy – and its proponents - in southern Africa, and the high-profile of the ‘racial experiment’ of the Federation all played a role in its dissolution in July 1963, shortly followed by Zambian independence the following year on 24<sup>th</sup> October 1964.<sup>188</sup>

### ***The reality of decolonisation***

#### *The Winds of Change*

In February 1960 the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan gave his ‘Winds of Change’ speech in the South African parliament; often viewed as the harbinger of

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<sup>185</sup> Henry S. Albinski, ‘The Concept of Partnership in the Central African Federation’, *The Review of Politics*, 19.2 (1957), 186–204; Patrick Keatley, *The Politics of Partnership* (London: Penguin Books, 1963); Rotberg, XXXIX; Josephine Lucy Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2013), p. 64.

<sup>186</sup> Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism*.

<sup>187</sup> Charles Ambler, ‘Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia’, *The Journal of African History*, 31.2 (1990), 295–313; Andrew Sardanis, *Africa: Another Side of the Coin: Northern Rhodesia’s Final Years and Zambia’s Nationhood* (London: IB Tauris, 2011).

<sup>188</sup> L. J. Butler, ‘Britain, the United States, and the Demise of the Central African Federation, 1959–63’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 28.3 (2000), 131–151; Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa*; Schwarz, *White Man’s*, pp. 344–46.

decolonisation in East and Central Africa.<sup>189</sup> One month before, the Lancaster House Conference had taken place in London to discuss the future constitutional arrangement of Kenya, the conclusions of which laid the groundwork for two subsequent conferences in 1962 and 1963 which brought about Kenyan Independence. Kenyan settlers, who had theoretically won a military and political victory over the Mau Mau movement throughout the 1950s, now faced the prospect of independence and African majority rule. This apparent volte-face by the British government after eight years of violent repression of African nationalism left the white settlers shocked.<sup>190</sup>

Northern Rhodesian settlers experienced a similar realisation to their Kenyan counterparts in November of 1960 when the Monckton Commission on the future of the Central African Federation took place. The report – whilst noting the economic benefits of federation – made it clear that the political organisation could not be maintained without force or by expanding the franchise to the African majority and moving toward majority rule. This would lead to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland voting to cede from the Federation.<sup>191</sup> Roy Welensky – the Federal Prime Minister- and other Federal politicians were furious when the Commission’s report was published, calling it the death knell of the Federation.<sup>192</sup> His memoir detailed his anger with the Report and its aftermath.

[This Report] will lead to the end of civilised and responsible Government in this part of Africa. This may not seem such a disaster

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<sup>189</sup> Philip Murphy, *Party Politics and Decolonization: The Conservative Party and British Colonial Policy in Tropical Africa 1951-1964* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Joanna E. Lewis, “White Man in a Wood Pile”: Race and the Limits of Macmillan’s Great ‘Wind of Change’ in Africa’, in *The Wind of Change* (New York: Springer, 2013), pp. 70–95.

<sup>190</sup> KNA, Private Papers, MSS/13/54, Notes and memos of the New Kenya Group Executive 1960.

<sup>191</sup> R. Cranford Pratt, ‘Partnership and Consent: The Monckton Report Examined’, *International Journal*, 16.1 (1961), 37–49.

<sup>192</sup> Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa*; Roy Welensky, *Welensky’s 4000 Days: The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (London: Collins, 1964).

for Whitehall. But those of us who have made our homes and lives here have no alternative but to resist to the bitter end.<sup>193</sup>

Welensky's sense of despair echoed many of those whites who had 'made their home' in Northern Rhodesia and now faced the uncertainty bound up with losing political power. His call for resistance to decolonisation in 1964 came at the same time as Zambian independence.<sup>194</sup> His outrage would be crystallised a year later in his new home across the Zambezi when Southern Rhodesia's government announced a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from British rule.

#### *The Congo Crisis: 1960 - 65*

Whilst the Lancaster House talks and Monckton Commission raised the prospect of African independence in the near future, it was the Congo Crisis of 1960 which provided a physical manifestation of white fears of decolonisation.<sup>195</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> June 1960 the Belgian government withdrew from the Congo and Patrice Lumumba became the first Prime Minister of the independent Republic of the Congo. Congo's independence was the first in the region and its descent into violence and civil war – as well as the explicit targeting of white civilians – shocked the white inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Kenya. The events in the Republic of the Congo served as a moment of actualization for white vulnerability, and a realization of what decolonisation could look like, as whites in Africa were supposedly 'abandoned' by their countrymen in a rebuff of racial solidarity.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Welensky, *4000 days*, p. 272.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid*, p. 281.

<sup>195</sup> For more detail on Congolese independence see Elizabeth Buettner, *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Jean Stengers, 'Precipitous Decolonization: The Case of the Belgian Congo', in *The Transfer of Power in Africa: Decolonization, 1940-60* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 305–35.

<sup>196</sup> Schwarz, *White Man's*, p. 346.

Moira Smith, a young farmer's wife at the time, remembered how Belgian refugees came through Choma, whilst on their way south to Rhodesia:

Belgians came in streams down here. We bought rugs off them for fuel money. They just packed up their families and came away.<sup>197</sup>

Moira's distinct memory of her family buying rugs from Belgian refugees, as opposed to offering charitable support, stood in contrast to the expected levels of racial solidarity which Federal politicians, mining corporations and local government organisations on the Copperbelt had professed, and for which they received hearty thanks from the *Union Minière du Haut-Katanga*.<sup>198</sup> However it would appear that Moira's memories of her family relative lack of sympathy was not entirely anomalous. During the second wave of evacuations in September 1960 a District Commissioner on the Copperbelt wrote to the Senior Provincial Commissioner, Mr Murray.

We agreed that, on this occasion, [Belgian] people leaving the Congo must be treated very much as tourists fully able to support themselves in every way, and not as refugees in any sense of the word [...] It is a great pity that the one factor which sends these people in our direction is that they are in possession of motor cars which they will not abandon.<sup>199</sup>

Thus, it seems, like in Moira's memory, the solidarity of racial whiteness had its limits. Just as the Provincial Administration on the Copperbelt were exasperated with Belgians who chose not to be airlifted from Elisabethville, white settlers who saw the Belgians streaming past saw it as an opportunity to capitalise. Her position was potentially rationalised by the assertion that her family were never in any doubt that such an event

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<sup>197</sup> Moira Smith ZI002.

<sup>198</sup> ZNA, WP/1/14/5309/58, Congo Evacuation Phase 1 1960-62, Letter from Jacques Houard, Consul General of Belgium to Mr Murray, Provincial Commissioner on the Copperbelt, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1960 and letter from G. Assoignon, Directeur General de l' *Union Minière du Haut-Katanga* to Mr Murray 25<sup>th</sup> July 1960. Also see Ibid, Nchanga Newsletter 15<sup>th</sup> July 1960 'General Manager thanks employees and appeals for tactful handling of an explosive situation'.

<sup>199</sup> ZNA, WP/1/14/5308/57, Congo Evacuation Phase 2 1960-62, Letter from District Commissioner 07/09/1960.

could occur in Northern Rhodesia, what could be read as a thinly veiled slight to the Belgians bringing the crisis upon themselves.

June Rasch, a white resident outside Lusaka who lived on the Copperbelt in the late 1950s and 1960s, went into further detail about racial solidarity and white abandonment during the events in the Congo.

There was a story that went around of a Belgian guy who left his wife and kids in Katanga and took all the valuables. The dissidents didn't hurt them, they just looted the house. This guy was found in Belgium and got 10 years [in prison] but he should have been shot.<sup>200</sup>

June was reticent to talk about these 'horrible' and 'troubling' memories, but she was keen to explain this story – whether it was true or not is somewhat beside the point due to the importance placed upon it. The cowardice of the Belgian showed the failure of masculinity which invoked her ire and gave the story its power. The story also summons the wider imagery of the period in which the European powers were seen to be abandoning duties to their 'kith and kin', leaving their vulnerable white countrymen in the hands of new independent African states.<sup>201</sup>

The Kenyan press covered the crisis closely, prominently featuring the plight of white Belgians caught in the conflict, despite lacking the proximity of Northern Rhodesia.<sup>202</sup> On the 12<sup>th</sup> August 1960 the *East African Standard* ran a cover page entitled "Signs of final Congo collapse". Alongside this central story were columns on US President Eisenhower's warning about Communist encroachment in Central Africa and a call for volunteers to support the secessionist Congolese state of Katanga, it is worth

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<sup>200</sup> June Rasch ZI033.

<sup>201</sup> Welensky wrote about this emotively and it has been historicised by Schwarz, see Welensky, *4000 days*; Schwarz, *White Man's*, p. 346.

<sup>202</sup> East African Standard from 17/08/60 'Congo Police Swoop in hunt for spies' and 19/08/60 'UN Office attached in Congo'.



noting that white mercenaries would go on to play a key role in the defence of Katanga.<sup>203</sup> At the end of that same week the *Standard* ran a piece focusing on the humiliation of white Belgians by newly independent Congolese police in their hunt for 'Belgian spies'.<sup>204</sup> Whilst elderly white Kenyans may not have seen the same number of white refugees from the Congo as their Northern Rhodesian counterparts, the crisis still featured in memories of decolonisation. Agnes Walker, who had lived in Kenya since the early 1950s, remembered:

[Belgian] People came streaming in here in droves. I remember all the Congolese number plates. Some people [in Kenya] kept suitcases under their bed ready.<sup>205</sup>

Agnes' memory of the Belgian number plates raises pertinent questions. The number of actual Belgian refugees who made it to Kenya in 1960 is hard to quantify. Kenya did not share a border with the Congo and was not as natural a place to seek refuge as Northern Rhodesia – as the alleged movement of 8,500 Belgian refugees through the territory attests to.<sup>206</sup>

Agnes was in a minority of elderly white Kenyans who remembered the Congo crisis so vividly and centred it in her recollections of decolonisation. However, archival material points to its importance and in particular the feeling of fear which Agnes described. The Kenya European Welfare Society President's Report of 1962 drew upon similar sentiments:

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<sup>203</sup> EAS 12/08/60, 'Signs of final Congo collapse' and 'Katanga seeks volunteers' and 'Communist truculence on increase'. A

<sup>204</sup> EAS, 17/08/60 'Congo Police Swoop in hunt for spies'.

<sup>205</sup> Agnes Walker KI042.

<sup>206</sup> KNA, Private Papers, MSS/13/54, New Kenya Group Executives, The Joint East and Central African Board, Chairman's Newsletter No.60, November 14<sup>th</sup>, 1960, p.5

Withdrawal of HMG responsibility for law and order will herald economic and social collapse on a scale which could well equal the Congo.<sup>207</sup>

The Report only needed to reference 'the Congo' in order to tap into a reservoir of shared understanding amongst the European readership of the Report of what this entailed; the chaos, danger and white vulnerability which had characterised the media coverage and actual periods of the Crisis of 1960. The President of the Society invoked 'the Congo' in direct relation to Kenya's own move toward decolonisation, seeking to warn both settlers and the colonial government that the prospect of abandonment by their 'kith and kin' in Kenya would result in a comparable societal breakdown.

### ***Postcolonial politics***

#### *Geopolitics in Africa: 1963 - 2019*

The postcolonial politics of Kenya and Zambia were central to whites' understandings of themselves and their future in the country. The vicissitudes of national politics directly influenced how whites considered their place within the nation and correspondingly constructed their postcolonial identities. At independence the rhetoric and actions of African politicians were a point of particular interest as whites decided on their future.<sup>208</sup> Whilst Jomo Kenyatta and Kenneth Kaunda took power in Kenya and Zambia respectively in the early 1960s at the head of nationalist, anti-colonial political parties, their political trajectories through the 1960s diverged. Kaunda's 'socialist humanism' doctrine attempted to resist the globalising, neo-colonial tendencies of Western multi-nationals and governments through creeping nationalisation, with all businesses required to have a Zambian as a 50% stakeholder.<sup>209</sup> Meanwhile Kenyatta's

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<sup>207</sup> KNA, GH/7/80, Kenya European welfare society 1956-62, President's Report.

<sup>208</sup> Nardocchio-Jones, 'Mau Mau'; Gibbs, 'Uhuru'; Knauss, 'From Devil'.

<sup>209</sup> For discussions of Zambia's decolonisation process and anti-colonial politics see Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, and Giacomo Macola, *Living the End of Empire: Politics and Society in Late Colonial Zambia*

pre-Independence radical rhetoric was tempered as he embarked on a form of conservative neoliberalism which resulted in only a partial transfer of land from Europeans – and businesses from Asians – to the African majority.<sup>210</sup> In many ways whites in Kenya experienced less challenging questions about their place in the post-colonial nation. Jomo Kenyatta's speech to white farmers in Nakuru Town Hall in August 1963, in which he guaranteed white safety, land rights and encouraged farmers to stay, had a palpable impact upon the sense of security of those white settlers who opted to remain in Kenya (see Figure 1).<sup>211</sup> The visibility of whites in Kenya internationally - due to the myth of the 'Happy Valley set' and the colonial nostalgia played out through the safari industry - gave whites in Kenya a level of economic protection, as the Kenyan state sought to maintain the lucrative tourist trade – an industry worth 157 billion Kenyan Shillings in 2018.<sup>212</sup> This relative sense of security, and awareness of their ability to appeal internationally to public opinion in Britain and the US, led many white Kenyans to stress their exceptionality, contrasting themselves to 'settlers' in southern Africa who were allegedly more racist, less integrated and more 'die-hard'.<sup>213</sup>

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(Leiden: Brill, 2011); Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, and Giacomo Macola, *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Miles Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics: A History of Opposition in Zambia* (London: Routledge, 2016); Walima T. Kalusa, 'The Killing of Lilian Margaret Burton and Black and White Nationalisms in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in the 1960s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37.01 (2011), 63–77.

<sup>210</sup> Daniel Branch, *Kenya: Between Hope and Despair, 1963-2010* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Branch Branch, Nic Cheeseman, and Leigh Gardner, *Our Turn to Eat: Politics in Kenya since 1950* (Lit Verlag, 2010); Poppy Cullen, *Kenya and Britain after Independence: Beyond Neo-Colonialism* (New York: Springer, 2017); John Lonsdale, 'Soil, Work, Civilisation, and Citizenship in Kenya', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2.2 (2008), 305–314.

<sup>211</sup> Cullen, *Kenya and Britain*; Knauss, 'From Devil'. Also see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6dyeaTk8S-Y> (accessed 01/06/2019) and referenced by the following participants in Kenya during interviews; Trevor Donaldson KI078, Bill Kent KI041, Deidre Walton KI062.

<sup>212</sup> This figure converts to approximately £1.24 billion as of exchange rates in August 2019. For the figures see <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/economy/Kenya-tourism-earnings-rise-to-Sh157bn-as-2018-arrivals-cross-2m/3946234-4924636-5p97f6z/index.html#targetText=The%20latest%20statistics%20show%20there,with%203.6%20million%20in%202017>. – accessed on 22/08/2019.

<sup>213</sup> Gerry Burns KI049, Thomas Jones KI066 and Leslie Mayo KI033. For the concept of 'die-hard' whites in Zimbabwe see Leslie Mayo KI033.

Kenya's conflict around decolonisation took place in the 1950s, not the late 1970s or into the 1990s as was the case in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The intense racial politics of southern Africa liberation from the 1960s onwards – the legacies of which are still visible today in contested Zimbabwean land reform and South African land redistribution - affected 'Zambian whites' sense of safety and security'.<sup>214</sup> Northern Rhodesia, later Zambia, had historically looked to the south for settlers, capital, export markets and ideologies. The close links many whites in Zambia had with white supremacist states to the south heightened racial tensions in the country and fixed the settler states of southern Africa firmly as their reference point.<sup>215</sup> As Duder argued, Kenya historically looked to Britain and the US as the source of its settlers, its exports and its ideologies.<sup>216</sup> Whilst whites in Kenya could not ignore the liberation wars of southern Africa, they did not live and breathe it as whites in Zambia did.<sup>217</sup> This is not to deny the fear of street crime in structuring white Kenyans' ideas of security, but to point out that

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<sup>214</sup> Rory Pilosof, 'The Unbearable Whiteness of Being: Land, Race and Belonging in the Memoirs of White Zimbabweans', *South African Historical Journal*, 61.3 (2009), 621–638; Alois S. Mlambo, 'Land Grab' or 'Taking Back Stolen Land': The Fast Track Land Reform Process in Zimbabwe in Historical Perspective', *History Compass*, 3.1 (2005).

<sup>215</sup> For evidence of whites in Zambia who had family and children schooling in Rhodesia and South Africa see The Smiths ZI002, James Barton ZI007, Clives James ZI004, Leyton Mora ZI005, Brenda Coogan ZI015, David McShane ZI016, Terry Marks ZI039, Peter Squire ZI079. Many whites from Kenya and Zambia holidayed in Rhodesia, South Africa and Mozambique – particularly Beira, Durban and the game parks of Rhodesia – for examples see correspondence with Isabel Jenkins ZI077, Roy Sykes ZI078 and interviews with James Barton ZI007 and Reg Turner and Mel Turnbull ZI027. Also for interconnections of whiteness and tourism in South Africa see Albert Grundlingh, 'Revisiting the 'Old 'South Africa: Excursions into South Africa's Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948–1990', *South African Historical Journal*, 56.1 (2006), 103–122.

<sup>216</sup> Shadle, *Souls*; Kennedy, *Islands*; Duder; Duder, 'Beadoc—the British East Africa Disabled Officers' Colony and the White Frontier in Kenya', *The Agricultural History Review*, 1992, 142–150; C. J. D. Duder and Christopher P. Youe, 'Paice's Place: Race and Politics in Nanyuki District, Kenya, in the 1920s', *African Affairs*, 93.371 (1994), 253–278.

<sup>217</sup> Luise White, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Christopher O'Sullivan, 'The United Nations, Decolonization, and Self-Determination in Cold War Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960-1994', *Journal of Global South Studies*, 22.2 (2005), 103.

they did not experience the fear of well-armed home invasions by guerrillas and state forces which marked white Zambians' experience of the 1980s in particular.<sup>218</sup>

Whilst whites in both Kenya and Zambia have experienced existential querying of their position in postcolonial Africa, the severity of that query and the resulting engagement with ideas of 'white Africanness' are structured by these wider political and social differences. As the term 'white settler' has dropped out of usage in the postcolonial period, due to its direct connection with colonialism, displacement and land appropriation, whites in Kenya and Zambia have adopted different identities and strategies to secure legitimacy in the postcolonial nation. Kenya's cosmopolitan whiteness, brought about by the tourism and NGO industries, combined with the general trend for whites to be wealthier and more mobile, has created more of a sense of internationalism. In this way white claims to a Kenyan identity have been less complicated due to a feeling of connectedness to areas outside the continent; the potential 'bolt-hole' on the horizon is always in view.<sup>219</sup> Pointedly in Kenya, these claims are more frequently made to a Kenyan identity, not African. Camilla Watson, a white farmer in her eighties outside Nanyuki, made this point explicitly clear, 'I would say I'm a Kenyan. I'm not an African, I'm not black. Usually an African is black.'<sup>220</sup> The conjoining of Africanness with blackness was a common occurrence, yet claims to an African identity in Zambia were often more vociferous and defensive, being rooted in both a postcolonial history of instability and a desire to distinguish themselves from the whites of Rhodesia, South Africa and then later Zimbabwe. In Kenya these claims to identity have been less historically contingent on the regions' politics, instead white Kenyan identities have

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<sup>218</sup> The Drakes ZI035, The Teevans ZI020, Becca Coulson ZI066, Brenda Coogan ZI015 and Joyce Campbell ZI051.

<sup>219</sup> For the idea of always maintaining a bolt-hole see Dom Walker KI057, Bill Kent KI041, Douglas Mitchell KI080.

<sup>220</sup> Camilla Watson KI061.

developed in the sublimation of race in landscape, through the culture of safari and more recently conservation.

*Whites in national politics*

Whites in Kenya and Zambia have had an ambivalent relationship with national politics since independence. Whilst they have sought to elude overt political engagement to avoid being targeted, they have also been keenly attuned to political developments due to their conspicuous wealth and colonial heritage leaving them potentially vulnerable to political change. Despite whites' attentiveness to politics nationally and regionally, and their position as relatively wealthy, educated citizens involved in industries which employ large numbers of people, they have been conspicuous in their absence from involvement in the national political scene.<sup>221</sup> A consensus developed amongst whites in Kenya and Zambia in the decades after independence that postcolonial politics was no place for them, a phenomenon also noted by Jo Duffy in her analysis of white Zambian oral history records.<sup>222</sup> Thomas Jones – a white farmer in his forties based outside Timau in Kenya – explained whites' historical understanding of their engagement with African politics, and echoed the views of many other whites:

For a white guy to be involved in politics [that] is a long way off. These guys [Africans] need to get over what happened pre-independence. You know we're fifty plus years on. They [still] love blaming everything on the British and that period, they love to brand you in to it. And not everyone, but when there is a problem...<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> For the few examples of whites who have been involved in politics see Guy Scott, *Adventures in Zambian Politics: A Story in Black and White* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2019); Richard E. Leakey, *Wildlife Wars: My Battle to Save Kenya's Elephants* (London: Macmillan, 2001); Simon Zukas, *Into Exile and Back* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishing House, 2002); Sardanis, *Africa*; Andrew Sardanis, *Zambia: The First 50 Years* (London: IB Tauris, 2014).

<sup>222</sup> Duffy, 'Staying On', pp. 224–27. This consensus was in evidence throughout research dialogues, the only prominent counters to this trend being Leslie Mayo KI033 and Frank Ranger ZI037. This idea in popular thought can be found in Joshua Hammer, '(Almost) out of Africa: The White Tribes', *World Affairs*, 2010, 36–48. The gendered dimensions of this consensus posited men as the only likely participants in politics, despite the prominent position of white women in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and Charlotte Scott's recent attempt to be elected in Zambia.

<sup>223</sup> Thomas Jones KI066.

Thomas acknowledged the colonial legacy in Kenya but viewed it solely as a product of Africans apparent inability to 'move on' from the injustices of the period. This is a consistent theme in the postcolonial period as whites fear the colonial legacy will be leveraged against them, particularly during times of political unrest. In Zambia this became a reality during the 1970s as the state feared encroachment by Rhodesian special forces fighting Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) who were based in Zambia as part of Kaunda's 'frontline state' policy against Rhodesia and South Africa.<sup>224</sup> Many whites were suspected of harbouring Selous Scouts, an elite Rhodesia unit, or weapons due to their proximity to Rhodesia. This led to raids by the Zambian army. The occasional white who was actually sheltering Rhodesians only added to the suspicion.<sup>225</sup>

Over twenty years later Robert Mugabe crystallised the white fear of involvement in politics as he started Fast Track Land Reform in 2000 to redistribute white land to black Zimbabweans. Many white Zimbabweans perceived this as a punishment of whites who had backed the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).<sup>226</sup> The resulting violent farm seizures and widespread terrorising of white farmers and their staff forced an exodus of white Zimbabweans and was credited with depleting the foreign exchange reserves of Zimbabwe, isolating the nation from the international community and precipitating a hyperinflation crisis which saw monthly inflation rates skyrocket from 131.42% in November 2007 to 79,600,000,000% in November 2018.<sup>227</sup> For whites across East, Central and southern Africa, Zimbabwe became a reference point, not only as a

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<sup>224</sup> Gilbert M. Khadiagala, *Allies in Adversity: The Frontline States in Southern African Security, 1975-1993* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1994).

<sup>225</sup> Duncan Smith ZI002 about his neighbour who was harbouring Selous Scouts. For other examples see Leyton Mora ZI005 and The Drakes ZI035.

<sup>226</sup> Sean O'Brien KI040, Henry Pattison ZI069, Paul Beer ZI070, Declan and Emily Kimball-Evans ZI072 and Joe Cleall ZI074.

<sup>227</sup> Michael Bratton and Eldred Masunungure, 'Zimbabwe's Long Agony', *Journal of Democracy*, 19.4 (2008), 41-55; Steve H. Hanke and Alex KF Kwok, 'On the Measurement of Zimbabwe's Hyperinflation', *Cato J.*, 29 (2009), 353.

symbol of white precarity but also as a specific reminder of the dangers of white involvement in African politics. Sean O'Brien – a white Kenyan who worked for decades in Zimbabwe – specifically referenced the 'plight' of his friend and well-known white Zimbabwean politician Roy Bennett who had faced long detentions and then exile for his involvement with MDC.<sup>228</sup> This 'plight' was itself racialised in that the black MDC activists in jail or disappeared were not referenced. Sean concluded that whites in politics was 'a bad idea' and that no white could avoid standing in an election in Kenya without first being labelled as a white, not a Kenyan – demonstrating the apparent incompatibility between the two identities.<sup>229</sup>

White discomfort in the public sphere, and their self-removal from politics in the postcolonial period, is the central argument of David McDermott Hughes in his study of whiteness in Zimbabwe. He argued that whites in the country had formed an 'environmentalist identity' which relocated whites specifically within the land, as opposed to the societies around them.<sup>230</sup> By removing themselves into rural spaces, whites were not only avoiding potentially destabilising postcolonial politics but were cultivating their legitimacy through the 'development' of the land, specifically the construction of dams in Hughes' example. Whilst Hughes' work informs this thesis' conceptualisation of white legitimacy and discomfort with formal politics in Kenya and Zambia, it does not entail a complete white withdrawal from society. Hughes argued that 'rural whites adapted to postcolonialism by withdrawing from, rather than integrating with, the broader nation.'<sup>231</sup> However, this thesis demonstrates that whites have, as a general rule, not been able to completely disengage from wider society due to lifestyles and occupations which rely

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<sup>228</sup> Sean O'Brien KI040.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> David McDermott Hughes, 'Hydrology of Hope: Farm Dams, Conservation, and Whiteness in Zimbabwe', *American Ethnologist*, 33.2 (2006), 269–287.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., p. 282.



upon black African labour. Instead they have become part of patronage and fictive kin networks which complicate their aloofness from African society and fixes them more firmly than Hughes allows for within the postcolonial nation. Similarly, whilst whites also deployed emotional strategies which secured belonging and legitimacy often rooted in the rural environment, whites have never been entirely divorced from either African political systems or urban spaces.

The pitfalls of being a white politician in Africa were demonstrated in the experiences of the most prominent white Kenyan involved in politics: Richard Leakey. After heading the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) for many years in the 1980s and 1990s Leakey established a new political party, *Safina*, in 1995 to challenge the dictatorship of Daniel Arap Moi.<sup>232</sup> This concerned many members of the white community to the extent that Richard's brother, Philip, led a deputation of whites to State House to pledge loyalty to Moi.<sup>233</sup> Moi labelled Leakey a colonialist and a racist. He was then targeted and beaten by a gang of Moi supporters. This treatment - combined with the suspected sabotage of his plane whilst head of the KWS in 1993 and the resulting loss of both of his legs - led many in the white community to see this as further evidence of the dangers of postcolonial politics. However Leakey himself denied the racial dynamics of his experience:

I wasn't persecuted because I'm white. I got into trouble because I went after it. It was nothing to do with being a *mzungu*, quite the opposite. What I've done is not because I'm a *mzungu*. I've criticised all the presidents and taken my knocks for it, but because of my comments not my colour.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Leslie Mayo ZI033.

<sup>233</sup> Hammer, '(Almost) out of Africa.

<sup>234</sup> Leslie Mayo ZI033.

Leakey's targeting was part of a longer, non-racial, history of opposition politicians being attacked in Kenya.<sup>235</sup> Leakey's argument that he was attacked for being oppositional rather than being white was a pertinent point, as the marginalised politicians of Luo ethnicity in Kenya and Tonga ethnicity in Zambia could attest to.<sup>236</sup>

Leakey went on to bemoan the white attitude of staying out of politics – one of the most serious weaknesses of the white Kenyan community in his opinion.

It's complete rubbish. The most pathetic, whinging comments I've heard. It's their country, they have every right to be involved, provided they realise that there are lots of other people in Kenya. Of course, they could do it... the precedent is there now [but] there is no-one who wants to lead it and I'm too old.<sup>237</sup>

Leakey discounts the idea that whites are actually vulnerable and hints at what he thinks is at the heart of their reticence to get involved in politics; their un-reconstructed racist mentality. Whites did not want to be involved in politics as it highlighted their precarity, whilst also removing the aloof status which maintained their privilege. White discomfort with a more conspicuous national profile was made clear by Guy Scott – the white ex-Vice President of Zambia. Scott was the son of liberal settler politicians in the 1950s. He rose to become the Vice-President under Michael Sata between 2011-2014 and even briefly served as Acting President on Sata's death between October 2014 and January 2015. He became the first white president of a majority-ruled sub-Saharan African country.<sup>238</sup> He lamented his white compatriots' piece-meal engagement in the political life of the country.

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<sup>235</sup> <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000100033/high-profile-assassinations-a-stain-on-our-political-history>

<sup>236</sup> Lesa B. Morrison, 'The Nature of Decline: Distinguishing Myth from Reality in the Case of the Luo of Kenya', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 45.1 (2007), 117–142. For Tonga views of political marginalisation see interviews with Miriam and Douglas Chona ZI003.

<sup>237</sup> Leslie Mayo ZI033.

<sup>238</sup> Frank Ranger ZI037.

If you [whites] want to be in politics, you have to *be* Zambian. You can't come from our [white] side and eat from both sides.<sup>239</sup>

Scott was alluding to the tensions between those who claimed a white Zambian identity but were essentially not fully engaged with *being* Zambian. He bemoaned the hypocrisy of whites who he viewed as half-committed to the country, often retaining bank accounts and passports with Western countries, yet were also highly critical of Zambian politics. In Scott's view these whites were not true Zambians, as they still clung to colonial mentalities. Whites feared that by being involved in politics, their selective adoption of a Zambian identity would be open for interrogation and subsequent political exploitation. Whites instead preferred to protect their interests more obliquely. The language and practice of white legitimacy were stressed through a depoliticised 'contribution' to the nation; through tourist revenue, agricultural production and the patronage networks which 'supported' their local communities.<sup>240</sup>

The vast majority of whites have opted on the side of caution when it has come to postcolonial politics, not only to assuage vulnerability, but also as a wider rejection of supposedly corrupt postcolonial politics.<sup>241</sup> Even whites who claimed to be integrated lamented the state of national party politics and kept purposefully aloof of it. James Barton – a white Lunda chief and farmer in north-west Zambia – explained his own aversion to politics, even whilst he was explicitly engaged in a longer history of whites in settler Africa entering African traditional politics.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> A similar argument has been made about the 'moral hierarchy' of work in regard to many other Kenyans in Lonsdale, 'Soil, Work, Civilisation, and Citizenship in Kenya'.

<sup>241</sup> For a selection of participants lamenting political corruption see in Kenya Paul Vaughan ZI038, Bill Kent ZI041a, Reginald Barker KI058, Peter Johnston KI077, Charles Braithwaite KI069. In Zambia Clives James ZI004, David McShane ZI016, the Clarke family ZI059, ZI057, ZI063, ZI056, Terry Marks ZI039, Bill Newton ZI031, Teevans ZI020.

<sup>242</sup> For examples of the history of white engagement in 'traditional' politics see Thomas V. McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878* (Rochester: University

My father always told me, “You must never take political sides. You support the Government of the day.” We are the only big commercial enterprise here [remote north-west], we had government officials come here for lunch, for fuel [but] when PF got in, all they heard was that we were supporting Movement for Multiparty Democracy [MMD – previous government]. They [PF] knew some influential person in banking and they called all of my loans in with five days to repay as punishment.<sup>243</sup>

James went on to explain how he pledged loyalty to the new government and as a result the bank withdrew their demand for immediate payment, preventing the farm from falling into bankruptcy. James was an active member of his local community – both as a large employer and local chief – however he had been made painfully aware of the potential material costs of becoming involved in national politics.

Reg Turner – a seventy-nine-year-old who ran his own business in Lusaka – encapsulated the views of most postcolonial whites when it came to politics; keep quiet and keep in the background:

I don’t really want to comment about people like Guy Scott. I think they’ve learnt their lessons. I don’t think you should get involved. I don’t think the [black] majority really listen to us. We haven’t had to change our lifestyle, we carry on as per normal.<sup>244</sup>

Reg struck at the heart of the white political rationale; whites may have lost their formal political posts, but largely retained their land, their wealth and their lifestyles through a cagey, unspoken agreement with postcolonial African governments. However, land ownership is an inescapable part of patronage and power; white ownership of large tracts of land and employment of large numbers of people are therefore political acts, especially in these contexts. Thus, whilst James and Reg eschewed national politics, this did not necessarily mean a kind of racial reclusion. They still engaged in political acts

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Rochester Press, 2010), XLVI; John Lambert, ‘Chiefship in Early Colonial Natal, 1843–1879’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21.2 (1995), 269–285; Charles Ballard, ‘The Role of Trade and Hunter-Traders in the Political Economy of Natal and Zululand, 1824-1880’, *African Economic History*, 10, 1981, 3–21.

<sup>243</sup> James Barton ZI007.

<sup>244</sup> Reg Turner ZI027.

outside formal politics. James, as a chief, was deeply involved in ‘traditional’ African politics. Reg as an employer domestically and commercially was involved in ‘traditional’ patronage networks. If the African postcolonial state is viewed as inherently deformed and corrupted, as Jean-Francois Bayart has proposed, then it is logical that whites have operated politically outside these spheres and instead been based within ‘traditional’ African political structures and kinship networks.<sup>245</sup> Therefore, whilst avoiding the grittier mechanisms of national politics has retained white access to land and privilege, they have also become cemented within the political patronage networks of postcolonial Africa, whilst simultaneously maintaining their claims to political anonymity.<sup>246</sup> This ties into a white disengagement from the centre of national life since independence. Yet, as Lonsdale and van Onselen have shown, this retrenchment was accompanied by a deep engagement with life on the ‘periphery’, in the local contexts in which whites are embedded.

### ***Conclusion***

By 1964 Kenya and Northern Rhodesia were independent states. Both had experienced different - yet comparable - forms of colonisation and emerged at independence with resident populations of whites who viewed the country as their home. Their differences lay in their constitutional background, the organisation of their economies and their degrees of interconnection to the white supremacist regimes of southern Africa. However, they both shared a history of failed settler colonial projects,

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<sup>245</sup> For the corruption of the postcolonial state by colonialism see Jean-François Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (London: Longman London, 1993); Jean-François Bayart, Stephen Ellis, and Béatrice Hibou, ‘The Criminalization of the State in Africa’, 1999; Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Crawford Young, *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960–2010* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012).

<sup>246</sup> For literature on how white and black accommodated themselves to colonial positions in the ‘rural peripheries’ see Lonsdale, ‘Soil, Work, Civilisation, and Citizenship in Kenya’; Charles Van Onselen, ‘Race and Class in the South African Countryside: Cultural Osmosis and Social Relations in the Sharecropping Economy of the South Western Transvaal, 1900-1950’, *The American Historical Review*, 95.1 (1990), 99–123; Charles Van Onselen, *The Seed Is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996).

where dreams of settler power were quashed in the late 1950s and 1960s. The economies and societies of both countries would have been defunct if not for the labour, markets and taxes the African population provided.<sup>247</sup> This fact makes the process of decolonisation – and the study of postcolonial white identities – in both countries particularly insightful. Since independence whites who decided to stay have had to come to terms with the reality that their country has never been ‘white’, and now face a need to validate themselves as citizens of an African nation – to both themselves and wider society. Whilst independence stopped the ideological demands of colonialism, the constant need to protecting white prestige as Shadle termed it, and in a way made it ‘easier’ to be white in these contexts.<sup>248</sup> However, the legacy of colonial dispossession, racism and violence was synonymous with the white communities who stayed. Whites’ privilege and white skin marked them out as the beneficiaries of colonialism, ensuring the continued anxiety of white identities in Africa. By considering the spaces, senses, language and life-stages which have helped validate postcolonial whites and mitigate this anxiety, a clearer view of their attempts at negotiating a white African identity may be reached, and the extent to which whites have become increasingly entangled with the black Africans they have sought to define themselves against.

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<sup>247</sup> For a similar argument in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia see Kennedy, *Islands*.

<sup>248</sup> Shadle, *Souls*.

## **CHAPTER TWO – ‘WHITE’ SPACES AND POSTCOLONIAL AFFECT**

### ***Introduction***

Charles Braithwaite, an elderly rancher on the eastern edge of the Laikipia plateau, sat in his open plan living room in May 2018 looking out at the well-kept garden which ran onto the wildlife conservancy surrounding his home. Charles recounted memories with a keen awareness of the on-going land disputes between white farmers and northern pastoralists in Laikipia. His memories and stories were inflected by the contemporary political pressures of 2018 and his need to justify his family’s landholdings. It was within this context that Charles, without prompting turned to the question of his African neighbours, and their acceptance in his home.

[My African friend] has been in here [my home] but it very seldom happens, and he’s not entirely comfortable. You wouldn’t be comfortable surrounded by a completely different culture.<sup>249</sup>

Charles quickly drew upon the language of comfort to explain why Africans rarely entered the interior of his home, where we sat as he spoke. Charles’ use of the discourse of comfort was more than an anecdotal quirk. It hinted at a wider structure of thought in which whites’ minority status made the need to feel at ease all the more urgent, a point of particular necessity in Laikipia in 2018. The notion of whites’ imagined comfort zones has a clear colonial lineage, forming part of what JM Coetzee called the ‘dream topography of settler society’ - the creation of spaces in which the precarity of white settlerdom was muted if not entirely removed.<sup>250</sup> In a similar vein postcolonial whites’ conceptions of space in Africa have been marked by a dualism of comfort and discomfort.

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<sup>249</sup> Charles Braithwaite, KI069

<sup>250</sup> John M. Coetzee, *White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 6; João Sarmiento and Denis Linehan, ‘The Colonial Hotel: Spacing Violence at the Grande Hotel, Beira, Mozambique’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2018, 0263775818800719 (pp. 4–5).

This portioning of different spaces into these spheres of affect has created an archipelago of white 'safe spaces' in which their privilege and safety have been less challenged.

The notion of spheres of 'affect' is used here with a methodological reliance upon language, building on Niko Besnier's argument that 'affect permeates all levels of linguistic and communicative structures.'<sup>251</sup> Affect in this sense is taken to be a broader subsuming of other categories such as feelings and emotions. This allows affect and language to be considered together by not privileging the psychophysiological sensations of *feelings* and/or *emotions*.<sup>252</sup> As such this approach seeks to challenge the precedence that 'affect has been consistently set aside as an unexplorable aspect of linguistic behaviour'.<sup>253</sup> Besnier identified the connotations, intonations and metaphors of language which can demonstrate the affective stances people take.<sup>254</sup> In a similar vein this chapter interprets the affective stances of participants through these same linguistic devices. In the proceeding analysis of space, the use of linguistic terms such as comfort, discomfort and embarrassment are read to uncover the affective contours of white ideas of space, centred on feelings of anxiety and fear, and correspondingly, in spaces deemed comfortable, feelings of security, reverie and nostalgia. This chapter navigates an archipelago of white spaces of comfort, which are defined against the discomfort of the surrounding black African spaces, to consider how 'white' space has been consolidated, imagined and transgressed since independence.

Comfort and discomfort are used here to uncover white conceptions of different spaces, with a particular focus upon the function of various spaces in changing affective interpersonal and geographical relationships. The use of the language of comfort and

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<sup>251</sup> Niko Besnier, 'Language and Affect', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19.1 (1990), 419–451 (p. 437).

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*, p. 420.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*, p.420.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 422–26.



discomfort links the white spaces discussed here into a longer history of white anxiety within colonial projects, most particularly Ranajit Guha's work.<sup>255</sup> Whilst Guha's work centred on the British Empire in South Asia, his emphasis upon the ethnic dimensions of white anxiety and the need for spaces of comfort directly influence this chapter. His example of a British Indian Army officer who sought refuge in the club, 'in a world whose limits were known and where people answered my beck', has striking similarities to the comfort whites in postcolonial Africa secured through the spaces they putatively controlled.<sup>256</sup> Guha's distinction between anxiety and fear is also pertinent for these African contexts, in which outright fear was not as palpable as endemic anxiety within certain spaces.<sup>257</sup> There was not a 'definite' fear linked to a clear threat, as Soren Kierkegaard defined it, but a vocalised discomfort which can be read as anxiety with the challenge to white aloofness and privilege which such 'black African' spaces represented.<sup>258</sup> The use of Guha links these postcolonial African contexts to colonial India. Parallels between the two contexts emerge in particular with reference to the spaces of clubs. Their similarities question the nature of a settler colony after independence, and the potential for the remnant white inhabitants to begin to occupy positions and subjectivities more akin to whites in non-settler colonies. This chapter will start to map out the hyphenated, qualified identities of 'white Africans', and at the same time will begin to draw parallels to the now defunct figure of Anglo-Indians.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Ranajit Guha, 'Not at Home in Empire', *Critical Inquiry*, 1997, 482–93. The following works also informed my use of the concept of anxiety Kim A.Wagner, "'Treading Upon Fires": The 'Mutiny'-Motif and Colonial Anxieties in British India\*', *Past & Present*, 218.1 (2012), 159-197; Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Anxieties, Fear and Panic in Colonial Settings: Empires on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* (New York: Springer, 2017); Jackson, 'The Settler's Demise'.

<sup>256</sup> Guha, 'Not at Home' p. 483.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid, pp. 485–5.

<sup>258</sup> Soren Kierkegaard, 'The Concept of Anxiety: A Simple Psychologically Oriented Deliberation in View of the Dogmatic Problem of Hereditary Sin (A. Hannay, Trans.)', *New York, NY: Liveright. (Original Work Published 1844)*, 2014, p. 42. Taken from Guha, 'Not at Home'; p. 486.

<sup>259</sup> Anglo Indian in this context meaning people of British descent in India, not the later use of the term to refer to people of mixed race descent in India.

Rather than using the term anxiety, (dis)comfort is employed to emphasise the double meaning of the word which characterises the paradoxical white experiences of comfort and its opposites. For example the materiality of certain spaces, most particularly social and sport clubs, have been central to white ideas of psychological comfort. Equally the physically uncomfortable surroundings of the African ‘bush’ can represent a psychologically comfortable space due to the imagined absence of black Africans and the potential for white communion with nature, which renders the evocative materiality of the space comforting. The creation of a network of comfortable spaces supposedly protects whites from the race-based anxiety which wider independent Africa could raise, in challenging both their economic privilege as well as questioning their very existence in the postcolonial context. The construction of white spaces of comfort was not a distinctly postcolonial phenomenon, but has a clear colonial lineage.<sup>260</sup> In Kenya Brett Shadle has demonstrated how settlers created spaces which ‘were white and permanent’ markers that Kenya was their ‘secure, confident and important’ home.<sup>261</sup> Independence did not negate the need for these spaces, as the changing social and political landscape, evidenced in Africanisation, land disputes and ‘cheeky’ Africans, reshaped white anxiety from the colonial period into the postcolonial.<sup>262</sup> The emphasis upon comfort spaces draws upon Bachelard’s idea of ‘intimate spaces’, defined as ‘a felicitous space to which we withdraw in order to hide from the rest of the world. It is quiet, warm, comforting, private,

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<sup>260</sup> Guha ‘Not at Home’; Mrinalini Sinha, ‘Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India’, *Journal of British Studies*, 40.04 (2001), 489–521.

<sup>261</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 11.

<sup>262</sup> For the idea of Africans becoming rude at independence see interviews with Nicola Maguire ZI038, The Drakes ZI035 and Melvin Novak ZI014. For a critical analysis of African subversion through ‘cheeky’ language see Allison K. Shutt, “‘The Natives Are Getting Out of Hand’: Legislating Manners, Insolence and Contemptuous Behaviour in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1910–1963\*”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33.3 (2007), 653–672; Allison Kim Shutt, *Manners Make a Nation: Racial Etiquette in Southern Rhodesia, 1910-1963* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015), LXV.

oftentimes enclosed and isolated, but always safe and protected.<sup>263</sup> Bachelard's conjoining of intimacy with safety and comfort is instructive. It is within spaces designated as safe and comfortable that self-affirming relations with family members and African staff, alongside emotional interactions with memories and the natural environment, have taken place. This is the fertile ground upon which postcolonial white identity has been rooted.

The spaces in which postcolonial whites have felt comfortable and 'at home' have been characterised by blurred boundaries and semi-visibility.<sup>264</sup> The privacy associated with Western homes was more tenuous amongst the whites of Kenya and Zambia. European notions of privacy were harder to perform in spaces which were distinct for both the ubiquitous presence of African domestic staff and an emphasis upon the enjoyment of outdoor living; on the verandah, in the garden and in the 'wilderness'. The porous boundaries of white spaces in these contexts was part of a wider intermeshing of the home with the surrounding landscape, society and economy as a means of fostering legitimacy through engagement in local kinship networks. Thomas, a fourth-generation large-scale white farmer near Mt Kenya (see Figure 1) viewed this intermeshing as a key part of being white in 'modern Africa'. He described it as 'being a part of everything around us; security, conservation, water, schools, hospitals – pretty much everything that works is operated by us [the large scale white farms]'.<sup>265</sup> Thomas' sense of comfort was clearly embedded in a view of himself and his farm as vital contributors to the local

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<sup>263</sup> Stephen Luis Vilaseca, 'From Spaces of Intimacy to Transferential Space: The Structure of Memory and the Reconciliation with Strangeness in El Cuarto de Atrás', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 83.3 (2006), 181–192; Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Beacon Press, 1994), CCCXXX, p. 9.

<sup>264</sup> Sara Mills, 'Colonial Domestic Space', *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 39.1 (1996), 46–60; McClintock; J Comaroff, 'JL 1992. Home-Made Hegemony: Modernity, Domesticity and Colonialism in South Africa', *African Encounters with Domesticity*, Ed. by Karen Tranberg Hansen, 37–74; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*.

<sup>265</sup> Thomas Jones, Interview KI066.

infrastructure and inseparable parts of the local community. The centrality of his family's home to the surrounding landscape formed a key part of his identity and legitimacy as a white Kenyan, he proudly claimed that 'we've been here for 100 years, and we want to be here for 10,000 years'.<sup>266</sup>

Another facet of the intermeshing of public and private was the position of African domestic staff. Staff within the home were a key part of private space being made public, as Karen Hansen argued for colonial Northern Rhodesia, 'a properly managed household was part of civilised society and as such was on permanent display'.<sup>267</sup> As a result private life became a way of displaying white colonial 'superiority', not just through roads and railways but through the 'mundane acts of cooking, eating and relaxing'.<sup>268</sup> Dane Kennedy noted in the early settler societies of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia this performance of superiority was both taxing and difficult to maintain. The need to hide the most intimate of domestic functions – for example white women changing clothes – from the omnipresent black African staff presented the prospect of the 'native' being corrupted and novice settlers tarnishing white prestige.<sup>269</sup> Brett Shadle argued that 'even in the spaces they most tightly controlled, settlers could feel, viscerally, the African presence'.<sup>270</sup> Whilst these arguments were centred on early settler society in Kenya, they offer useful conceptualisations for the postcolonial period due to the persistence of colonial-era domestic labour relations. The entangled fictive kin networks which characterised white-black employment relationships were evident in the intimate

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<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Karen T. Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 66.

<sup>268</sup> Mills, 'Colonial Domestic space' pp. 54–55.

<sup>269</sup> Kennedy, *Islands*, pp. 140–41.

<sup>270</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 11.

knowledge domestic staff had of the inner workings of white homes, whilst they also channelled important economic and social capital into the surrounding community.

This chapter is structured to move through white safe spaces from the interior to the exterior; moving from domestic spaces into the wider domesticated natural environment, urban spaces and finishing in spaces of natural ‘wilderness’. These spaces will be, in turn: the interior of the home; the verandah; the garden; urban space and the club; and the interconnected spaces of the farm, conservancy and national park. Each space contributes a different – yet complementary – facet to the construction of white identity in postcolonial Africa, whilst the corresponding spaces in-between reflect the anxieties and discomforts facing whites. The archipelago of spaces which this chapter navigates is a logical extension of the settler colonial ideology which configured many public spaces as belonging to whites, and therefore being an extension of the white private sphere. The ‘right’ of whites to hit black Africans, to remove them from sidewalks and restrict their access to bars, restaurants and parts of shops, reiterated that the white man had the strongest claim to the land he strode upon. As white Europeans were the only ones who properly understood private ownership, or so the ideology supposed, they were the only ones who could have private spaces upon which others could infringe. What underpins the language of comfort, intimacy and safe spaces is the idea of ‘home’. This is a broader conception than the domestic dwelling; it expands beyond the public/private binary to consider the spaces in which whites *feel* at home.<sup>271</sup> By addressing the idea of

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<sup>271</sup> For ideas of how ‘home’ has been constructed through decolonisation see James S. Duncan and David Lambert, ‘Landscapes of Home’, *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, 2004, 382–403; Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, Race And National Identity, 1945-1964* (London: Routledge, 2005); Rosalia Baena, “‘Not Home but Here’: Rewriting Englishness in Colonial Childhood Memoirs”, *English Studies*, 90.4 (2009), 435–459; Rosemary M. George and Rosemary Marangoly George, *The Politics of Home: Postcolonial Relocations and Twentieth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

how 'home' is conceptualised and experienced - alongside its relationship to ideas of self - the complexities of postcolonial white identity can begin to be uncovered.

### ***The Home***

#### *(Dis)comfort and intimacy in the white home*

In colonial Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, space was organised both to project imperial power and assuage fears of white vulnerability.<sup>272</sup> The tension between these two aims was evidenced in distinct architecture as domestic arrangements which could 'blur distinctions of colour and culture but also reiterate relations of dominance in kitchens, bedrooms, and nurseries.'<sup>273</sup> Colonial domestic space had to be organised to navigate these tensions, ensuring that Europeans learned the right social affiliations and did not 'go native'.<sup>274</sup> The structuring of spatial relations within the home was closely linked to establishing the norms of colonial subjectivity – not only the construction of race which Stoler so skilfully details but also the reinforcement of white gendered norms.<sup>275</sup> Domestic space helped normalise relations of hierarchy through gendered and racialised employment relations and the attempted regulation of Africans access to different parts of the white home.<sup>276</sup> The interior of the home was marked out as a distinct domestic space, and whilst African labour was divided into cooks and 'houseboys and girls' the responsibility of 'running' the home fell to the white matriarch. Although domestic labour in both of these postcolonial contexts was overwhelmingly carried out by African staff of both genders, the maintenance of white domesticity was still understood as a (white) female preserve. The older white women who took part in this research drew emotional

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<sup>272</sup> Mills, 'Colonial Domestic', p. 47.

<sup>273</sup> Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies', p. 832.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid, p. 832.

<sup>275</sup> Mills, 'Colonial Domestic' p. 46.

<sup>276</sup> Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 66–67.

comfort and social capital from their ability to manage a successful household, and train staff accordingly. Younger generations – often those born after independence – took less affirmation from the performance of domesticity which staff trained to exacting standards represented, however they still relied upon African labour within the home and as such positioned such relations more explicitly within ideas of patronage or fictive kinship.

In postcolonial Kenya and Zambia white domestic space was a site of affirmation through patronage-employment networks as well as familial relations. These interconnected dynamics complemented constructions of the self and made the regulation of access to the interior of the home vital. Correspondingly space should not be thought of as solely physical. It is also about the people and accompanying power relations that occupy it. The physicality of a space and the politics of it worked together – both rely upon one another to create the space and the desired affect of it. For example, whilst the presence of domestic staff during their prescribed working hours could be a source of comfort, their presence, or the presence of ‘other’ Africans at night could be disturbing. Similarly, the division of domestic labour allowed for ‘house boys/girls’ and ‘cooks’ to enter the home, whilst ‘garden boys’ and ‘watchmen’ were kept outside and received lower wages.<sup>277</sup> These systems of regulated intimacy consolidated power structures and were facilitated by the physical organisation of space in and around the white home. For example, staff quarters were often adjacent to the house - close but removed - in the style of a *khaya*.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> See ZNA, MLSS/1/09/033/2025, Conditions in certain industries and services of domestic servants 1944-54. ‘Hints to Settlers’ compiled by The Federation of Women’s Institutes of Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1949)

<sup>278</sup> South African term for servant quarters found to the immediate rear of the house.

The purpose of this regulated proximity was practicality; domestic servants had easy access to the home for the long hours of work expected, but were also removed in an attempt to protect the veneer of privacy within the interior.<sup>279</sup> Similarly the external kitchen represented a means of separating the cook, and their most intimate of roles, from the house. This was a trend started in India and continued in colonial Africa.<sup>280</sup> Bill Kent - an elderly white Kenyan living in Karen, Nairobi – had lived in Kenya all of his life as well as serving with the settler-manned Kenya Regiment during the Mau Mau Emergency. During our interview Bill was keen to distance his ‘community’ from the caricature of Kenyan whites established by the infamous ‘Happy Valley Set’ of the 1920s and 1930s. At the same time he also alluded to the lingering spectre of Mau Mau amongst the older generation of whites in Kenya. It was with this in mind that he rationalised the outside kitchen as both a safety measure and point of racialised security:

Pre-Independence most [white] houses in Kenya didn’t have an inside kitchen. First of all, it was about fires, and it was also about keeping the staff out of house after dark. The *bwana* and *memsabib* didn’t want staff in the house after dark. My staff are still out of the house by seven at night, so I guess it’s still a hang up.<sup>281</sup>

Whilst Bill initially tried to defend the outdoor kitchen as a safety measure against fire, he quickly acknowledged that the regulation of African staff’s access to the home during the evening was the primary concern. The potential vulnerability of the white home during the night – was made sharper by the spectre, and occasional reality, of home invasions. Not least during the Mau Mau Emergency which Bill remembered so vividly. Bill’s discomfort with having African staff in his home after dark reflects a widely felt sense of vulnerability at night, reflected in the regulation of homes temporally and spatially.

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<sup>279</sup> See correspondence with Claudia Day, ZI076 and Isabel Jenkins, ZI077.

<sup>280</sup> Mills, ‘Colonial Domestic’ p. 57.

<sup>281</sup> Bill Kent KI041.



Trevor Donaldson, the retired hunter introduced earlier, was the same generation as Bill and had experienced this vulnerability first hand during a home invasion at night during which he was stabbed. Whilst he laughed off this incident as part of the perils of postcolonial white life in Africa, the violent crime evidently had a lingering psychological impact on him and his wife, who returned to the UK frequently. Trevor's brushing off of the memory, and instead his focus upon his interpersonal relationships in the 'bush' with black Kenyans, first of all fighting *together* in the Emergency and then latterly in the hunting and safari industry, pointed toward a selective remembrance, particularly in relation to his representation of himself to me, as a foreign researcher. Trevor's emphasis upon the spatial dynamics of his interpersonal relationships became clear as he described the idea of discomfort in more detail whilst we sat on his verandah overlooking his conservancy.

I've had the odd well educated African here (at home), but you don't really mix with them when you're at home. It's different on safari and in the bush, somehow, it's easier to mix with them there rather than when you're at home. I think they feel embarrassed.<sup>282</sup>

Trevor projected his own embarrassment about having Africans within his home onto African guests. Whilst he did not explicitly connect his recollections to the violent crime he experienced in his home, his sense of discomfort and unease at the prospect of African visitors hinted toward more than the maintenance of tenuous racial 'standards'. Furthermore, his emphasis upon the distinction between interracial relations in the 'bush', as opposed to the 'home', articulated a widely held conception of the home as a distinctly interior space – defined by the privacy afforded by ownership and the vulnerability of exposing familial relations and interior aesthetics to 'outsiders'. Trevor also emphasised the function of different spaces. The 'bush' could host interracial social mixing as a space

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<sup>282</sup> Trevor Donaldson KI078.

in which ideas of interiority and ownership were internalised by whites rather than explicitly practised as in the home. Trevor's claim that he did not mix with Africans at home pointed to a purported obliviousness to the presence of African domestic staff within the most interior, and most intimate, parts of the home, which struck at the particular position these members of whites' wider kinship networks occupied. The presence of staff within the home was often explained through the notion of kin; staff being 'members of the family' – as such they were not conspicuous other 'Africans'.<sup>283</sup> Stressing that staff were part of the 'family' allowed whites to mitigate potential discomfort and gloss over the fact that these were fundamentally economic relations. The intimate position of domestic staff within white homes puts them in a conflicted position, of being trusted yet also potentially transgressive and dangerous. A shared history amongst whites in Zambia and Kenya of intimate domestic spaces being violated through home invasions has reinforced both a wariness of domestic staff, as well as their potential to be a source of (in)security.

*Violation and the organisation of domestic space*

Since independence, organisation of the white home has been shaped by the particular experience of home invasions by a significant minority of whites.<sup>284</sup> This stems from the position of whites as visibly wealthy ex-colonials, particularly in relation to the impoverished majority of black Kenyans and Zambians. This inequality combined with the conspicuous position of whites as privileged 'others' has led to opportunistic crime. These experiences are not universal but have occurred enough to have played a role in

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<sup>283</sup> See interviews Tony Kent KI041a and Gordon Kerridge KI041b, Thomas Jones KI066, June Grout KI018, Francis Church, ZI019. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>284</sup> For experience of home invasions see interviews with The Drakes ZI035, Brenda Coogan ZI015, Becca Coulson ZI066, The Smiths ZI002, The Teevans ZI020, interviews with the community around Monze ZI048, Trevor Donaldson KI078 and the infamous example of Joan Root in Kenya.

how domestic space has been organised in an attempt to mitigate potential crime.<sup>285</sup> A distinction will be drawn here between Kenya and Zambia due to their different levels of post-colonial insecurity. Since independence Zambia has seen various periods of economic and social instability which have prompted reassessments of how the domestic space is organised, both materially and in terms of domestic staff. Notions of privacy have also been challenged in both countries as violations of domestic space by armed intruders and suspicious state actors have rendered these spaces a site of public, and often threatening, interaction.

In the late 1970s and 1980s Zambia witnessed a spike in violent crimes, largely due to economic decline linked to dropping global copper prices and the on-going position of Zambia as a 'Frontline State' against white supremacy.<sup>286</sup> The precarious economic situation, combined with the presence of guerrilla fighters from across Southern Africa, heightened a sense of white vulnerability. Participants recounted the numerous incidents of violent crime they, or close friends and family, experienced during the 1980s and early 1990s.<sup>287</sup> These crimes were overwhelmingly committed in the home. The Drakes, farmers just outside Lusaka, were a prime example of how repeated violent incursions into the domestic space have led to intimate spatial reorganisation. The most sustained violent incident involved Henry Drake being beaten and threatened repeatedly in their bedroom to reveal the location of valuables.<sup>288</sup> The repercussions of these

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<sup>285</sup> Interviews with Brenda Coogan ZI015, Nicola Maguire ZI038, The Drakes ZI035, Mel and Roger Teevan ZI020, Becca Coulson ZI066, Mark Benson KI043 and Trevor Donaldson KI078.

<sup>286</sup> For further details on the Zambian economy in the 1970s and 1980s see Tony Southall, 'Zambia: Class Formation and Government Policy in the 1970s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 7.1 (1980), 91–108; Richard M. Auty, 'Mismanaged Mineral Dependence: Zambia 1970–90', *Resources Policy*, 17.3 (1991), 170–183.

<sup>287</sup> For experience of violent crime see interviews with Leyton Moran ZI005, Brenda Coogan ZI015, Susan Wright ZI025, Caroline ZI026, The Drakes ZI035, Becca Coulson ZI066, The Smiths ZI002, The Teevans ZI020, interviews with the community around Monze ZI048, Joyce Campbell ZI051, Terence Clarke ZI057.

<sup>288</sup> The Drakes, ZI035

incidents for the Drakes' domestic spatial organisation was the regulation of domestic staff's access to the house, and also a physical re-ordering of the domestic space. The verandah was raised and enclosed with bars, valuables were no longer kept in the house, radios were available at several points throughout the home to call for assistance if attacked, doors were regularly locked with staff no longer allowed keys and multiple loud dogs provided an informal alarm system. This reorganisation of space would have been unthinkable during the colonial period, when ideas of white vulnerability were expressed around the natural environment more often than invasive, 'criminally minded' black Africans, and the performance of white prestige was considered adequate defence against African violations of the domestic space.<sup>289</sup>

The growing insecurity of the white home in Zambia has been compounded since the early 2000s due to the influx of white Zimbabwean farmers fleeing ZANU-PF's land reform into the key large-scale farming districts of Zambia. Under President Levy Mwanawasa white Zimbabweans were offered farming opportunities in Choma and Mkushi (see Figure 2).<sup>290</sup> The arrival of white Zimbabweans has caused notable tensions with the existing white Zambian population. Instead of being viewed as a bolster to a precarious 'island of white', they are often seen as a destabilising force, bringing their 'strident racism', insecure heritage and militarisation practices.<sup>291</sup> Moira Smith, a farmer in Choma since the 1950s, lamented the 'insecure heritage of the whites from Zimbabwe. They've brought the fortification of farms which they developed during the (Rhodesian) war.'<sup>292</sup> Whilst Moira's home was not militarised, her large dogs and security lights

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<sup>289</sup> For discussions of the protection of white prestige see Shadle, *Souls*.

<sup>290</sup> Mkushi was a popular site for Zimbabwean immigration due to a number of derelict former settler farms and failed Government agricultural schemes.

<sup>291</sup> Interview with Moira Smith ZI002 and Clive James ZI004, The Webbers ZI044 also participant observation with The Moran's ZI005.

<sup>292</sup> Moira Smith ZI002.

betrayed some sense of her insecurity. Her need to walk around the farm with her dogs hit upon the gendered dynamics of white insecurity. White women still lived in the postcolonial period with the lingering spectre of colonial 'black peril', the white fear of black male sexuality and violence. Moira hinted toward a fear which other white women inferred, a fear of African violence which white men either did not experience or, more likely, which gendered expectations restricted their expression of. What was evident was that Moira and her white Zambian neighbours were not all as secure as she claimed. Whilst white women could more clearly express their discomfort, it was through the reshaping and fortifying of homes that both men and women's fears were made physical. When pressed about the notable militarised nature of one of her neighbour's homestead (multiple high security fences, CCTV and a large guard presence) she conceded that some had taken to copying the Zimbabweans and felt less safe since their influx. A similar trend has been observed in Mkushi.<sup>293</sup> The paradox here is that the increase in securitisation around the home correlates to an increase in the fear of crime; the higher the walls, the more intense the paranoia.

The majority of white homes in Kenya, particularly outside Nairobi, do not have the burglar bars, enclosed verandahs or security fences of many white homes in Zambia.<sup>294</sup> Despite Kenya's relative security, there have been incidents of violent crime within the home, most notoriously the murder of Joan Root.<sup>295</sup> Whilst spatial reorganisation of the home may not be as evident in post-colonial Kenya, the presence of fences, and importantly firearms in the home is a clear sign of domestic insecurity,

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<sup>293</sup> Participant observation travelling through Mkushi on 16<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> January 2017.

<sup>294</sup> Participant observation in Lusaka, Ndola, Nairobi and Nanyuki, at various points from October 2016 to September 2017.

<sup>295</sup> For examples of home invasion in Kenya see interview with Trevor Donaldson (KI078). <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/british-wildlife-film-maker-murdered-by-gunmen-in-her-kenyan-home-522970.html>

brought vividly to life by the recent disturbances and shootings in Laikipia.<sup>296</sup> Mark Benson, a retired ‘white hunter’ in his eighties, lived on the rural side of Lake Naivasha (see Figure 1) and provided a more pronounced example of a wider trend. He kept a handgun by his bed for security at night and explained his choice of ammunition, ‘the first two rounds are dum-dum bullets (hollow-nosed rounds that expand rapidly on impact), so that anyone who gets in as far as the bedroom is killed as quickly as possible’.<sup>297</sup> However, in both Kenya and Zambia firearms were the last line of defence. Instead the regulation of inter-racial domestic relations configured through the reorganisation of space were the more everyday means of combating the real and perceived threats of post-colonial African encroachment into the white home.

### ***The Verandah***

#### *Liminality and intimacy on the verandah*

You know like all old colonials we live our lives on the verandah, or outside.<sup>298</sup>

The words of June Grout, a white rancher in her fifties from Laikipia County, Kenya, neatly articulate the continued salience of the verandah in post-colonial Kenya and Zambia. As she alludes to, the verandah imaginatively maintained a link to a colonial lifestyle - and the articulation of a distinct colonial heritage - which emphasised the importance of living outside. The colonial verandah has been viewed within historical literature as a transitional space between the ‘white’ domestic interior and the tropical

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<sup>296</sup> Participant observation with KI078, KI043 and KI002. Anonymous, ‘Cattle Barons : Political Violence, Land Invasions and Forced Displacement in Kenya’s Laikipia County’, *The Conservation Imperative*, 2017; Graham R. Fox, ‘Maasai Group Ranches, Minority Land Owners, and the Political Landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya’, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 12.3 (2018), 473–493; Graham R. Fox, ‘The 2017 Shooting of Kuki Gallmann and the Politics of Conservation in Northern Kenya’, *African Studies Review*, 2018, 1–27.

<sup>297</sup> Participant observation with The Bensons, KI043.

<sup>298</sup> June Grout, KI018

‘black’ outdoors.<sup>299</sup> It was a space within the house where coloniser and colonised could meet, ‘which was neither clearly public and therefore formal, nor private and therefore intimate.’<sup>300</sup> The verandah was not only an articulation of colonial identity, but a liminal space which was simultaneously intimate and distant, public and private. The verandah achieved this dualism by directing the white gaze outward, whilst simultaneously enabling the African gaze inward.

James Barton, a white farmer and hunter in remote north-west Zambia, hosted me for three days on his farm after we had met in Lusaka. James, more so than any other white interviewed in Kenya or Zambia, positioned himself explicitly as a white African. He prided himself on his position as a white chief, his relationships with the population around the farm (and its isolation from white enclaves) as well as his family history of missionary work, liberal values and fluency in local languages. James and I spent a number of hours discussing not only his memories and family stories but also the wider histories of white settlement in southern Africa. James, like many of my participants, understood himself in relation to the ‘other’ whites found in Zambia, Kenya and the south of the continent. It was within this context that he remembered his parents’ use of the verandah, compared to other white families, in the early 1960s:

Even a Government official would never be invited into the house [by other settlers], they’d be kept on the verandah and given a drink. However, my mother would always make sure everyone was invited into the house and sat at the table.<sup>301</sup>

James draws a clear distinction between his mother’s behaviour and that of white settlers generally. In his recollection the verandah was used a means of defining who was and was

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<sup>299</sup> Julia M. Wells, ‘Sun Hats, Sundowners, and Tropical Hygiene: Managing Settler Bodies and Minds in British East and South-Central Africa, 1890–1939’, *African Historical Review*, 48.2 (2016), 68–91 (p. 80).

<sup>300</sup> Mills, ‘Colonial Domestic’, p. 52.

<sup>301</sup> James Barton, ZI007.

not known intimately enough to enter the inner domestic space. His mother, described as a renegade liberal, made the point of transgressing the boundary which the verandah represented. This action was seen by James as a statement; to subvert the role of the verandah was to define oneself against the accepted norms of the time. James himself had continued this. In this research, James was one of only two white individuals to welcome black African guests into the house, rather than keep guests on the verandah or not have any black guests at all. Charles, the elderly rancher introduced earlier, typified this approach when discussing a black Kenyan ‘friend’ who farmed nearby.

If he comes down to here, I’ll see him on the verandah. We’ll chat away easily but I’ve only been into his house once..<sup>302</sup>

Charles projected his own discomfort onto his black Kenyan guest, citing their cultural difference as the reason why they were not at ease within his home. Instead the verandah represented a more neutral space which was not too public and formal, and not too private and intimate. Charles echoed widespread sentiments expressed amongst the older white generation who deployed the verandah as a tool of separation. It was an imagined boundary which separated the interior and exterior of white domestic space and could be used performatively to both entertain and simultaneously regulate black visitors.

Katja Uusihakala’s anthropological study of white Kenyans in the 1990s provides a pertinent example of the verandah being used to articulate difference and regulate intimate boundaries. In her narrative Derek, the white homeowner, consents to his white tourist friend entertaining an African couple, despite it being ‘very difficult to have them in the house’. He relented on two conditions:

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<sup>302</sup> Charles Braithwaite, KI069.



The first is that of course I will be sick. And the second thing is that you mustn't invite them to the house. They can come onto the verandah.<sup>303</sup>

Uusihakala argues that this exchange demonstrated how the settler verandah becomes 'an emblem of the postcolonial space'. It shows the 'modern' European tourist and 'modern' African sharing something of a colonial history, whilst being served by an 'ancient servant', with the whole encounter being barely tolerated by the 'traditional colonial master' who is protected by the stone wall in-between.<sup>304</sup> The verandah was used to define people's roles and place within the space and specifically within the context of a social visit. The barely tolerated African social visitor was safely confined to the verandah, whilst the African servant crossed these boundaries and navigated between white domestic spaces as part of the trusted patronage network of the white home.

*Guilt and comfort on the verandah*

The idea of the colonial verandah as a platform for the white gaze into the surrounding landscape has been destabilised since independence. A sense of physical vulnerability and existential uncertainty has grown as the protection of the colonial state has disappeared.<sup>305</sup> Thus, whilst the verandah has kept some of its colonial trappings as a space for regulating intimacy and projecting the white gaze, it has also become a platform for white anxiety and insecurity. James Barton encapsulated this tension whilst we discussed his own situation on the farm from his living room.

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<sup>303</sup> Katja Uusihakala, 'From Impulsive Adventure to Postcolonial Commitment: Making White Identity in Contemporary Kenya', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2.1 (1999), 27–45 (pp. 34–35).

<sup>304</sup> Ibid, p.35

<sup>305</sup> For ideas of space and seeing/knowing positions see Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (Guilford Press, 1994), pp. 29–50.

If we [whites] can sit comfortably on the verandah sipping Gin and Tonics whilst less than a kilometre away people are living in shelters made of fertiliser bags. I couldn't sleep. That is not even humane.<sup>306</sup>

James pointedly invoked the colonial imagery of drinking gin on the verandah to stress the continuity of colonial mentalities lived on and through the space. For James, the verandah could be a sight of introspection, guilt and shame. It could be a space of luxury and relaxation, highlighting the disparity and proximity of the privileged whites and their African employees. Pointedly James was not referring to himself, he was describing members of the white community with whom he was familiar from his time spent farming in the historically 'whiter' districts of Kabwe and Mkushi (see Figure 2). He described these districts as:

Enclaves, call it strength in numbers, they don't have that, but they have common ground, they have clubs, their polo, and their golf. Those are the strengtheners [sic] of that existence, of being separate from society. They create their own society.<sup>307</sup>

He viewed the continuation of postcolonial white enclaves as part of this mentality which enabled the luxury of 'sitting comfortably on the verandah sipping Gin and Tonics', without engaging with the stark inequality surrounding them and failing their responsibility as an employer and patron. James did not envisage a future for whites in Zambia who could not get past this colonial verandah mentality. He referenced white displacement in South Africa and Zimbabwe as the natural consequences of such blinkered thinking.<sup>308</sup>

For James the verandah represented a space of comfort and complacency for unreconstructed, 'colonial' whites, but this space of privilege and discomfort engendered

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<sup>306</sup> James Barton, ZI007.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid

<sup>308</sup> Ibid

feelings of guilt and shame for him. This raises important questions about distance and proximity, and how such questioning is catalysed by ownership. James' concern centred on the distance many whites have put between themselves and the surrounding African population as a means of mitigating discomfort around inequality. The verandah provided a site for gaze and contemplation onto a curated space of nature, obscuring the reality of deprivation beyond the garden fence. In this context the liminality of the verandah, as both interior and exterior, made it a space in which the white gaze was projected onto 'their' piece of nature - either a garden, farm or conservancy. This played a vital role in connecting domestic and natural spaces and helped forge whites' sense of place in postcolonial Africa.

### ***The Garden***

The garden has been a particular space of the white imagination, not only within Kenya and Zambia, but also Euro-American thought more broadly.<sup>309</sup> William Cronon's work on the place of wilderness within North American history directly contrasts the 'otherness' of wilderness compared to the curated and knowable confines of nature within the garden.<sup>310</sup> The garden was an attempted enclosure of the 'wild' into the domestic and the symbolic creation of an 'earthly paradise' – one which often drew direct parallels to Eden as Cronon notes.<sup>311</sup> Richard Drayton more specifically identified the garden as having a dual function within Western European history, being both a space to wonder at the natural world whilst also increasingly in the Renaissance period a space to

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<sup>309</sup> Glenn Hooper, *Landscape and Empire, 1770-2000* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005); William Cronon, 'The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature', *Environmental History*, 1.1 (1996), 7–28; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Luciana de Lima Martins and Felix Driver, *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. pp.60-64.

<sup>310</sup> Cronon, *Wilderness*, p. 23.

<sup>311</sup> Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 6; Cronon, *Wilderness*, pp. 9, 16, 18.

study and understand nature.<sup>312</sup> This chapter develops both contributions, using Cronon's notion of the garden as a space of curated wilderness and Drayton's argument for the garden as a space of wonder and knowledge, to demonstrate how whites in postcolonial Africa have constructed their gardens as evidence of their love for, and knowledge of, African nature as well as providing a space in which they can 'wonder' at the natural world within the safety of the garden fence.

The garden in colonial and postcolonial Africa represented a semi-domesticated space often containing 'wild animals' in the form of snakes, monkeys, bush babies and birds – it brought the 'wild' into urban space and domesticated the 'wild' in rural space.<sup>313</sup> The white garden was also notable as the meeting point of European and African flora – the incarnation of intermeshed European and African social practices which took place through close relationships forged within the garden and home.<sup>314</sup> White-owned gardens were also notable for their size, reinforcing whites elevated social class. It was not only large houses which required a team of domestic staff, but large and complex gardens also required teams of gardeners to maintain these semi-wild spaces which formed such a crucial part of postcolonial whites' enjoyment and rationalisation of living in Africa.

The British colonial garden in Africa developed along the lines of the gardens of the British Raj, where the garden served the function of an intermediary zone between the British 'home' and the alien Indian 'outside'. Gardening, and the production of recognisable British domestic gardens, became a key part in the production of colonial

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<sup>312</sup> Drayton, *Nature's Government*, pp. 5–6.

<sup>313</sup> William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 165.

<sup>314</sup> E. S. Cassey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding Of the Place-World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), p. 291; Mark Bhatti and others, "'I Love Being in the Garden": Enchanting Encounters in Everyday Life', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10.1 (2009), 61–76 (p. 72).

domestic space.<sup>315</sup> Llewellyn Powys described the physicality of the garden within the imperial civilising project whilst staying with a settler family in Kenya in the early 1920s.

One had but to step out of the little garden of geraniums ... to find oneself in the actual jungle. It was this abrupt juxtaposition of the tamed with the untamed, at one's very doorstep so to speak, which affected the nerves with an ever-present feeling of insecurity.<sup>316</sup>

The garden was symbolically a cordon between the civilised and the uncivilised, the safe and the unsafe.<sup>317</sup> The contrast of the geraniums to the 'jungle' beyond the garden fence spoke not only to a colonial insecurity with the invasion of the garden by African savagery in a biological sense, but also psychological insecurity about a tenuous white position in 'black Africa'. However, the colonial garden was simultaneously a space of enjoyment. Colonel Collisson, in a late-colonial broadcast for the Kenya Horticultural Society, invoked childhood memories of the garden to his settler listeners.

Didn't you once puff at a Dandelion Clock to know the time? To go further back, to infancy. I expect you made Daisy Chains or Cowslip Balls. Do not let us drop these harmless little fancies. We can always find time and opportunity for little 'chuckles in the garden.'<sup>318</sup>

Collisson's reminiscences in his Kenyan garden were not all of light-hearted reverie. Whilst he invoked these childhood games with British flora, he despaired of the long months of Kenya's dry season, when he stands in his garden and sees 'the dust flying, the dahlia wilting, the grass brown and crackling... I get thoroughly homesick and pray for rain.'<sup>319</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Mills, 'Colonial Domestic'.

<sup>316</sup> Llewellyn Powys, *Black Laughter* (London: Macdonald, 1924), p. 13.

<sup>317</sup> King, *The Bungalow*, p. 196.

<sup>318</sup> KNA, AZGI/7/19, Kenya Horticultural Society, Folio 50, 'Chuckles in the Garden', script of a broadcast by Col. P.L. Collisson in the series arranged by the Kenya Horticultural Society, undated.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*

Even in Collisson's jovial broadcast he lets slip how the garden invokes mixed emotions, of reverie and delight alongside vulnerability and transience.

Collisson's allusion to childhood 'fancies' was more than a merry trope. The garden fulfilled a specific purpose as a site of reverie for whites, both with themselves and their curated version of Africa. The garden was a site of solitude and privacy in contrast to the social verandah and busy, heavily domesticated interior of the home. Reverie is proposed here in the Bachelardian sense of an embodied sensorial experience linked to childhood.<sup>320</sup> Participants' fond childhood memories often related to the garden and it enabling a make-believe or dream-like state. Roy Sykes, who grew up on the Zambian Copperbelt but now lived in the USA, described his memories of his childhood garden and articulated a sense of joy and wonder expressed by others.

My favourite home was in Luanshya (see Figure 2), probably because I was young and, in the garden, stood an enormous anthill with a large tree growing on the top with branches that hung down and gave me a ready-made "fortress" to play in.<sup>321</sup>

Roy's memories of childhood in Luanshya were inflected with a sharper sense of nostalgia than many due to his physical distance from the location. Roy now lived in the USA, having left Zambia for school and university in South Africa in the 1970s before leaving that country due to his anti-apartheid activities whilst a student. Thus his recollections were not only of childhood but of a time when he happily lived in Africa. Happy memories made all the keener for the dislocation he remembered in his teens when family troubles and schooling took him away from childhood innocence. It was within such

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<sup>320</sup> Bhatti and others, pp. 61–62; Bachelard, *Reverie*.

<sup>321</sup> Correspondence with Roy Sykes, ZI078

frameworks of remembering that whites positioned childhood in direct relation to the garden, as a specific space within memories and a site of memory in itself.<sup>322</sup> Gardens enabled reverie and contemplation but could also be disturbed and violated. Their ability to invoke comforting and affirming states rested upon how the garden was organised in controlling who and what inhabited the space.

*Affective tensions in the post-colonial garden*

The garden has remained a central part of white domestic space since independence in both Kenya and Zambia. Whilst gardens may be small or large, enclosed or open, they remain significant in the spatial organisation of the home and form an indispensable part of the ‘good life’ of whites in post-colonial Africa.<sup>323</sup> The idea of the garden as a necessity for whites tied into a wider discourse that public urban space was no longer safe or desirable; the garden was needed as a space outside the interior of the home, but which retained elements of interiority and domestication. Thus the garden became a space of refuge away from the supposed chaos and danger of ‘modern Africa’. *The Guardian* contrasted white domestic tranquillity with black African chaos in 2017 when covering the events in Laikipia after Kuki Gallman’s shooting.<sup>324</sup> Their interview with Gallman, drawing upon imperial tropes about Africa and white saviours, eulogised her garden; ‘usually, Gallmann wakes at dawn, walks into her south-facing garden and sits at a wooden table to feed the birds, of which there are hundreds of species.’<sup>325</sup> Pointedly the journalist emphasised Gallman’s nurturing relationship with the abundant nature of her garden – invoking a sense of tranquil symbiosis. This positioned the garden as a space

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<sup>322</sup> Sites of memory is used with specific reference to Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire’, *Representations*, 1989, 7–24.

<sup>323</sup> June Rasch, ZI033.

<sup>324</sup> Similar conceptions of black African ‘chaos’ can be found in John Le Carré, *The Constant Gardener* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005).

<sup>325</sup> Who Shot Kuki Gallman, Guardian article <https://www.theguardian.com/global/2017/jun/18/who-shot-kuki-gallmann-the-story-of-a-kenyan-conservationist-heroine>.

of 'healing and nurture' as Carolyn Steedman has termed it, an environment in which Gallman could recover from her experience through communion with a domesticated form of African nature.<sup>326</sup> The garden was cast in relief to 'Africa', imagined as a space of hostility, confidence and potential for violence.

Whilst researching in Ndola on the Zambian Copperbelt in January 2017 I met Keith and Barbara Clarke, a white Zambian couple who had lived and worked in the suburbs of Ndola since the 1970s. They ran an accountancy business from their home and spoke little of their life outside the garden walls, except for Keith's trips to the golf club. It was this distance from the surrounding society which framed the great pride they took in the presentation of their home and garden, as they explained to me as we sat on their verandah overlooking their enormous, manicured garden. It was my amazement at their garden which prompted a discussion about the space, which in turn highlighted the centrality of their garden to their enjoyment of life in urban Zambia.

What makes it do-able, when it all gets too much, is just shut the door,  
sit in the garden after the gardeners have knocked off, chill and relax.<sup>327</sup>

Both Keith and Barbara revelled in the seclusion and peace which their large garden provided within Ndola and the wider imagined space of 'modern Africa' beyond their garden walls.<sup>328</sup> However, the garden was not a source of uncomplicated comfort and pleasure, due to those who inhabit the garden during the day, the gardeners.

When Keith retired, he couldn't get stuck into the garden as the gardeners annoy him to death – so he couldn't relax doing things he

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<sup>326</sup> Carolyn Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1931* (London: Virago, 1990), pp. 82 and 97; Buettner, *Empire Families*, p. 63.

<sup>327</sup> Keith and Barbara Clarke, ZI059.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid



likes to do, as we've got these gardeners he can't work with. He's had enough of that [working with Africans].<sup>329</sup>

Barbara's comment articulates the gendered tensions of white domesticity. Whilst Keith enjoyed gardening he railed against the presence of the black gardeners, who infuriated him but were 'essential'. Barbara ran the home, and the domestic staff who worked within it, yet she did not have this sense of annoyance. Whilst she voiced frustrations about dealing with staff, she could not 'have had enough of working with Africans' as Keith has, as her domestic role was defined by her relationships as white matriarch to her domestic staff. Keith could opt in or out of his gardening work, as it was a hobby. Barbara's domestic role on the other hand was a defining part of her identity.

Barbara also demonstrated the contradiction at the heart of the garden as a space of reverie. The presence of African gardeners challenged the idea of privacy in which whites could commune with their curated version of Africa – and through doing so mitigate discomfort and cement their sense of attachment to the continent. A more productive conceptualisation of the garden is to consider its dichotomous position as both a space of privacy and reverie, but also a space which is regularly disturbed by the presence of paradoxically 'essential' yet invasive African staff.

The use of walls and fences to define what is within, and what is outside, the garden, was an important part of understanding the garden as a private space. By enclosing the garden, the boundaries of the home and domestic kin relations were physically drawn. The act of enclosing land was itself indicative of colonial land practices.<sup>330</sup> Thomas Jones, the fourth generation white farmer near Nanyuki (see Figure

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<sup>329</sup> Ibid

<sup>330</sup> William Cronon, *Changes in the Land* (Hill and Wang, 1983); Bruce Colin Stadfeld, 'Manifestations of Power: Native Response to Settlement in Nineteenth Century British Columbia' (unpublished PhD Thesis, Theses (Dept. of History)/Simon Fraser University, 1993), pp. 62–63.

1) introduced earlier defended the colonial legacy by arguing that, '[white] guys came here and there was nothing... these guys pioneered this country, they cleared the land, *they built the fences*.'<sup>331</sup> Building fences was viewed as part of the 'civilising' of the African landscape by introducing the concept of private land, with the fence as the physical signifier of this. The symbolism of fences has been evident in the heated discourse over land in Laikipia for the past fifteen years.<sup>332</sup> A prominent white conservationist singled out fences as one of the key points of antagonism for pastoralist communities facing white farmers.<sup>333</sup> The imagery of the pastoralist neighbour 'looking over the fence' was invoked by white farmers who had changed their land practices to overgraze near the boundary fence, and therefore make the property look less inviting for an 'invasion'.<sup>334</sup> Fences and walls around land, the garden and the house are legitimised as a security measure, whilst also signifying private property and consequently defining who can and cannot have access to these spaces.

### ***Navigating African urban 'modernity'***

#### *Discomfort in urban Africa*

Vince Fish, a retired journalist in his early seventies, sat in the garden of the Roan and Sable – a white-owned café in the affluent Lusakan suburb of Kabulonga – explaining his experiences when travelling around the city.

One of the pleasures of going back to New Zealand is to be no-one in a crowd. You can walk around perfectly safe and no-one notices you. [In Zambia] you think maybe they [Africans] want to rob me? I think they just want to know anything to their advantage. That pressure is

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<sup>331</sup> Thomas Jones, KI066.

<sup>332</sup> Graham R. Fox, 'Maasai Group Ranches, Minority Land Owners, and the Political Landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya'; Graham R. Fox, 'The 2017 Shooting of Kuki Gallmann and the Politics of Conservation in Northern Kenya'.

<sup>333</sup> Leslie Mayo, KI033.

<sup>334</sup> June Grout, KI018.

unbearable.... I can't tell you the last time I walked down Cairo Road  
[central Lusaka].<sup>335</sup>

Vince had lived in Zambia in the 1960s and 1970s before returning in the early 1990s, yet he still found his visibility in central Lusaka deeply uncomfortable – his whiteness raised questions of physical security but also challenged his sense of belonging and reaffirmed New Zealand as a place of reference, his place 'to go back to'. Vince's uncertainty with Zambians' intentions echoed the misinterpretation which often sat at the root of colonial anxiety. Kim Wagner's argument of 'Mutiny' anxieties in India centred upon the British misunderstanding, or fear of misunderstanding, of mud-daubing and chapatti circulation as a system of signals.<sup>336</sup> Vince's inability to navigate urban space and comprehend black Zambians' views spoke to a continual gulf in understanding between the ex-coloniser and ex-colonised. This demonstrated the continued persistence of the 'colonial condition' of unrelatability and misunderstanding which defined relations between coloniser and colonised.

Vince went on:

You need relief from the constant striving – the constant pressure of being watched by Africans. They're just waiting for you to make a mistake or show weakness. It's very wearing. I just don't go into town anymore. There is too much pressure of being stared at. I'm not comfortable with the pressure.<sup>337</sup>

He described the psychic strain of embodied vulnerability in public space and unwittingly drew a direct comparison to George Orwell's classic account of the colonial condition, *Shooting an Elephant*, which recounted the experience of a young colonial official in British

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<sup>335</sup> Vince Fish, ZI024.

<sup>336</sup> Wagner, 'Mutiny'.

<sup>337</sup> Interview with Vince Fish, ZI024. For similar sentiments see interview with Debbie Wood, KI055 and Terence Clarke, ZI057.

Burma.<sup>338</sup> In Orwell's account, and Guha's analysis of it in 1997, it is the dualism of colonial experience which is foregrounded.<sup>339</sup> The young official hates both the 'sea of yellow faces' staring at him, as well as the colonial situation which makes him the central actor in the performance and a figure who needs to fulfil the role of 'white man'.<sup>340</sup> In Vince's story his sense of pressure was self-inflicted; whilst his whiteness made him conspicuous, it was his projection of his own fear onto the African public which caused the pressure. The feeling that weakness cannot be shown, or that Africans are waiting for a mistake, plays back into the old colonial fears, which resulted in Orwell's character having to shoot the elephant, and which Brett Shadle identified in the centrality of white prestige to the Kenyan settler context.<sup>341</sup> In both the colonial period and the postcolonial context Vince described, the unease of claimed racial superiority was paramount. This was a well-known colonial phenomenon, with whites paranoid about being laughed at by the 'natives', showing weakness and feeling the constant gaze of the colonised back at the white man.<sup>342</sup> Thus Vince views African stares as questioning his right to belong in urban space, rather than the likely reality of curiosity about a rarely seen *mzungu* in the now almost entirely non-white centre of Lusaka.<sup>343</sup> Whilst this paranoia was characteristic of colonialism, its persistence into the postcolonial period points toward the continuing psychological discomfort and existential questioning of whites in these putatively 'postcolonial' contexts. As well as the potential for a postcolonial settler colony to take on some of the features of a non-settler colony such as British India, in both whites'

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<sup>338</sup> George Orwell, *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1950).

<sup>339</sup> Guha, *Not at Home*.

<sup>340</sup> Orwell, *Shooting*, p. 3 and 7.

<sup>341</sup> Guha, *Not at Home*, p. 492. Shadle, *Souls*.

<sup>342</sup> Shadle, *Souls*; Guha, *Not at Home*; Orwell, *Shooting*.

<sup>343</sup> *Mzungu* means white man in Ki-Swahili and is a widely used term for any white person in East and Central Africa. See chapter four on language for further details on the use of the term. The Indian community of Lusaka are more conspicuous in their presence around Cairo Road and the CBD due to their involvement in the commercial sector in the city.

uneasy claim to racial superiority and the development of a discomfiting, hyphenated identity, not ‘Anglo-Indian’ but ‘white-African’.

The disquieting experience of urban space meant that Vince avoided the city centre. In stark contrast the suburb of Kabulonga and his home area of Leopard’s Hill were deemed comfortable spaces – due to both their rural aesthetics and their larger populations of white expatriates and white Zambians.<sup>344</sup> Vince explained his sense of relaxation as he drove up the Leopards Hill Road away from Lusaka into the peri-urban landscape in which his home was situated. The wearing experience of shopping in Lusaka was offset by the ‘enormous pleasure’ he got from sitting in his garden watching the birds and the surrounding ‘bush’.<sup>345</sup> Vince’s discomfort on Cairo Road was juxtaposed with his comfort in the ‘bush’ – he revelled in experiences in the Congo and had run safari businesses around Zambia. Whilst the African bush felt like a natural home for Vince, the New Zealand bush was positioned as ‘menacing, dark and brooding’.<sup>346</sup> Whereas urban Lusaka made Vince miss the anonymity of urban space in New Zealand, it was the African bush which kept him in the country.<sup>347</sup> The naturalness of his relationship with the African environment stood in contrast to his sense of being out of place in the rural environs of New Zealand. This dichotomy between experiences in urban and rural spaces for postcolonial whites was at the heart of questions of belonging and identity and the disconnect between ‘modern Africa’ and whites who claim the continent as their home.

Whilst Vince’s discomfort of central Lusaka centred on his concerns with physical safety and sense of being out of place, other affective forces could be at work on whites’

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<sup>344</sup> For similar views of the specific contrast of Lusaka to Leopard’s Hill see Bill Newton ZI031, June Rasch ZI033, Terence Dobson ZI034, The Drakes ZI035 and The Maguires ZI038.

<sup>345</sup> Vince Fish, ZI024.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid.

<sup>347</sup> For similar arguments about the enjoyment of anonymity in urban spaces in the UK see Debbie Wood, ZI055.

interpretation of urban space. The gulf between their material existence – and corresponding lived experience - with many Africans was often at its most stark in the urban environment. It instigated a cognitive dissonance which worked to rationalise and justify inequality and poverty. Dom Walker, a fifty-four-year old horticulturalist living outside Nanyuki, had managed to compartmentalise African poverty as ‘part of life’ for the first thirty years of his life. However, this was disturbed when he established a flower farm in Njoro (see Figure 1) and unwittingly encouraged the development of a small urban centre as one of the few major employers in the area.<sup>348</sup> This sudden close proximity to informal African settlements caused the reality of poverty to ‘hit home’ as Dom put it. The appearance of hawkers on payday, the ramshackle housing and unmanageable cost of living for low-paid labour, had been previously alien or abstract considerations for him. Isabel Jenkins described a similar experience when, as a fifteen-year-old girl visiting Durban, she saw an old African lady walking to work in the freezing cold early one morning.

It occurred to me that she [the old lady] would have already have been up for at least an hour or two, she would have gotten up, dressed, perhaps have had to get grandchildren organised for the day ... then she would have caught the bus from the township area into the white area. Then she would walk to “Madam’s” house and work all day in Madam’s house [...] go home in the dark and the next day do it all again, probably 6 days a week. For that she would have earned an absolute pittance and have been at the beck and call of Madam every second of the day.<sup>349</sup>

Isabel was particularly affected by the racial inequality of the situation, her cossetted position as a white was directly related to the African woman she saw ‘working like a

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<sup>348</sup> Dom Walker, KI057.

<sup>349</sup> Correspondence with Isabel Jenkins, ZI077.

Trojan but still unable to get anywhere because of her colour'.<sup>350</sup> Perhaps most striking was the empathy this engendered, prompting the kind of deep, unsettling feeling which Isabel admitted had been a contributing factor in her leaving Zambia, and the continent, when an adult. Crucially both of Dom and Isabel's experiences took place outside the normal spaces of their lives. It was in new and alien urban spaces that these points of departure from the norm of white subjectivity could happen. It was in the disquieting space of urban Africa that whites were made to confront inequality and their privilege, without their comforting networks of domestic and employment relations which helped naturalise and legitimise disparity.

*'White' clubs and decolonisation*

The potential for white emotional discomfort in urban spaces was a defining factor in the creation of spaces of comfort within the urban environment. The notion of white 'safe spaces' in postcolonial Africa can be helpfully conceptualised through reference to the literature on colonial clubs in India.<sup>351</sup> The popular narrative of the colonial 'club' was that it represented an 'oasis of European culture in the colonies, functioning to reproduce the comfort and familiarity of "home" for Europeans living in an alien land.'<sup>352</sup> The colonial club in British India became a paradoxical space of respite yet also heightened awareness of vulnerability due it being isolated from, yet also bounded by, Indian society.<sup>353</sup> In similar terms the spaces of white comfort in urban Africa - hotels, members clubs, golf clubs - simultaneously allayed white fears of their glaring visibility

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<sup>350</sup> Ibid

<sup>351</sup> Ralph Crane, 'Reading the Club as Colonial Island in EM Forster's A Passage to India and George Orwell's Burmese Days', *Island Studies Journal*, 6.1 (2011), 17–28; Sinha; Benjamin B. Cohen, *In the Club: Associational Life in Colonial South Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>352</sup> Sinha, *Clubbability*, p. 489.

<sup>353</sup> Crane, *Reading the club*, p. 19.

whilst sheltering them from the wider context. The whiteness of the space exacerbated the ‘Africanness’ of the outside yet was also undeniably comfortable in its familiarity.

After political decolonisation white clubs stood as reminders of colonialism and, as such, pertinent spaces for enacting decolonisation. This reality was not lost on the clubs or their membership. The infamous Muthaiga Club in Nairobi allegedly burnt its records ahead of Kenyan independence, fearing a hostile African government takeover of the Club and the mobilisation of its records against its members.<sup>354</sup> In actuality no such thing happened, in either Kenya or Zambia, instead by a process of osmosis these previously white spaces became slowly multi-racial. Explicit barring of membership on the grounds of race was dropped, and as more black Kenyans and Zambians became affluent, they ascended into the same socio-economic group as whites, giving them the resources to afford club membership and sporting goods. It should be noted that there was a clear gender dynamic within these changing memberships. Just as colonial clubs had been distinct masculine spaces, so postcolonial clubs followed suit. Most clubs changed their membership rules to allow female members in the 1970s and 1980s – itself a slower process than racial desegregation, however the dropping of a gender bar itself became racialised, with far fewer black African women represented in the social and sporting clubs I visited in 2016-17 than either white women or African men. As such in the proceeding discussion of desegregation, when white interlocutors say ‘Africans’ they are almost exclusively referring to the increasing presence of black male Kenyans and Zambians, particularly within sport clubs.

This process of desegregation was described by John Strathern, a seventy-two-year old white farmer in Mazabuka (see Figure 2). Although at independence he was at

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<sup>354</sup> Dom Walker, KI057.



school in Southern Rhodesia, his early working life was spent in Zambia and he frequented the social club and polo club of Mazabuka.

It was only after independence that Africans started coming in to the clubs because they could. We said, if they want to come in, they have to come in, it's *their* country. So, they came in, we sat there [points to one side of the room] and they sat there [points to the other side of the room].<sup>355</sup>

John struck at the sense of obligation whites felt to admit Africans to previously white spaces, a feeling borne of whites' new sense of dislocation; Zambia was now '*their* country' and therefore no longer white. However, whilst Africans now took the opportunity to transgress previous boundaries, this did not automatically lead to racial integration.

The continued separation of racial groups within club spaces in the years after independence mirrored uneasy interracial socialisation within semi-public spaces more generally. The continuation of this trend raises provocative questions about the nature of decolonisation. Thomas Jones, the farmer in Timau introduced previously, drew a comparison between racial mixing in the Nanyuki Sports Club with apparent inter-species dynamics in the Maasai Mara National Park (see Figure 1).

You go down to the Mara you've got the Tommies [gazelle], the impala, the Ellies [elephants], they're all mixing together but staying in their groups. It's the same in Nanyuki sports club. At the start of the night everyone is mixing, but by the end the Indians gravitate to one corner, the Africans to one corner and the Europeans to one corner. It's not a race issue. It's more a cultural difference. You know the Africans have some inbuilt cultural stuff still, we have our cultural stuff and the Indians have different stuff.<sup>356</sup>

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<sup>355</sup> John Strathern, ZI041. Also see interview with Camilla Watson KI063.

<sup>356</sup> Thomas Jones, KI066.

Thomas' invocation of an animal comparison iterated how many whites understood their place through their knowledge of the natural environment, and therefore the naturalness of their existence in the African context. His argument that spatial separation within the club was due to cultural differences, particularly foregrounding Africans apparently different cultural norms, noted an explicit shift from the discourse of race. Brendon Lang, a white farmer and stalwart of the Mazabuka Polo Club continued this rationalisation, 'you can't force people to integrate socially. There's interests hey, common interests.'<sup>357</sup> 'Birds of a feather flock together' was a repeated mantra for what was termed comically as 'voluntary apartheid' which continued to segregate spaces.<sup>358</sup> It would appear that in these circumstances decolonisation made previously 'white' clubs multi-racial, yet in reality the space was informally organised according to 'cultural' groupings - culture in this context providing the veneer of legitimacy for what could be seen as the lingering mentality of colonialism's racialised spatial organisation.<sup>359</sup>

However, the reality has not been a complete continuation of colonial segregation practices. There have been examples of racial integration, and complete co-option of white spaces by black Kenyans and Zambians. In these contexts, class emerges as a crucial consideration within the racial dynamics of the postcolonial club. The growing middle class in both countries have engaged with the old colonial 'club' systems of urban environments, most notably in the Muthaiga Club in Nairobi and golf clubs in Zambia.<sup>360</sup>

Terence Dobson, a retired architect living outside Lusaka, remarked:

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<sup>357</sup> Brendon Lang, ZI042.

<sup>358</sup> Brendon Lang, ZI042 and in Kenya, see Charles Braithwaite KI069 and Deidre Walton KI062. For voluntary apartheid see correspondence with Dom Walker, KI057.

<sup>359</sup> Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (London: Macmillan International Higher Education, 1996); Robert JC Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>360</sup> Most of the literature on the middle class in Kenya and Zambia is focused upon the intersection of class and democratisation, see Nic Cheeseman, "No Bourgeoisie, No Democracy"? The Political Attitudes

If I took you to one of my clubs where I'm the only white man you'd think it was a club in London! They're [black Zambians] so bloody colonial, sometimes they're more colonial than we are!<sup>361</sup>

Terence drew direct links between the club and colonial behaviour. Despite him being the only white member, the club had retained its colonial connotations for him. Black Zambian's occupation of the club space had in effect resulted in their adoption of what Terence considered colonial mannerisms, something which he closely linked to having a 'phalanx of servants'. The juxtaposition between the whiteness of the space and the blackness of the membership led Terence to draw a comparison with London; a place he imagined as more naturally having wealthy black members in such elite spaces.

The co-option of these previously white spaces was reiterated by John Strathern, who had initially feared that the 'Indians' would take over the club in Mazabuka after independence. Conversely, he never feared black Zambians taking over the farmer's club or polo club in Mazabuka. He went on:

[Black Zambians] they're bank managers for goodness sake, we're their clients! They don't, it's ridiculous and sounds racialistic [sic], but they don't come to our club, they go to the golf club. And the golf club is pure black.<sup>362</sup>

John's recognition of the shifting class and power dynamics was important. Black Zambians now controlled the access to finances which made white farming viable. Although they did not mix socially in the club, they interacted through business and there was a general acceptance that the golf club had become an 'African' space.<sup>363</sup> Further

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of the Kenyan Middle Class', *Journal of International Development*, 27.5 (2015), 647–664; Dieter Neubert, 'Kenya—an Unconscious Middle Class? Between Regional-Ethnic Political Mobilization and Middle Class Lifestyles', *The Rise of Africa's Middle Class: Myths, Realities and Critical Engagements*, 2016, 110–128; Ian Scott, 'Middle Class Politics in Zambia', *African Affairs*, 77.308 (1978), 321–334; Danielle Resnick, 'The Middle Class and Democratic Consolidation in Zambia', *Journal of International Development*, 27.5 (2015), 693–715.

<sup>361</sup> Terence Dobson ZI034.

<sup>362</sup> John Strathern, ZI041.

<sup>363</sup> John's neighbour in Mazabuka, Brendon Lang ZI042, reiterated the same dynamic.

north in Zambia Timothy Clarke, whose comments opened the thesis, extolled the Ndola Golf Club as a 'beacon of multi-racialism', although he bemoaned the travails of working on the committee with black Zambians.<sup>364</sup> His brother, Keith, was also an avid golfer and whilst he played with a white partner, when he played 'four-ball' with black Zambians he would 'drink together [in the club] like any other four-ball. We didn't say "thanks for the game" and then join our white mates in the corner.'<sup>365</sup> The golf club operated as a particular space, in which Zambians of the same class but different races found a mutual sport which served as a status symbol. In some limited and contested ways, class became a racial leveller. However gender continued to occupy a particular place within these sport clubs. Whilst black Kenyan and Zambian men took up golf, and through doing so gained access to previously white spaces, they did so also as *men*. Sport clubs are frequently masculine spaces, outside Africa as well as within the contexts of Kenya and Zambia. Thus whilst race and class levelled out, to a degree, in such spaces, they remained fundamentally gendered.

Terry, another Clarke family member, explicitly considered middle-class Ndola in these terms.

To me today in Zambia, class is more of a dividing thing. If I was going into the golf club and they were all black people, they'd have children at Simba [local private school], be members at the boat club and other clubs. They'd have a servant at home, and a gardener, and they and their wife would have a car, and a nanny to look after the kids.<sup>366</sup>

For Terry these trappings of middle-class status reaffirmed that racism had died in the decades since independence. He went on to explain, 'when I'm in the club and there is a majority of black people in there I don't mind, I go and find a black man and talk to

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<sup>364</sup> Timothy Clarke, ZI056.

<sup>365</sup> Keith Clarke, ZI059.

<sup>366</sup> Terry Clarke, ZI063.

him'.<sup>367</sup> It was the security of being in the club that allowed for Terry's apparent openness. He could reliably assume that within that space he would be interacting with black Zambians with similar views on politics and comparable standards of education and living. As such the experience was not an overly disturbing one, instead the golf club encapsulated how Zambia could comfortably decolonise for him, as a white man, within specific spaces and specific contexts. This points toward the spatiality of Terry's understanding of his place in Zambia and his relationship with black Africans. In the club he could have black friends. When at home black Zambians were his workers. And when travelling around the country they were part of the scenery. Physical spaces were not merely backdrops to interactions but formed the very roles and relationships that took place through them.

A parallel argument can be made about the Muthaiga Club in Nairobi, Kenya. Muthaiga was one of the most potent symbols of colonialism within the city. Its exclusive white membership and notoriety as part of the 'Happy Valley' myth set it aside as theoretically one of the most alien spaces for black Kenyans. However since the 1960s the membership has grown to encompass many different ethnic groups found in Kenya and the club recently had its first black chairman, although women could only be members in their own right from 1986.<sup>368</sup> The ban on female members until 1986, twenty-three years after official desegregation, indicates the extent to which social and sport clubs remained distinctly homosocial spaces well after independence. In the thirty-three years since female members have been allowed Muthaiga is perhaps now the most integrated of social clubs discussed in the thesis. When visiting the club there are notable numbers of black women, who are elsewhere an anomaly. The apparent desirability of Muthaiga

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<sup>367</sup> Ibid.

<sup>368</sup> Dom Walker KI057 and interviews and participant observation in Muthaiga Club.

for black Kenyans, and women in particular, was described by Jennifer Mutuku, a black Kenyan educator and businesswoman based in Nanyuki who was also a member of the club. She saw membership of Muthaiga as part of a wider engagement with status symbols by other black Kenyans in her social class, although she specifically focused on the topic of schooling and the choices parents made. 'It's not about the child, it's about being at the club and having children at Pembroke [elite public school in Gilgil, Rift Valley which is still over fifty percent white] (see Figure 1).<sup>369</sup> Returning to Charles Braithwaite, the rancher in Laikipia, he also considered the specific space Muthaiga occupied and his memories of recent trips there.

I'm an honorary member of Muthaiga, have been since 1946 and if I go to the club now, generally I won't know a single person there. They'll all be Africans and the club is going very well. They behave themselves properly, are much better dressed than we are, and they behave much better.<sup>370</sup>

Charles reiterated the importance of class once more, and his seniority within class structures as an honorary member of the club. It was the physical attire and behaviour of the new members which demonstrated their suitability for the space. The fact that they were black Kenyans meant they were unknown to him but not fundamentally alien, their class and behaviour secured them as viable occupiers of this elite space. The fact that Muthaiga retained its colonial aesthetic points toward a similar conclusion to the Ndola Golf Club. Putatively mutual interracial interaction in spaces which still *felt* colonial, in which whiteness still received deference and paying members of that space had shared material and educational experiences, indicated how spaces could be 'decolonised' yet remain comfortable for whites.

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<sup>369</sup> Jennifer Mutuku, KI056.

<sup>370</sup> Charles Braithwaite, KI069.

*Vehicles and the navigation of an archipelago of 'safe' spaces*

The potential discomfort of African urban space created an archipelago of white safe spaces which were physically navigated with vehicles. The vehicle was a personal, curated space, which provided the requisite comfort and safety when moving through potentially precarious or unsettling public 'African' spaces. This rationale was disturbed on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1960 when Lillian Burton and her two daughters were attacked in their car travelling near Ndola on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt.<sup>371</sup> The car was set alight and Mrs Burton later died from her injuries, sparking a wave of racial tension and Government repression, shaping the political developments of Northern Rhodesia in the early 1960s.<sup>372</sup> The attack also lived long in the memory of whites who stayed in the country. In 2016 Moira Smith recalled Burton's death as one of the only traumas surrounding Independence, and others centred her death as the shocking anomaly in what they perceived to be an otherwise relatively peaceful transition to majority rule.<sup>373</sup>

What seemed so shocking about the incident was the targeting of a white mother and her children, and more specifically, within their car - a space in which they were perceived to be safe. Burton's death was an extreme example of a wider pattern of African resistance in Northern Rhodesia during the 1950s and early 1960s, in which cars – almost all owned by whites or Indians - were attacked. Ben Barton recalled how the atmosphere changed in the late 1950s and his family would try to 'sneak' out of Kitwe (see Figure 2) in their car due to the prevalence of stoning incidents.<sup>374</sup> The colonial government expressed similar concern with the number of incidents and the detrimental impact it was having upon 'race relations'. W.F. Stubbs, the Secretary for Native Affairs, wrote to

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<sup>371</sup> LGH/7/9/3777/32, Native Affairs, 'Racial Discrimination 1957-8'

<sup>372</sup> Kalusa, 'The Killing of Lilian'.

<sup>373</sup> Moira Smith, ZI002 and Ben Barton ZI036. Also, Buz Trevor's unpublished memoir 'Fireworks at midnight'.

<sup>374</sup> Ben Barton, ZI036.

Provincial Commissioners on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1955 after a particularly serious incident on the Great North Road just outside Lusaka. He urged them to instil in the local African communities the damage that stoning was doing to their aspirations and concluded by saying:

It is indeed a sad state of affairs when European motorists must perform “pass by on the other side” rather than stop and render aid to an African whom they may discover on the roadside injured.<sup>375</sup>

Stubbs’ insinuation that European motorists would have normally stopped to aid Africans can be neither contradicted nor verified, but it is important that these stoning incidents had apparently made Europeans retreat into their ‘bubble’ of safety within the car. Reaching their destination in safety without having to step out into the increasingly hostile African exterior ostensibly became European motorists primary concern. Burton’s death five years later - after stopping her car instead of driving through a crowd of African protestors – would confirm white fears of stopping their vehicles in between ‘white’ spaces.

Stubbs’ suggestion of European motorists’ apparent magnanimity toward Africans pedestrians contrasts a persistent postcolonial trend of whites not providing lifts to Africans walking along the roadside. In terms of conceptualising how the car has been viewed as an intimate, personal space, the controlled absence of African ‘strangers’ from white cars is important. ‘Stranger’ in this sense included both those who are completely unknown and those who may be known but are not familiar. This became a point of discussion during one particular research dialogue in Mkushi. Derek and Claire Webber, a prominent white farming couple, were debating white behaviour in the local area and

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<sup>375</sup> TNA, CO/1015/1228, W.F. Stubbs letter to Provincial Commissioners, dated 30<sup>th</sup> September 1955



Derek argued that the racial politics of a white could be determined by their acceptance of Africans in their cars.

*Derek*- Do whites in Mkushi pick up people walking on the road? They certainly don't pick up black passengers. There is an old and tired argument about insurance [not being valid with African passengers]. Claire's mother doesn't like her picking Africans up and she [her mother] wouldn't either.

*Claire* - It's just human nature. Only 0.5% of whites will pick up Africans. I'm not proud of it.

*Derek*- Africans are so grateful and surprised [when you do pick them up]. You get a reputation and luckily, we have a good one.<sup>376</sup>

The excuses given for not offering lifts to African pedestrians – insurance and safety concerns – were used to condition a sense of justification in this behaviour and through doing so escape the discomfort which could have arisen. The real reason was hidden with Claire's allusion to human nature and the 'naturalness' of not wanting to provide lifts to Africans and the awkwardness of interacting with someone seen as fundamentally 'other' within the close proximity of a car.<sup>377</sup>

One example in particular demonstrates this discomfort. I had been on a ten-day trip with Imogen, a young British resident undertaking some archival work in Mpika province (see Figure 2). She had been living with her white Zambian partner in Lusaka for a number of years. During a day off as we drove along a small road, I suggested we give an elderly Zambian man, his young companion and her small child a lift, as they raised their hand as we passed. She tentatively agreed, making clear it was not the norm in her experience. The ensuing fifteen-minute journey was one of awkward silence, with our limited ChiBemba exacerbating the palpable discomfort of Imogen and the young

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<sup>376</sup> The Webbers, ZI044.

<sup>377</sup> Peter Barak, ZI028.

female Zambian. The awkwardness was made worse by their cargo of chickens, which produced a considerable mess in the boot. Once we reached our destination and received an effusive thanks from our Zambian passengers, the Jeep was left open all day to 'air'. I was reminded by our white Zambian hosts that this is why lifts are not given to Africans.<sup>378</sup> The accepted boundaries of behaviour were negotiated awkwardly by all involved in this unusual situation of providing a lift across racial boundaries.

It has been the specific urban environment which has made cars sources of comfort for whites, however vehicles – including planes which have a long history amongst whites in Kenya – have also embodied whites' greater financial and geographical mobility.<sup>379</sup> This development was encapsulated in a description of Laikipia offered by a white Zimbabwean resident in Nairobi as, 'all arrogance and airfields. Everyone has planes and thinks they are better than others'.<sup>380</sup> This mobility has been central to white enjoyment of the postcolonial environment through their ability to move into wilderness spaces. John Strathern, the Mazabuka farmer introduced previously, described this most clearly: 'It is important for people in this part of the world to be able to get in a car and drive and not see anyone [I interpreted John as referring only to white people]. It's important to me'.<sup>381</sup> Bill Newton, a retired mining engineer outside Lusaka, echoed similar sentiments when he bemoaned the traffic and urban congestion of the UK.<sup>382</sup> It was the freedom offered by Zambia – evidenced in the wide open spaces and absence of cars - which were so central to his enjoyment of the country and his decision to settle there after a short-term contract in the 1960s. Bill and John's centring of freedom in the ability

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<sup>378</sup> Participant observation with the Coulson family in Mpika ZI080.

<sup>379</sup> Perhaps the most well-known example of a white Kenyan aviator being Beryl Markham. Also see <http://aeroclubea.com/pages/history.html> - accessed 22/08/2019.

<sup>380</sup> Edward Fisher KI037.

<sup>381</sup> John Strathern, ZI041.

<sup>382</sup> Bill Newton, ZI031.

to move unhindered through space was a common linguistic recurrence in both Kenya and Zambia amongst white men.<sup>383</sup> This tied into a wider sense of masculine freedom in postcolonial Africa – the evidence of the enduring notion of Africa as a ‘[white] man’s world’. Whites’ access to vehicles facilitated their movement through an archipelago of safe spaces, whilst never leaving a space designated as private and comfortable. It was this paradox that engendered a sense of freedom, as whites felt able to navigate these potentially disturbing spaces.

### ***‘Wilderness’ and the Natural Environment***

On the newly built Madaraka Express from Nairobi to Mombasa in June 2017 a group of young black Kenyans were discussing which mountain out of the right of the train was Mt Kilimanjaro (see Figure 1). The discussion continued for several minutes before Kilimanjaro was identified.<sup>384</sup> One month later, whilst digitising the photograph archive of a white family of conservationists in the shadow of Mt Kenya (see Figure 1), Mt Kilimanjaro once more emerged as a prominent feature. The juxtaposition between the ambivalence of the black Kenyans towards Mt Kilimanjaro and the close affinity the white family felt with the mountain illuminated the different meanings attached to landscapes and connectedly the contested concept of ‘knowledge’, specifically what type of knowledge is privileged by different Kenyans. Whilst Kilimanjaro was of passing interest to the black Kenyans on the train, it was central, alongside Mt Kenya, for the Broadley’s understanding of their place within East Africa. The mountains were a site of employment, environmental concern and monumentalisation. Monumentalisation in this instance draws upon Pierre Nora’s concept of *lieu de mémoire* or ‘sites of memory’. Nora

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<sup>383</sup> Mark Benson KI043, Sharon Mintram KI005, Peter Johnston KI077, The Drakes ZI035, Craig Botha ZI021, Becca Coulson ZI066, Leyton Moran ZI005, The Maguires ZI038, Bill Newton ZI031, Terry Mark ZI039, James Barton ZI007.

<sup>384</sup> Participant observation on Madaraka Express, 17/06/17.

argued that memory attached itself to ‘sites’, these sites could be natural, concretely experienced ones – cemeteries, museums - or intellectually elaborate ones – landscape paintings, lineages – but all contributed to a shared sense of memorial heritage amongst a community and connectedly the development of national memory and identity.<sup>385</sup> This chapter concludes by considering African ‘wilderness’ landscapes as specific spaces and sites of memory for whites, which have played a crucial role in constructing postcolonial identities, belonging and legitimacy.

### *Making the ‘wilderness’*

The cultivation of wilderness spaces is part of a wider settler colonial tradition, which sought to rationalise and demarcate space to reshape indigenous natural environments according to a white colonial understanding of nature.<sup>386</sup> ‘Wilderness’, as a term, is used to describe a constructed space, as opposed to an area of undomesticated ‘wild’ land. This ties into literature largely emanating from the settler states of the United States of America and Australia, which focuses upon white creation of wilderness zones to control, define and regulate land usage, as a means of alienating and expropriating indigenous land claims.<sup>387</sup> In the context of Kenya and Zambia, this cultivation of wilderness has been part of an on-going process of colonisation of indigenous land stemming from white settlement during the initial colonial period. The colonial obsession with land, and connectedly hunting, has morphed since World War Two to focus on the need to protect African nature from supposed African rapacity; a process started with the

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<sup>385</sup> Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire’, *Representations*, 1989, 7–24; Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past, Vol. 1, Conflicts and Divisions*, Trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>386</sup> Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds, ‘Introduction: Making Space in Settler Colonies’, in *Making Settler Colonial Space* (New York: Springer, 2010), pp. 1–24 (pp. 2–3).

<sup>387</sup> William Cronon, ‘The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature’, *Environmental History*, 1.1 (1996), 7–28; Daniel Ross, ‘Black Country, White Wilderness: Conservation, Colonialism, and Conflict in Tasmania’, *Journal of Undergraduate Ethnography*, 7.1, 1–23; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Jason P. Matzke, ‘Towards a Pluralistic Understanding of the Mediating Concept of Wilderness’, *Environment, Space, Place*, 9.2 (2017), 52–71.

creation of National Parks in the 1940s in Kenya and the 1950s in Zambia, which is now evident in the creation of private wildlife conservancies in both countries.<sup>388</sup> This represented a codification of white affinity with nature, both as a means of continuing white possession of land, and also as a visceral and affective enactment of white connections with African nature.

The terms 'wilderness' and 'natural spaces' are used here with full awareness that the 'natural environment' has hardly ever been 'natural' in modern history. Landscapes and wildernesses are spaces shaped by humans, just as human activity is in turn shaped by these spaces. As such the 'natural environment' encompasses areas shaped by human domestication practices, in this context specifically farming and 'conservation areas'. The reason for this broad framing is due to the blurred aesthetics and purposes of farms, conservancies, national parks and wilderness areas. Increasingly white-owned farms have turned to conservationism both for financial reasons and the passions of their owners.<sup>389</sup> Brendon Lang, a white farmer in Mazabuka who spoke earlier about social clubs, ran a large mixed farm of arable crops with some tobacco and livestock yet he also invested heavily in game animals. This investment was positioned as a contribution to the local community and also a benefit to him. He paid around \$72,000 for twenty-four sable (a

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<sup>388</sup> John M. MacKenzie, 'The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Edwardian Times', in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 176–98; Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*; J. A. Mangan and C McKenzie, 'Martial Masculinity in Transition: The Imperial Officer-Hunter and the Rise of a Conservation Ethic', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25.9 (2008), 1243–73; Robert H. Nelson, 'Environmental Colonialism: "Saving" Africa from Africans', *The Independent Review*, 8.1 (2003), 65–86.

<sup>389</sup> For literature on the turn to conservation amongst white farmers in Africa see Graham R. Fox, 'The 2017 Shooting of Kuki Gallmann and the Politics of Conservation in Northern Kenya', *African Studies Review*, 2018, 1–27; Yuka Suzuki, 'Drifting Rhinos and Fluid Properties: The Turn to Wildlife Production in Western Zimbabwe', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 1.4 (2001), 600–625; Janet McIntosh, 'Land, Belonging and Structural Oblivion among Contemporary White Kenyans'; John Mbaria and Mordecai Ogada, *The Big Conservation Lie: The Untold Story of Wildlife Conservation in Kenya* (Seattle WA: Lens & Pens Publishing, 2016).

large antelope with distinctive curved horns) and a further \$10,800 on nine eland (the continent's largest antelope). He went on to explain his decision.

[That money] could have gone into an English bank [but] If I get a bit depressed at the [Zambian] Farmers Union or I'd come back from days in Lusaka, I'd get on my bike and shoot down to see some game and it would change my whole demeanour.<sup>390</sup>

Brendon found the presence of game on his farm therapeutic, in direct reference to the pressures of his public position and visits to Lusaka. These stresses were mitigated by the cultivated 'wild' environment he had created on his farm through the importation of 'wild' animals.

In other cases, white farms have been explicitly re-organised – largely, although not exclusively, by white men - as game farms or conservancies. Zambia's continuation of licensed hunting has opened a potential revenue stream for farmers with enough land to maintain game for foreign tourists to hunt.<sup>391</sup> Premium wildlife reserves opened for hunting can charge up to \$1800 per day per hunter, with extra costs added for 'bagging' certain species.<sup>392</sup> The shaping of these game farms into spaces of imagined African wilderness are key for their marketability within hunting circles for an authentic recreation of the 'hunt', as opposed to the practise of 'canned hunting' in fenced areas in South Africa. Whilst the financial rationale for a move toward game farms has been compelling, there has also been an important affective dimension. Male game farmers spent their childhood hunting in the bush and drew direct parallels between those experiences and their adulthood enjoyment of continuing activities associated with a simpler youth.<sup>393</sup> Such memory work invoked imaginaries of an enduring settler masculinity, albeit one in

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<sup>390</sup> Brendon Lang, ZI042.

<sup>391</sup> Clive James ZI004, James Barton, ZI007, Matthew Barton ZI012, Harry Marchant ZI080.

<sup>392</sup> Interviews and observations with James Barton, ZI007 and Harry Marchant ZI080.

<sup>393</sup> Clive James ZI004, James Barton, ZI007, Harry Marchant ZI080.

which the codification of white farms as hunting spaces paradoxically positioned whites as the protectors of wild animals from the African ‘poachers’ beyond the perimeter.<sup>394</sup> This often led to a sense of embattlement against a seemingly never-ending poaching threat just beyond the fence.<sup>395</sup> Similar affective contours could be found in Kenya, where whites have integrated conservation of wild animals into existing pastoral practices - a model widely used in Laikipia and now being propagated by the Northern Rangelands Trust across northern Kenya.<sup>396</sup> This integration served the purpose of both maintaining a ‘farmer’ identity of productivity whilst also satisfying a desire for whites to be seen as defenders of African wildlife.

The emergence of the ‘conservancy’ model of wilderness cultivation, based upon Market Driven Conservation (MDC), for the sole purpose of wildlife management is most notable in Laikipia but has spread elsewhere on a smaller scale.<sup>397</sup> This model has raised probing questions about the relationship between whites and the state, as white owned land becoming conservancies secures their position through the valuable tourist dollars they bring in.<sup>398</sup> This relationship is further complicated by the competition such operations can present to the often more depleted resources of state-run national parks. In Zambia this tension resulted in Kasanka National Park being handed over to private operators, the Kasanka Trust (see Figure 2). This group was established by British

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<sup>394</sup> For the tensions between the ideas of hunting and poaching see Edward I. Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Woodbridge: James Currey Publishers, 2006); Clark C. Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>395</sup> For a sense of on-going ‘embattlement’ see The Smiths ZI002, Clive James ZI004, Matthew Barton ZI012, The Maguires ZI038, Harry Marchant ZI080.

<sup>396</sup> Examples of this technique amongst participants in Kenya see Charles Braithwaite KI069, Claudia Ballantyne KI025, Lloyd Jenkins KI019, Jimmy Hunt KI020, Sam Jennings KI028. Also see this discussion about land use in Graham R. Fox, ‘The 2017 Shooting of Kuki Gallmann and the Politics of Conservation in Northern Kenya’.

<sup>397</sup> Joss Hayden KI054, a senior figure in the NGO sector in Laikipia focused upon conservation and community issues.

<sup>398</sup> For the most recent critique of the conservancy model see Mbaria and Ogada, *Conservation Lie*; Walker Depuy, ‘Topographies of Power and International Conservation in Laikipia, Kenya’, 2011.

expatriates and white Zambians who took over the running of the park from the Zambian Government in 1990, a pattern looking possible for the West Lunga and Nsumbu parks too (see Figure 2).<sup>399</sup> This notable development showed the position whites held in constructing wilderness narratives and their ability to clearly articulate their knowledge of African natural landscapes.

This continued a colonial trend of whites holding prominent positions within national park infrastructures.<sup>400</sup> Richard Leakey's leadership of the KWS between 1989 – 1994, and his brief return between 1998-99 due to Western donor pressure, is perhaps the most high-profile individual example.<sup>401</sup> However, many white families had close connections with the national parks, serving as wardens beyond independence, whilst their children are now more closely involved with the conservancy model, as frustration has grown with the alleged corruption and mis-management of wildlife resources under the national government.<sup>402</sup> Whilst whites managing national parks independently of central government has been a rarity, the conservancy and game farm model – alongside more informal white ownership of game animals – has placed farm land into the same paradigm as conservation and wilderness spaces and physically reworked the landscape into a similar aesthetic. The increasingly intertwined concepts of conservation, farming and wilderness coalesced into the creation of imagined spaces of 'wilderness', allowing

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<sup>399</sup> Correspondence with James Barton ZI007, Dave Parker ZI011, Melvin Nowak ZI014 and <http://kasanka.com/#history>.

<sup>400</sup> Reuben M. Matheka, 'Decolonisation and Wildlife Conservation in Kenya, 1958–68', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36.4 (2008), 615–639; Jeff Schauer, "'We Hold It in Trust': Global Wildlife Conservation, Africanization, and the End of Empire', *Journal of British Studies*, 57.3 (2018), 516–542.

<sup>401</sup> Richard Leakey and <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Richard-Leakey>

<sup>402</sup> The 'Broadley' family in Naro Moru are the classic example of this, as Tom Broadley was a senior member of the colonial national parks service, then the KWS and was followed into the department by his two sons who are now freelance security advisors and ecological managers.



for whites in Africa to have communion with ‘nature’ on their terms and within their conceptualisation of what ‘nature’ should look like.

Within natural spaces owned or controlled by whites, Africans have been prominent conservationists, investors and workers in their own right. Whilst much of the imagery of conservation in Africa has a white face, the reality is far more multi-racial.<sup>403</sup> Whilst wilderness spaces have allowed whites to connect with nature and feel a deeper sense of belonging to Africa, these spaces have also been used by whites to foster a closer connection with Africans and the nation more generally. There has been a growing awareness that conservation, and connectedly white legitimacy, in these contexts must engage with local communities and politicians. The education trips offered to local children by conservancies in Laikipia, the social media campaigns of The Mt Kenya Trust and the community employment and ownership practices of Nchila Wildlife Reserve (see Figure 2) in Zambia are three examples of a wider pattern of white-run ‘wilderness’ spaces engaging with African communities within their boundaries and styling black Kenyans and Zambians as the ‘future guardians’ of these spaces.<sup>404</sup> Thus the notion of Africans being removed from whites’ cultivated spaces of wilderness is just as much a fallacy as the notion of wilderness itself.<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>403</sup> Mbaria and Ogada, *Conservation Lie*.

<sup>404</sup> For two examples of conservancies involved in community work see <https://www.lewa.org/impact/communities/> and <https://www.olpejetaconservancy.org/community/>. Almost every conservancy in Laikipia now dedicates some of its online profile to community work. Also see <https://www.mountkenyatruck.org/projects/education> and for Nchila see interview with James Barton ZI007. Also see i Joss Hayden KI054, June Grout KI018, Debbie Wood KI055.

<sup>405</sup> For an argument that whites have ‘removed’ Africans from their cultivated natural environments see Hughes, *Whiteness*.

*Affective connections*

Whilst many wilderness spaces have been fabricated, the deeply affective experiences whites have had in these spaces have been central to concepts of belonging, comfort and enjoyment.

I've got such a huge feeling of contentment that I made the decision to stay [after Independence]. We live such a life here. The richness of the nature around us. Sitting on that verandah on one morning I identified thirty-three types of bird. We've got, within three-hundred yards, thirty-seven different kinds of indigenous trees. I've stayed because of the natural world.<sup>406</sup>

Charles Braithwaite's comment as we sat in his home looking over his 32,000-acre conservancy on the borders of Laikipia was striking for a number of reasons. First, the depth of affection expressed for the surrounding natural environment encapsulated the intimacy with nature that almost all participants in this research expressed. A proclaimed intimacy which also worked to downplay whites' material benefits - of domestic staff and luxurious properties - as motivations for remaining in the country. Second, Charles stressed the verandah as a space in which he can gaze over his natural environment and feel an affective bond with the landscape and animals that inhabit it. Pointedly he referred to 'within three-hundred yards', taking him outside the boundaries of his garden into the 32,000 acres of managed wilderness surrounding his homestead. Although the homestead was surrounded by a thin, transparent wire fence, it was clear in Charles' mind that the wider surrounding landscape was an inter-connected space in which he felt freedom and refuge.

For Charles, and other whites connected to land for economic, social or familial reasons, this link was deeply emotive. The idea of African wilderness as a natural space

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<sup>406</sup> Charles Braithwaite, KI069

of escape to their childhood memories of the outdoors, was consistent throughout these intimate connections to land.<sup>407</sup> James Barton, the owner of a large hunting conservancy in Zambia who was introduced earlier, reminisced about his childhood and its influence upon his life choices, not least choosing to live in the remote bush. 'It was the happiest time of my life, the freedom, running everywhere barefoot, hunting birds, fishing and swimming with all my friends.'<sup>408</sup> Even those whites who live in urban, or semi-urban environments have spent the years since independence eulogising a particular idea of Africa as a natural space. This has resonance with McIntosh, Hughes and Gressier's anthropological studies of whites in postcolonial Kenya, Zimbabwe and Botswana respectively, which all centred African nature within white belonging in the continent.<sup>409</sup> Taking the lead from such works, this thesis engages with the emotional states such nature - albeit imagined - invoked, as well as the memories of nature embedded in childhood. Timothy Clarke in Ndola explained his maintenance of a large garden as well as a small-holding just outside the city: 'We [whites] always strive to go back to our childhood here and live on a farm.'<sup>410</sup> This nostalgia for childhood freedom in nature was expressed through a psychological rejection of contemporary urban society in Kenya and Zambia, and through stressing intimate connections to an idea of African nature. It was the perceived freedom of mobility and psychological escape which the natural environment afforded that made it so central to white conceptions of self. This natural environment could be a large garden or tens of thousands of acres of private land. What was important was the imagination of the space as one of peaceful communion between white-self and

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<sup>407</sup> Bachelard, *Reverie*. This is specifically using Bachelard's idea of reverie to stress the importance of childhood.

<sup>408</sup> James Barton, ZI007.

<sup>409</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*; Hughes, *Whiteness*; Gressier, *At Home*.

<sup>410</sup> Timothy Clarke, ZI056.

nature. It was this communion which maintained a vital affective link with mythic 'Africa' in its most epic, open and primeval scale.

### ***Conclusion***

Exploring the spaces and worlds which whites have inhabited demonstrates how relationships were structured, how imaginaries formed central parts of white existence and how 'Africa' was constructed as a particular space to assuage discomfort and vulnerability in the postcolonial context. The idea of nature, as much as nature itself, has been central to white understandings of space and explains the creation of interior/exterior spaces. The verandah and the garden were both designed to maximise contact with the outside world, whilst maintaining boundaries to protect white interiority. These boundaries were regularly crossed by African domestic staff who hold a liminal position as object-subjects of intimacy, both mutually affective yet potentially disturbing. Whilst spaces were organised to mitigate white anxiety, the potentiality for unease or fear were omnipresent - who occupied certain spaces, and at what time, were key in shaping how space was interpreted and correspondingly what could be felt within those spaces.

The need and desire to feel at home within certain contexts was central to understandings of space. 'Feeling at home' could encompass a variety of affect. Whilst the interior of the home provided comfort and affirmation through familial and kinship relations, the verandah offered regulated socialisation and obscured sight lines to mitigate white guilt. Similarly, the garden afforded a space of potential seclusion and reverie in 'nature' within the protection of private property. Social and sport clubs were spaces within African urbanity in which whites could experience familiar aesthetic surroundings and interact with middle-class Zambians, who affirmed the sensibility of a limited form of 'decolonisation' and their decisions to stay. In the backdrop of these spaces was the ever-present imagined space of 'wild' Africa, the fictional site which had initially lured

whites to settle in the continent. This wilderness not only provided whites with a deeply affective link to the continent, it also offered the means through which an economic and social contribution could be made to Kenya and Zambia. White economic contributions as agriculturalists, conservationists and tourism facilitators brought valuable foreign currency to both nations and became a rationale for their continued occupation of land and exercise of privilege. The separation of 'contribution' rhetoric from an affective bond with the spaces and people which allowed that rhetoric to take place was not easy, it lay at the heart of the tension between whites *wanting* to be integrated into society and *needing* to be.

## **CHAPTER THREE - SENSES OF INTIMACY: KNOWLEDGE, RACE AND REVERIE**

### ***Introduction***

Africa is like the bite of the tsetse fly. It gets into the blood and it instilled in me a love of the natural world and wild places. When I disembark from a plane anywhere in the continent south of the Sahara I feel as though I am coming home [...] These alien, vivid colours, smells and sounds would form part of our everyday lives and become as common as the London plane trees or the chatter of the house sparrows.<sup>411</sup>

Judy Rawlinson wrote this passage as she recounted her childhood and teenage years in Northern Rhodesia, a place she moved to from London in the mid-1950s. Sixty years later Judy wrote in distinctly sensorial terms about her connection to the continent, conveying a diffuse sense of belonging to the entire continent, rather than a specific place. The intense sensory stimuli of Africa were ‘alien’ to Judy now, indicating her sense of drift from a place (Africa), and a time (childhood), which had once been familiar. Once again, parallels can be drawn with late colonial India as whites who had left the Raj and returned to Britain longed for the sensory ‘richness’ of their previous life, often directly remembering this through childhood.<sup>412</sup> These musings, of a white who had left the continent for decades, differed from the more rooted connections many whites *in* Africa described. Nevertheless, both were firmly conceptualised and re-remembered through a mode of writing and speaking organised around the subjective intimacy of sensory experience.

This chapter uses the senses as an entry into considering how whites in postcolonial Kenya and Zambia have experienced the world around them. More specifically it

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<sup>411</sup> Judy Rawlinson, *Finding a Flame Lily: A Teenager in Africa* (Neighbrook: Rawlinson, 2015), pp. 1103 and preface.

<sup>412</sup> Buettner, *Empire Families*, pp. 62–63.

addresses the ways in which the senses have been mobilised to construct attachments to Africa, whilst the colonial legacies of sensorial division continue to separate whites from Africans. Increasingly the senses have become the focus of historical inquiry in their own right, as historians have sought to centre the senses within human experience.<sup>413</sup> The more recent literature grew out of the early innovations of the Annales School, which sought to embody the past through the lived experience of the senses: Alan Corbin's work on 'odour' in French history provided the first impetus for using smell as a window onto the common experiences of social history.<sup>414</sup> Similarly Corbin's later work on village bells in rural France provided the initial conceptual impetus for engaging with sensory reveries in this chapter. Corbin placed great emphasis upon the realisation 'just what emotional power bells have for people' in nineteenth-century France.<sup>415</sup> In a similar vein the sensory experience of Africa for whites after independence held considerable emotional power, invoking states and memories capable of eliciting reactions that would be largely unintelligible to a wholly visualist history.<sup>416</sup>

The works of Corbin, and others rooted in the Annales School, have attempted to move beyond the twentieth-century scholarly fascination with visual culture and to the 'past habits of smelling, touching, and tasting to challenge the centrality of the gaze as determiner of subjectivity, power, and pleasure in/with the other.'<sup>417</sup> However, much of

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<sup>413</sup> Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2012); Mark M. Smith, 'Producing Sense, Consuming Sense, Making Sense: Perils and Prospects for Sensory History', *Journal of Social History*, 40.4 (2007), 841–858; Mark Michael Smith, *The Smell of Battle, the Taste of Siege: A Sensory History of the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 2015); David Howes, *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005).

<sup>414</sup> Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the French Social Imagination*, Translated by Miriam Kochan, Roy Porter, and Christopher Prendergast (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19th-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Robert Jütte, *A History of the Senses: From Antiquity to Cyberspace* translated by James Lynn (Cambridge: Polity, 2005); Jim Drobnick, *The Smell Culture Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006).

<sup>415</sup> Corbin, *Village Bells*, p. 288.

<sup>416</sup> Mark M. Smith, 'Producing Sense, Consuming Sense, Making Sense', p. 852.

<sup>417</sup> Holly Dugan and Lara Farina, 'Intimate Senses/Sensing Intimacy', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 3.4 (2012), 373–379 (pp. 373–74).

this literature has remained focused upon pre-1900 Europe, with a particular focus upon the medieval and early modern period when the senses were deemed to be more influential.<sup>418</sup> Building upon medievalist work, this chapter demonstrates how the embodied nature of sensory experience, and its articulation through language, opens avenues of investigation into the relationship between proximity, comfort and intimacy. Dugan and Farina have argued that the senses have a powerful sense of interiority and how they are remembered provides a particularly compressed mediation between inside and out, past and present, subjectivity and social context.<sup>419</sup> Whilst they centred their arguments on intimacy and senses in the medieval period, their theorisations can be usefully applied to postcolonial Africa. Their designation of taste, touch, and smell as more 'interior' senses than others located them close to the core of personhood, yet the operation of the senses simultaneously suggests that the human body is open, porous, and vulnerable to its environment.<sup>420</sup> This chapter adopts their prioritisation of smell, taste and touch, and Corbin's use of sound, to exclude sight due to the scholarly prominence given to the gaze within modern history. Through these interlinked four senses the chapter investigates the tensions of distance and proximity between Africans and whites, as well as drawing links between the senses and memory.<sup>421</sup>

This chapter also develops Mark Smith's work on the senses within US history.<sup>422</sup>

His intertwining of sensory history with the social histories of race and class enables an

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<sup>418</sup> Corine Schleif and Richard G. Newhauser, *Pleasure and Danger in Perception: The Five Senses in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010); Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward, *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007); Christopher Michael Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); David Nirenberg and others, 'Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritages/Fascinations/Frames', 2008.

<sup>419</sup> Dugan and Farina, 'Intimate Senses' p. 374.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid, p. 374.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid, pp. 373–74.

<sup>422</sup> Mark M. Smith, 'Transcending, Othering, Detecting: Smell, Premodernity, Modernity', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 3.4 (2012), 380–390; Mark Michael Smith, *The Smell of Battle, the Taste of Siege*.



investigation of the intersection of the senses with systems of power. This chapter develops Smith's argument by focusing upon the second half of the twentieth century and a different postcolonial context. Significantly, it also engages with oral history techniques unavailable to most historians of the senses, to illuminate how sensory discourse shaped the racialised divisions of late colonial and postcolonial Kenya and Zambia. The particular idea which will be advanced alongside the role of sensory discourse in racial division, is the importance of the senses in transporting individuals back to certain memories and states. This could be termed a form of reverie, intimately linked to childhood, which acts as a comforting rationalisation of white positions in postcolonial Africa.<sup>423</sup> Bachelard's notion of reverie is expanded here beyond its connection to reading or writing.<sup>424</sup> Rather than poetics directing reverie as he theorised, it is the context of place and senses which were key to how reverie was invoked and experienced. Building upon Lynne Segal and John Berger, I argue that being attentive to 'mundane' experiences is the key to unlocking the past; by considering how peoples' special relationships with things – objects, sounds, foods, smells – shaped their reflections on the present and who they are through associations conjured up from the past.<sup>425</sup> These emotive associations are remembered and re-lived through reverie. They do not need to be written to be recounted, but are experiential and intimately connected to sensory experience.

This chapter foregrounds the intersecting and complementary nature of the senses, rather than privileging one in particular; it is by considering the senses together that the overlapping and complex nature of sensory history can be uncovered. As sensory

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<sup>423</sup> For links between senses and childhood memories see J. Douglas Porteous, 'Smellscape', *Progress in Geography*, 9.3 (1985), 356–378 (p. 364).

<sup>424</sup> Bachelard, *Reverie*, p. 6.

<sup>425</sup> Segal, *Out of Time*, pp. 234–35; John Berger, *Here Is Where We Meet* (Vintage, 2006).

discourse has not just been a postcolonial occurrence, but also has a colonial lineage. The chapter therefore traces how whites' use of the senses have evolved through the process of decolonisation. The chapter begins by addressing how sense was racialised in the colonial period and how whites came to 'know' African smells and sounds, before considering the postcolonial persistence and reappraisal of racialised sensory discourse for the different contexts of postcolonial Kenya and Zambia.<sup>426</sup> In conclusion, sensory discourse is considered to have evolved from explicit notions of racial difference to intersect with memory and reverie in constructing whites' affective sensorial connection to Africa, in attempts to mitigate their fraught racialised history.

### ***Racialised senses and colonial divisions in the late colonial period***

Sensory discourse was at the heart of colonial categorisations of race, as the senses were co-opted into the hierarchical organisation of the world. For example touch was historically depicted as the most base and primitive of senses, with the natural historian Lorenz Oken declaring in the nineteenth century that the 'civilised' European was an 'eye man' and the African a 'skin man'.<sup>427</sup> Scientific logics such as this fed into the 'fact' of African inferiority, which not only justified colonial rule but helped rationalise the categorisation and regulation of African bodies. In the late colonial period biological racism was no longer an established ideology, yet its legacies remained evident in the settler societies of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia through the use of sensory discourse centred on racial difference. The following sections demonstrate how the destabilisation of racial hierarchies in the late colonial period led to the reinstatement of sensory discourse as means of whites attempting to maintain racial boundaries. Social conceptions of the senses worked in tandem with individual memories and experiences, demonstrated

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<sup>426</sup> Mark M. Smith, 'Transcending, Othering, Detecting', pp. 381–82.

<sup>427</sup> Classen, *Touch*, p. xi. David Howes, 'Touch', *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, 1–5.

by the larger scale politics of desegregation within public spaces as well as the intimate contours of food and eating arrangements within white homes.

*'BO became symbolic': Racializing smell and justifying segregation*

Power was at the heart of the colonial discourse of smell. It was used to foster both physical and psychological distance between whites and Africans. The paradox here is the proximate nature of smell: it required an intimate familiarity with those marked as 'other', even as such stereotypes worked to erase this knowledge, relying on assumptions about vast social differences.<sup>428</sup> The tension exists not only between the necessary proximity to be able to smell against the fact that it is on the basis of smell that otherness is described; it is also the fact that the smell of difference gave rise to a particular emotional response of disgust. Disgust made it easier for whites to think of African smell as evidence of African racial inferiority, rather than engage with material contingencies which had a bearing on black lives, but not on white. This rested upon the colonial ideology which Timothy Burke described in Zimbabwe, that 'consisted at least partially of the production of an African body which was depraved, dirty, degenerate, foul.'<sup>429</sup> This 'body racism' centred on African smell as a powerful signifier of bodily difference, whilst also indicating that Africans lacked care - the internalised moral regime signalled by notions of hygiene - to rid themselves of that smell, an argument espoused by Burke's later work on the commodification of soap.<sup>430</sup> Burke argued that African bodies were depicted in this fashion only when they came into touch with colonial 'civilisation', the urban spaces of colonial Zimbabwe.<sup>431</sup> Burke's emphasis upon hygiene and urbanity links

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<sup>428</sup> Dugan and Farina, 'Intimate Senses', p. 375.

<sup>429</sup> Timothy Burke, 'Nyamarira That I Loved: Commoditisation, Consumption and the Social History of Soap in Zimbabwe', in *Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies* (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1992), XLII, 195–216 (p. 202).

<sup>430</sup> Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

<sup>431</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy*, p. 22.

to the argument about white discomfort in the public spaces of postcolonial Africa: one washes in private so as to be inoffensive in public. As a result, body odour made sites of public encounter sites of estrangement for bourgeois whites.

In settler colonial Africa ‘body racism’ and the politics of smell secured the black African body as a site of disciplining hygiene discourse. This was due to the proximity of white and black bodies, and the accompanying desire to regulate hygiene and smell to secure the tenuous boundaries of racial difference.<sup>432</sup> Settlers wanted African staff to wash due to the supposed ability of Africans to ‘pick up dirt by instinct’, as early traveller Dudley Kidd remarked, and then complained about ‘the omnipresent odour which streams from these people.’<sup>433</sup> A discourse developed which was rooted in a settler fixation upon African sweat. In this case sweat, and connectedly body odour, became both racialised and classed to depict the black worker.<sup>434</sup> Karen Hansen has noted how domestic staff in Zambia were given soap by European employers as part of their pay package.<sup>435</sup> Edith Clayson, a white farmer in southern Zambia from the 1940s to 1970s, repeatedly noted in her diary that soap was given to staff at special occasions like Christmas, along with meat and sugar, demonstrating the dual role of soap as both a perceived necessity and a material luxury.<sup>436</sup>

The white fixation upon African smell and hygiene even made its way into the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, as the Elected Member for Broken Hill

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<sup>432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>433</sup> Burke, *Nyamirira*, pp. 201–2; Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (London: A. and C. Black, 1904). Some ethnic groups were also recognised by early twentieth-century European travellers due to their wearing of imperfectly cured skins and the use of smoked ghee as a skin moisturiser.

<sup>434</sup> Gordon Waitt, ‘Bodies That Sweat: The Affective Responses of Young Women in Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia’, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 21.6 (2014), 666–682; Gordon Waitt and Elyse Stanes, ‘Sweating Bodies: Men, Masculinities, Affect, Emotion’, *Geoforum*, 59 (2015), 30–38; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Elizabeth Shove, ‘Converging Conventions of Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience’, *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 26.4 (2003), 395–418.

<sup>435</sup> Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 239 and 310.

<sup>436</sup> ZNA, HM/83/2/Diaries

(Kabwe) asked on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1947, ‘what steps, if any, are being taken to ensure that Africans in employment receive their share of soap which is available?’.<sup>437</sup> In response Mr Crawford, representing the Government, recognized the ‘scarcity’ of soap and promised that the government had allocated a half of all of the territories soap supplies to traders supplying Africans.<sup>438</sup> It would seem that the issue of soap, and connectedly African hygiene and smell, was a topic of concern for not only white employers, but also the colonial state. However, their concern also illuminates their limited awareness. Soap was a material luxury for African people living on subsistence wages paid by white employers. Equally, the time taken to wash clothes by hand, as well as the lack of ready access to piped water, made washing a laborious process. Finally, the physical labour involved in working near the equator, not only in farming and gardening but also labour-intensive domestic work without many modern conveniences, meant that sweating and smell were unavoidable consequences of the environment. These realities were the direct consequence of a white presence in Africa, a fact evidently lost on many white employers who bemoaned the lack of soap usage by Africans and the connected ‘body odour’ they complained of. It is worth noting that smell is subjective, as are notions of body odour. What one person considers an unpleasant smell is by no means universal. Similarly, Africans’ use of soap did increase over the colonial period, becoming one of the primary products bought in 1950s Uganda.<sup>439</sup> However, the reality of smell and body odour did not especially matter as long as this feature of apparently innate racial differences was used to justify social segregation, in conjunction with the supposed links between

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<sup>437</sup> ZNA, Sec/3/492, Organisation and Methods Supplies Soap rationing for Africans 1947, Extract from Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council

<sup>438</sup> Ibid.

<sup>439</sup> My thanks to Professor Shane Doyle for this insight, for similar trends in the continent and the class-based distinctions in African soap use see Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 197.

diseases, race and smell. These worked together to inform a rationale of racial difference and segregation.<sup>440</sup>

Peter Barak, was a white anti-colonial activist in Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s, we sat in his home in Lusaka, where he – now an elderly Zambian citizen well into his nineties – remembered his experiences of arriving in the country from Eastern Europe. His recollections were shaped by his vindication of being on the ‘right side of history’ and his position as a venerable honorary member of Zambia’s political icons. Peter particularly remembered working in racially mixed offices in the early 1950s:

Body odour [BO] was a big issue and that applied socially. You couldn’t work in an office with an African next to you. It [BO] became symbolic, a rationale for non-social contact (between races).<sup>441</sup>

Peter’s recollections focused in on white olfactory justifications for their racism. ‘BO’ accusations not only troubled mixed offices, but also rationalised decisions to not pick up African passengers from the street.<sup>442</sup> However this discourse became politicised during the heated atmosphere of the early 1960s with the desegregation of hotels, bars and restaurants. Europeans opposed to desegregation used the apparent ‘smell’ of Africans as a point of justification in attempting to keep the races separated.<sup>443</sup> Mr Veliades, the owner of the Rhodes Café in Kitwe who had been accused of racial discrimination in 1962, defended his right to refuse Africans entry to his premises unless they were ‘reasonably dressed’ and this meant ‘clean, tidy and not smelly.’<sup>444</sup> The use of white sensory complaints in the late colonial period can be read as a backlash against their

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<sup>440</sup> For discussions of race, smell and disease see Mark M. Smith, ‘Transcending, Othering, Detecting’, p. 386.

<sup>441</sup> Peter Barak, ZI028.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid.

<sup>443</sup> ZNA, CO/3/01/6841/008, ‘Race Relations and Discrimination General 1960-63’, Letter from EA Last, Manager of Kachalola Rest House to Mr Goodfellow, PC, Fort Jameson 11/6/1961.

<sup>444</sup> ZNA, LGH/7/9/3777/32, Racial discrimination 1957-8, Kitwe 1962 Report Mr Veliades, the owner of the Rhodes Café in Kitwe who had been accused of racial discrimination.

receding social and political influence as independence became an increasing reality. Rather than explicitly voicing their exasperation at the prospect of looming majority rule, whites tapped into an existing olfactory repertoire which reinstated a 'naturalised' racial hierarchy at a time when it was being destabilised.

*Drinking with bloody kaffirs': Quiet Africans and Noisy Europeans*

Just as the smells of Africa played a role in the maintenance of racial boundaries, whites' aural experience of Africa had comparable dimensions. Allison Shutt has shown how the discursive use of noisiness was implemented in Southern Rhodesia under insolence legislation, which sought to control African, particularly male, behaviour in urban environments by limiting, amongst other things, the amount of noise they created.<sup>445</sup> Insolence legislation was not exactly replicated in Northern Rhodesia or Kenya. David Anderson's work on Master and Servant Ordinances in Kenya has shown how the 1910 ordinance ineffectually tried to police the 'wrongs' of African employees, of which insolence was just one complaint amongst desertion and bad work.<sup>446</sup> Instead of the more defined insolence legislation in Southern Rhodesia, settlers in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia were tasked with instilling proper conduct on an individual level to prevent insolent behaviour.<sup>447</sup> In a pamphlet produced for new settlers to Northern Rhodesia in 1950, whites were warned to not 'enter freely into conversation with African servants.... This is often misunderstood by the African and attempts at friendliness on the part of the European employer result in apparent familiarity or insolence on the part

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<sup>445</sup> Allison Kim Shutt, *Manners Make a Nation: Racial Etiquette in Southern Rhodesia, 1910-1963* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015); Allison K. Shutt, "'The Natives Are Getting Out of Hand': Legislating Manners, Insolence and Contemptuous Behaviour in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1910-1963\*", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33.3 (2007), 653-672.

<sup>446</sup> David M Anderson, 'Master and Servant in Colonial Kenya, 1895-1939', *The Journal of African History*, 41.03 (2000), 459-85 (p. 469).

<sup>447</sup> Allison K. Shutt, *Natives*; Allison Kim Shutt, *Manners*.

of the African servant'.<sup>448</sup> In Kenya settlers harboured an obsession with 'watching Africans constantly for any sign of insolence'.<sup>449</sup> Despite the attempted regulation of insolence and aural disturbance, the discourse of 'noisy Africans' persisted throughout the colonial period. Farmers often noted the 'noisy African kraal' or workers' compound, and the monotonous sound of drums as 'native dances' or 'beer parties' got underway.<sup>450</sup>

In urban environments the segregation of housing, restaurants and bars kept African aural intrusions on white colonials to a minimum, although when the prospect of such potential intrusions occurred, they faced rapid social censure. Beryl Daniels, a mixed-race woman in her 90s still resident in Ndola, remembered her husband getting a promotion with Rhodesia Railways in the early 1960s and being moved to the town's white housing area.

The whites resented us [living there]. My husband was a light man, he could pass for Italian or Portuguese maybe. But the whites were looking at us funny. The kids used to run around and play, the white women next door said, "tell your children to not make so much noise!" Her kids always did. It's funny why you remember these things.<sup>451</sup>

Beryl's white neighbour used the well-worn trope of 'noisy Africans' to make her uncomfortable and attempt to control her behaviour, by making her feel out of place and unwanted. Beryl's position as a 'coloured' woman in southern Africa tapped into an existing discourse about the particular 'nosiness' of 'coloured' communities.<sup>452</sup> Her discomfort at the time was evident in the strength of the memory, and her sense of injustice at the noise the white children made, whilst her mixed-race children faced the

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<sup>448</sup> ZNA, MLSS/1/09/033/2025, Conditions in certain industries and services of domestic servants 1944-54, Domestic Servants in Northern Rhodesia, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1950

<sup>449</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 61.

<sup>450</sup> ZNA, HM/83/2, Diaries, 07/05/1949.

<sup>451</sup> Beryl Daniels, ZI054.

<sup>452</sup> In South Africa there was a popular white stereotype that 'coloreds' are particularly noisy, see Kevin Durrheim, Xoliswa Mtose, and Lyndsay Brown, *Race Trouble: Race, Identity and Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Washington: Lexington Books, 2011), pp. 111-12; Ian Douglas MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937).



censure of the white neighbourhood. Beryl's experience was relatively unusual, being part of a non-white family in a white neighbourhood, however wider regulation of African 'noise' was made possible through the notion of 'cheeky natives', as an ever present 'threat' to white safety and comfort in both rural and urban environments.<sup>453</sup>

The attempt by colonial governments in both countries, but most strikingly in Northern Rhodesia, to formally legislate against overt racial discrimination in public spaces in 1960 brought both continuity and change to the discourse of noise and race. The Northern Rhodesian Hotel Board was in discussions with the Government over the compensation due to white businesses over lost custom since the introduction of the Race Relations Ordinance and the desegregation of cafes, restaurants and bars not selling 'hard liquor'. The reports compiled by regional Hotel Boards in the second half of 1960 suggest that calls for compensation were at times unwarranted. The Grand Hotel in Lusaka was said to have 'converted the public bar into a multi-racial bar and is very popular – usually well-behaved and not noisy.'<sup>454</sup> In The Mansa Inn, Fort Rosebery (see Figure 2), 'a lounge had been put in for African use adjacent to the dining room – it was very noisy, but turnover has increased dramatically.' Similarly, in The Abercorn Arms Hotel, there was a 'separate lounge for Africans – very popular and turnover has increased enormously. Africans are well behaved.'<sup>455</sup> In Mufulira Hotel on the Copperbelt (see Figure 2) the 'lounge was completely taken over by Africans – the noise was terrific, there have been complaints about prostitutes and the parking area being used as a urinal. However, turnover was excellent and business good. A few European still patronise the

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<sup>453</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 69. Also Shiwa Ng'andu Archive, Sir Stuart Gore-Brown diaries, 24/6/1903, he describes the fear of 'cheeky' natives of a young farmer he has met.

<sup>454</sup> ZNA, CO/16/01/6919/008, Race relations colour discrimination in public places 1960-64, Report on Race Relations at Hotels from 1<sup>st</sup> September to 17<sup>th</sup> November 1960, Hotel Board, Lusaka hotels.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid, 'Country Hotels' documents.

bar and the Africans do not go in the dining room.<sup>456</sup> In these examples the ‘noisiness’ of Africans is ever-present yet was not used to censure either their behaviour or access to the space.

The introduction of African drinking to prescribed areas of previously European bars was not only being tolerated, but induced a dramatic increase in turnover, particularly for the more provincial establishments in Fort Rosebery and Abercorn (see Figure 2). Even in the supposedly racially fraught conditions of the Copperbelt, the sensory imposition of African ‘noise’ and apparently unpleasant toilet habits was being tolerated due to this ‘excellent turnover’ and Africans’ adherence to the rules of not entering the dining room. Thus, whilst racial politics were still at play in these contexts, it was not a case of an outright white rejection of Africans’ presence. Instead racial animosity was moderated by the economic choices of European managers and owners, who saw the benefits of increasing footfall by admitting African customers to sections of their premises.

In contrast to the ‘good behaviour’ of African customers, the attempts at weakening segregation around 1960 saw an increase in disturbances by European customers who were disgruntled at ‘being made to drink with bloody Kaffirs.’<sup>457</sup> Drinking brings questions of consumption, ingestion, pollution and taste to the fore, although in this instance within a particular kind of homo-sociality. Sullen white men resented the encroachment of black men into their convivial, social spaces. However, the history of the colonial state’s concern with white drinking in Kenya and South Africa, as Neil Roos and Will Jackson have shown, points toward how alcohol was not always a convivial,

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<sup>456</sup> Ibid, ‘Mufulira’ documents, 16/11/60.

<sup>457</sup> ZNA, CO/16/01/6919/003, Appointment of district race relations conciliations 1957-62, Letter from Northern Rhodesian Police Commissioner E.H.Halse to Administrative Sec 5/9/1960.

communal activity.<sup>458</sup> In one such instance, on the night of the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1960 Assistant Superintendent (AS) Martin walked past the Grand Hotel in Lusaka as ‘a quantity of beer was thrown over the cocktail bar partition which fell on a group of Africans who had been *quietly* drinking.’ The partition separated African customers away from the spirituous liquor being sold in the cocktail bar, an act of segregation which failed to placate the twenty-four European customers in the cocktail bar, despite the ‘quiet drinking’ of the Africans. When Mr Martin went to investigate, he found Mr Roelofse complaining about ‘being made to drink with bloody Kaffirs.’ After another incident of glass smashing Mr Roelofse became violent and had to be restrained, but not before assaulting two European police officers. As he was arrested another man, Mr Swanepoel, accosted AS Martin, used abusive language and was arrested. Earlier in the evening Roelofse had been cautioned by another European officer for ‘constantly provoking Africans by [verbally] abusing them, kicking their chairs and pouring beer on them.’<sup>459</sup> In the changing political environment of the 1960s white settlers were becoming the insolent, noisy and disturbing force in public spaces as they railed against the piecemeal changes in legislation which seemed to be the beginnings of the end of their rule, and sought through their aural and physical disturbance, to preserve white-only spaces.

*Sex, fear and food: intimacy and pollution*

A story circulated around Northern Rhodesia in the run-up to independence, ‘that a black man had approached a pregnant white woman on the street, tapped her belly and said “next year it will be mine in there.”’<sup>460</sup> This story is important, not for whether or not it actually took place, but for the fears and discomforts it illuminates. It demonstrates

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<sup>458</sup> Neil Roos, ‘Alcohol Panic, Social Engineering, and Some Reflections on the Management of Whites in Early Apartheid Society, 1948–1960’, *The Historical Journal*, 58.4 (2015), 1167–1189; Jackson, *Madness*, chap. 4.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>460</sup> Roy Sykes, ZI078.

the fears of how, in the desegregating political environment of early 1960s Northern Rhodesia, an African man was emboldened to not only approach a white lady but to touch her and threaten sexual relations. Touch can be fleeting, it can pass between strangers, it can be full of symbolism. In this particular story, it could transmit threats and generate fears. This story struck at white fears of social reproduction and the vulnerability of the white female as incubus for the settler project; the latent threat within white women being intimate – sexually or otherwise – with African men was a future of white demographic obliteration. It also represented a dramatic inversion of the colonial regime of touch, which forced Africans to move around white bodies, to step off the pavement, to avoid contact.<sup>461</sup> The prospect of a newly independent African sexual boldness raised fears of white annihilation. Charles Braithwaite, an elderly rancher in Laikipia who remembered Independence vividly, recalled that ‘people [white settlers] with young daughters had nightmares about their daughters being a tiny minority in a black community. It was slightly different for sons.’<sup>462</sup> The prospect of physical and sexual contact between white women and black men had long been held up as the harbinger of the end of white rule, and was the reason for the vociferous policing of ‘black peril’ through punitive miscegenation and inter-racial rape legislation.<sup>463</sup>

It was not only transgressive touch which raised white fears of proximity and vulnerability through pollution, but also the ingestion of the external world, which eating entails. Sex and eating are linked by the connotations of intimacy and kinship - both produce social merging, as Carole Counihan has argued. Thus ‘food and sex are

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<sup>461</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 59.

<sup>462</sup> Charles Braithwaite, KI069.

<sup>463</sup> David M Anderson, ‘Sexual Threat and Settler Society: “Black Perils” in Kenya, c. 1907–30’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38.1 (2010), 47–74; Jock McCulloch, *Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Oliver C. Phillips, ‘The “Perils” of Sex and the Panics of Race: The Dangers of Inter-Racial Sex in Colonial Southern Rhodesia’, in *African Sexualities: A Reader*, ed. by Sylvia Tamale (London, 2011).

surrounded with rules and taboos that both regulate their use and reinforce beliefs basic to the social order."<sup>464</sup> It is in this vein that both transgressive touch and the fear of pollution through eating are considered together. Whites sought to regulate Africans' ability to touch their bodies and food over fears about disease, disturbed boundaries and ultimately the end of white rule.

Roy Sykes, who spent his formative childhood and teenage years on the 1950s Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt and in 1960s South Africa, remembered how 'most Europeans thought Africans were uninformed about how disease spreads, and handled foods in ways likely to spread illnesses.'<sup>465</sup> Roy used J. M. Coetzee's memoir "Boyhood" as an example of the kind of mentality this fostered in Northern Rhodesia.

Coetzee describes how his mother, after being forced to serve tea to a non-white, considers smashing and discarding the cup - as apparently was the custom - but in the end, not wishing to lose a valuable cup, she bleaches it. Such thinking doesn't go away when you drive north across a border.<sup>466</sup>

Roy's connection of racial mentalities between South Africa and Northern Rhodesia strikes at the interconnection of people and ideas throughout the settler states of southern Africa. The idea of contamination so evident in Coetzee's comment, and in Roy's decision to use it as an example, shows the widespread nature of the discourse of African ability to 'pollute', and the threat posed through sharing crockery. Clive James, a white Zambian farmer outside Choma and one of the few who could speak multiple

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<sup>464</sup> Carole Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power* (Brighton: Psychology Press, 1999), p. 63.

<sup>465</sup> Correspondence with Roy Sykes, ZI078.

<sup>466</sup> Correspondence with Roy Sykes, ZI078. The excerpt Roy is referring to is in John M. Coetzee, 'Boyhood', (New York: Putnam, 1997), p. 157. Similar views about Africans using the same cutlery and crockery are in Alexandra Fuller, *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight: An African Childhood* (New York: Random House Incorporated, 2003).

African languages, referenced this lingering colonial mentality as he positioned himself as a more 'decolonised' white Zambian in regard to the 'other' whites in the district.

Some [white] people, when they had Africans visit, wouldn't give them our [white] glasses or tea service, they'd get a plastic cup from the back. I know that is one thing Duncan [a local black Zambian politician] has said to me, that when he came here, he was treated as an equal, but he named others where he wasn't and it's burned in his mind for ever more.<sup>467</sup>

Although the idea of not sharing crockery with Africans was rooted, and legitimised, through the discourse of hygiene, Clive's comment makes clear that this was a political statement. Getting 'a plastic cup from the back' was a performance of the racial hierarchy which colonialism rested upon. Duncan Mutenda, the recipient of such a performance, was in no doubt as to the intentions of such displays, and he clearly marked the white homes he considered to be racist, compared to the home of Clive, a 'white Tonga' in his opinion.<sup>468</sup>

These hygienic fears were made clear by the colonial fixation with the health of domestic staff, and kitchen staff in particular. Forced health checks for syphilis and other communicable diseases were common, as were scrupulous instructions regarding personal hygiene and domestic cleaning.<sup>469</sup> Kitchen staff occupied a uniquely intimate position within the home due to their handling of food and knowledge of how to cook the types of food their white employers wanted. Staff were trained to cook food with a texture and flavour which often mirrored British food, using local ingredients. Thus, whilst kitchen staff could be viewed as potentially polluting, they were also highly valued if they could produce the 'correct' culinary standards and be marked apart from the

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<sup>467</sup> Clive James, ZI004.

<sup>468</sup> Duncan Mutenda, ZI006. Tonga are the majority ethnic group in Zambia's Southern Province.

<sup>469</sup> Karen Jochelson, *The Colour of Disease: Syphilis and Racism in South Africa, 1880-1950* (New York: Springer, 2001), p. 174. Also see ZNA, MLSS/1/09/033/2025, Conditions in certain industries and services of domestic servants 1944-54, 'Your Servant and You'.

'simplicity' and 'savagery' of indigenous culinary culture. The apparent rarity of 'good' cooks meant they had some agency, and often longevity, within white homes. White employers wanted to keep skilled cooks and thus provided conditions in which they would remain. The difference in wages between a cook and 'houseboy' are evidence of this elevated position. In 1949 in Northern Rhodesia it was recommended that a 'houseboy' be paid 30/- to 40/- per month, whilst a cook should receive 40-100/- depending on experience.<sup>470</sup> The important position of the cook was explained by Moira Smith, a white farmer in her eighties who had spent the past sixty years farming outside Choma. She described how her new cook 'Mary' did not yet know how to bake bread properly, something all of her previous staff have been able to do.<sup>471</sup> Similarly, 'Mary' was only just learning how to cook specific 'British' types of food, such as smoked fish for breakfast and fried, breaded fish in the evening, a fact which Moira was at pains to explain when she entertained some white Zimbabwean guests.<sup>472</sup> The emotional and social capital which white women secured through the cooking, presentation and eating of certain food types was part of the articulation of a white woman's domesticity. It demonstrated her domestic skills as the matriarch of the household and also served as an important part of the white household's identity through food.

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<sup>470</sup> ZNA, MLSS/1/09/033/2025, Conditions in certain industries and services of domestic servants 1944-54, 'Your Servant and You'. Also, the published advice booklet by the southern Rhodesian government entitled Hints to Settlers under the same class mark.

<sup>471</sup> Moira Smith, ZI002. Mary was deemed 'new' in terms of her length of service but also in terms of her gender, the cook in white homes had until recent decades always been a man.

<sup>472</sup> Participant observation with the Smiths, ZI002.

## ***Postcolonial sensory legacies***

### *Taste, manners and maize meal*

Postcolonial claims to identity were not only made through a ‘colonial’ mirror of British culinary traditions.<sup>473</sup> Claims to a white African identity could also be made at the dining table. In Serenje (see Figure 2), Joe Cleall, an exiled white Zimbabwean now farming in Zambia, proudly extolled his white African credentials, evidenced not only by his fluent speaking of ChiShona and learning of ChiBemba, but also in his family’s consumption of millet porridge for breakfast and maize meal - eaten with their hands – in the evening.<sup>474</sup> It was this engagement with the most ‘African’ of foodstuffs which marked the family out as more culturally integrated into the southern African context, evidenced in their eating of *nshima* (Zambian term for maize meal porridge) with their hands.<sup>475</sup> The particular place of *nshima* within the Cleall household struck at a wider postcolonial importance which maize meal, alternately called *ugali* in Kenya, has taken on. The staple, and the technique of eating it, are both held up as archetypal of African food habits and food standards, in contrast to supposedly more civilised European cuisine and etiquette.

The idea of racial difference rooted and expressed through food was raised when discussing shortages in the 1970s and 1980s with Brenda Coogan, a white woman who identified as ‘still a Brit, Welsh by descent. And I live in Zambia’, who had lived in Kitwe

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<sup>473</sup> For the importance of food to imperial and colonial identities see Helen Callaway, ‘Dressing for Dinner in the Bush: Rituals of Self-Definition and British Imperial Authority’, *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, 1992, 232–47; Troy Bickham, ‘Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Past and Present*, 198.1 (2008), 71–109; Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (London: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>474</sup> ChiShona is the main language of eastern Zimbabwe where Joe farmed and ChiBemba is the main language of Serenje district in Zambia. Interview with Joe Cleall, ZI074 and participant observation more generally with the Clealls ZI074 and ZI075.

<sup>475</sup> It should be noted that maize is not actually an African crop, unlike millet. See James McCann, *Maize and Grace: Africa’s Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-200* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).



since the mid-1950s.<sup>476</sup> Brenda adopted a positionality which few whites vocally occupied. She vociferously defended her own privilege and belittled black Zambians material disadvantage. The reason for her position was not immediately clear, however unlike many participants she was alone in the country, without existing or historically deep familial ties to the territory. As such she still identified as British, refused to learn local vernaculars and adopted a deep scepticism toward Zambia and its peoples. It was within this context that she made claims about the lean decades of the 1970s and 1980s:

No-one was really going short. We could always get what we wanted and what we needed. Well maybe not what we wanted but what we needed. And Africans can eat as long as they've got their mealie meal.<sup>477</sup>

The insinuation behind her comment was that Africans can survive on the most basic of foodstuffs, whilst Europeans managed to survive through food shortages due to their more stable economic positions and ability to still access 'Western' food. Whites often made foodstuffs through home industry and sharing home produce, the production of which led to charges of food hoarding by the state and threats of arrest due to the discovery of large quantities of cream, butter and jam.<sup>478</sup> To many, whites were seen as a privileged fifth column who had access to luxurious food items, and through not eating 'Zambian' food were making a statement about their difference. Conversely, Africans' supposed primitivism was demonstrated through their ability to survive on 'mealie meal' alone.<sup>479</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> Brenda Coogan, ZI015.

<sup>477</sup> Ibid

<sup>478</sup> The Drakes, ZI035.

<sup>479</sup> These white claims about African diets were based upon whites' uninformed racism. For further discussion of nutrition and ugali in the colonial period, and concerns over African overdependence on starches see Cynthia Brantley, 'Kikuyu-Masai Nutrition and Colonial Science: The Orr and Gilks Study in Late 1920s Kenya Revisited', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 30.1 (1997), 49–86. Conversely a recent book has argued that nutritional interventions were only successful in the colonial period when they tapped into indigenous ideas of a mixed diet, Jennifer Tappan, *The Riddle of Malnutrition: The Long Arc of Biomedical and Public Health Interventions in Uganda* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2017).

The traditional method of eating maize meal in east and central Africa is to ‘cut [with one hand] a good size lump of *nshima* and slowly shape it into a smooth round ball using the palm and fingers of the one hand. The *nshima* is then dipped into the second dish, the *ndiwo*, before it is eaten.’<sup>480</sup> The importance of using hands in the eating of maize-meal is part of a system of etiquette designed to promote socialisation and traditional values, with clear social rules pertaining to the order in which different people wash their hands and eat.<sup>481</sup> The complexity behind these eating rituals were often lost on whites. Eating with one’s hands was mocked as childlike and savage, as Mark Benson, the retired white hunter introduced earlier, described; ‘Do I feel superior to the man on the street here? Yes, I do quite frankly. He grew up in a mud hut, sitting around a fire eating with his fingers.’<sup>482</sup> Similarly Africans apparent propensity to mix tea and bread in their mouth was derided as puerile ‘cement mixing’.<sup>483</sup> The use of the language of food to demean Africans was also evident when Mark was decrying postcolonial corruption, he claimed that ‘they [black Kenyans] steal so much. They build these big ‘*posho* palaces’ as we call them. *Posho* is this food that they eat.’<sup>484</sup> Mark used the term *posho*, a Ugandan phrase for *ugali*, which was commonly used turning the colonial period. The ‘us’ and ‘them’ evident in Mark’s comment is striking, *posho* is the food that *they* eat, he explains to me as a fellow white man. The means of eating had a clear sensory element. Africans’ preference for eating with their hands marked them out as sensorially unrefined and indulging in a baser culinary experience. Whites’ sense of civility on the other hand required the use of cutlery

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<sup>480</sup> Ingrid Ohna, Randi Kaarhus, and Joyce Kinabo, ‘No Meal without Ugali? Social Significance of Food and Consumption in a Tanzanian Village’, *Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment*, 34.1 (2012), 3–14; Mwizenge Tembo, ‘Zambian Traditional Foods, Nshima Meals, Eating Customs and Habits’, *Sociology Department Blog, Bridgewater College*.

<sup>481</sup> Tembo, ‘Traditional Foods’.

<sup>482</sup> Mark Benson, KI043.

<sup>483</sup> For cement mixing see Fuller, *Don't lets go*, pp. 42, 102 and 150.

<sup>484</sup> Mark Benson, KI043.

to demonstrate their sophisticated management of food, their sense of refinement enhancing the sensory experience of eating.

The differentiation of eating habits between races and classes was noted by Jack Goody in his study of eating habits in Ghana. Whilst the Ghanaian elite were adept at eating in 'the Western pattern', when at home, and increasingly in public, 'they prefer their natal ways.'<sup>485</sup> Goody's argument that elites actually rejected Western eating habits when they could, demonstrated the tenuous nature of Westernisation. He argued that 'traditional food demanded traditional treatment', therefore porridge or *saab* was eaten with the fingers, 'without the mediating instruments common in the West'. These traditions held important social and cultural meaning, hence their persistence in the face of Westernisation.<sup>486</sup> Thus, whilst whites could view such eating habits as 'uncivilised', they either consciously ignored or were oblivious to the social systems which such eating cultures maintained. Those whites who engaged in such practices, and ate maize meal with their hands, could lay claim to a greater understanding and appreciation of African cultures. However, the performance of social hierarchies and communal relationships which traditional eating habits sustained within African societies were difficult to reproduce around the white table. The lack of black African guests from the surrounding communities made such practices in white homes largely performative, rather than engaging them in deeper socio-cultural relationships with Africans.

*Sex, smell and postcolonial intimacy*

The smell of Africa is sweat, body odour and smoke.<sup>487</sup>

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<sup>485</sup> Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 177.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid, pp. 177–78.

<sup>487</sup> June Rasch, ZI033.

This comment was made by June Rasch, an elderly white Zambian living outside Lusaka, as we sat in her covered verandah on a scorching day in October 2016. June had moved to Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s from Scandinavia with her ex-husband. June had lived between the Copperbelt and Lusaka, and whilst she lived very humbly by white standards, she maintained an evidently deep love of the country. Despite this affective connection June's comment demonstrated how, even amongst committed white Zambians, the colonial discourse which linked race and smell has had striking resilience beyond independence. It also indicates the homogenisation of smell which whites have associated with Africa.<sup>488</sup> The notion that Africa has a smell is in reality, absurd. A continent of over 1.2 billion people and 30.37 million km<sup>2</sup> cannot be distilled into one aroma. The homogenisation of Africa into a selection of aromas speaks above all to a lingering colonial understanding of the supposed 'simplicity' of the continent and their knowledge of it, rather than the continent or its indigenous inhabitants. The small number of aromas which are used to invoke Africa comprise a shared 'smellscape', as Porteous terms it, which helped provide a sense of shared experience and homogeneity in the face of the reality of disparate knowledge and identities.<sup>489</sup>

The long history of blackness, dirt and sweat being conjoined became part of a postcolonial white mentality. It was normalised that black Africans 'smell'; a fact reinforced by the divergent material conditions of whites in Africa and the domestic staff and agricultural employees whom they most frequently interacted with. Thus, the idea of innate African aroma has lingered into the postcolonial white imagination but has become more intimately linked to discomfort with the idea of sexual and emotional integration through mixed marriages. The supposed difference in smell between the races is no longer

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<sup>488</sup> For homogenisation see Porteous, 'Smellscape' pp. 362–63.

<sup>489</sup> For 'smellscape' see *ibid.*

used to segregate shopping, toilets or swimming pools but instead has been reformulated as a physical manifestation of the unnaturalness of mixed marriages. Edward Fisher, a self-declared 'white African' who unapologetically revelled in the freedom afforded to white men in Africa, and was proud of his movement around the former settler colonies of British Africa, having lived in Rhodesia, Zimbabwe and Kenya, described the importance of smell to relationships.

If you want to go and shag one [an African] that's fine but don't marry one. You want to associate with people who are the same as you and smell the same. Africans smell different.<sup>490</sup>

The directness of Edward's language was indicative of the anti-political correctness exhibited by many participants who felt they spoke the 'uncomfortable truths' forbidden by a dominant Western media narrative. However, the biological determinism of Edward's statement was striking. In his mind it was the smell of people which bound them, the innate aroma of different individuals was demonstrative of their innate difference.

Similarly, the intertwining of smell, blackness and undesirability was made clear by the white farmer Deborah Strathern.

You associate [blackness] with workers [here] and maybe there is [sic] educated nice [black] people in the UK, but when I think... [mixed marriage] I think of the garden boy, who I like very much but... I suppose it's not very Christian of me to say... but someone who doesn't smell.<sup>491</sup>

Deborah's comment foregrounded manual work and sweat in conditioning revulsion at the idea of romantic and sexual intimacy with black Africans. The intersection of race and class through sweat and smell demonstrated the white homogenisation of

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<sup>490</sup> Edward Fisher, KI037.

<sup>491</sup> Deborah Strathern, ZI041. For similar arguments by white women averse to the idea of romantic relationships with black Africans see June Rasch ZI033, Deidre Walton KI062, Camilla Watson KI063, Sharon Mintram KI005.

'Africans' into a pastiche of stereotypes attached to their domestic servants and typified by their apparent 'smell'. This directly linked to the lack of social interaction between whites and Africans on an equal footing, Africans instead being confined to the hierarchical context of domestic servitude. Thus, when Deborah considers mixed marriages, she automatically envisaged her daughter marrying the 'garden boy', not only a racial transgression but a class one. Strikingly smell is how she experiences the uncomfortable proximity of white/black or what could be framed as colonizer/colonized. It is towards smell that Deborah goes – towards her discomfort - when she is prompted to think about race and class, and the potential destabilization of these hierarchies. In this instance the gardener's apparent smell becomes the encapsulation of all the reasons why Africans and whites should not be married, it becomes a visceral response of disgust at the idea of interracial union.

Terry Marks, a seventh-generation white, who has spent the majority of his life in Zambia but grew up in Southern Rhodesia and has spent time living in Europe, bemoaned how his own desires had been restrained as he appraised his life choices during a lengthy research dialogue.

The visceral prejudice... it's very difficult to get rid of that. When I was a mature student in the UK in 1990, after selling my farm, all my friends were the Africans because we had more cultural affinity than the English or Continentals. But still, even with the [African] girls there, it wasn't an intimate thing. I wouldn't have had an affair with them. I think because of my upbringing [...] that ingrained racism. When I was a kid poverty was widespread, Africans tended to be much poorer than we were. The ramification was that they didn't wash, or couldn't wash, so they were a bit whiffy. That was something which would separate us...<sup>492</sup>

Terry's self-reflections unearthed the deep seated, visceral racism rooted in childhood, of which smell was the key signifier. The viscosity of this racism was

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<sup>492</sup> Terry Marks, ZI039. For similar arguments see Melvin Nowak ZI014, Peter Barak ZI028, Deborah Strathern ZI041a, Edward Fisher KI037, Sharon Mintram KI005.

intimately linked to smell, as a physical and tangible manifestation of difference. It was Terry's memory of African poverty, demonstrated by their 'whiffiness', which has made the idea of intimate, sexual relations with African women unthinkable.<sup>493</sup> The reluctance to enter interracial relationships has remained remarkably strong amongst whites in both countries since independence; the 'gremlin of racist history in the corner of [white] souls' as Janet McIntosh termed it.<sup>494</sup> In one hundred and forty two interviews with whites, only two were in openly mixed marriages or relationships. Deidre Walton, a second-generation white in her nineties living around Nanyuki, typified the response to such issues:

My grandson is married now and lives in Dubai [Is he married to an African lady?] Oh no no! (laughs) I say it like that but he's not, it sounds awful doesn't it? I don't think I'd like that. I've always thought birds of a feather, frankly.... I can't really think of any [whites] that are [in mixed marriages].<sup>495</sup>

There was remarkable coherence amongst almost all participants that mixed marriages were a bad idea for both the couple and children. This broadly aligns with Janet McIntosh's analysis of white Kenyans limited interracial relationships and her experiences of younger white Kenyans decrying the racism of the colonial period, whilst almost universally engaging in romantic relationships with other whites. I too found myself asking the same question as McIntosh; 'if settler descendants are looking for a way out of the charge that they are socially isolated or racist, why don't they publicly woo and marry black Africans more often?'<sup>496</sup> McIntosh has hinted at the intuitive nature of white discomfort with interracial marriage, 'aversions go beyond concern about whites being [financially] "used" [by African partners] and into another, more visceral realm of race and taboo.'<sup>497</sup> The visceral realm which McIntosh alludes to can in part be explained

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<sup>493</sup> Terry Marks, ZI039.

<sup>494</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, p. 128.

<sup>495</sup> Deidre Walton, KI062.

<sup>496</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, p. 117.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid*, p. 126.

through the lingering influence of colonial sensory discourse. The almost instinctive white reaction to interracial unions speaks to the legacies of black bodies being associated with disgust, body odour and poor hygiene practices. The fact that such sensory legacies also reinforce the boundaries of whiteness, and reinforce an increasingly demographically precarious position, only strengthens its power.

*'Cheeky' postcolonial whites*

Whilst olfactory discourse in the postcolonial period illuminates the persistence of colonial ideologies, other colonial sensory discourses were reappraised after independence. The discourse of African 'cheekiness' was pervasive in accounts of African insolence by Shutt and WR Nasson and encapsulated in the 1903 diary of an earlier settler to Northern Rhodesia, who described an encounter with a 'cheeky swine of a nigger'. He went onto lament cheekiness as the natural result of whites' 'inconsistent treatment of the Kaffirs', echoing the advice of later settler pamphlets which warned against white overfamiliarity with Africans.<sup>498</sup> Over fifty years later 'cheekiness' was still a pervasive colonial notion in Northern Rhodesia. Beryl Daniels, the mixed-race woman introduced earlier, recalled her 'coloured' husband's cheekiness in late 1950s Ndola:<sup>499</sup>

One day the coloured toilet was occupied so he looked around and didn't see anyone so went into white toilet. As he stepped out, a white chap came, "hey what are you doing there?" My husband was cheeky and stood up to them, because sometimes he would play white. Anyway, he said, "what would you do if you went in there?" The white guy said, "hey, don't you be cheeky." They [whites] used to keep us low down in answering back... my husband felt so satisfied about the answer he gave [smiles].<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>498</sup> Shiwa Ng'andu Archive, GB Diary, 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1903. ZNA, MLSS/1/09/033/2025, Conditions in certain industries and services of domestic servants 1944-54, Domestic Servants in Northern Rhodesia, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1950.

<sup>499</sup> Allison K. Shutt, 'The Natives' p. 668; W. R. Nasson, "'Doing down Their Masters': Africans, Boers, and Treason in the Cape Colony during the South African War of 1899-1902", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 12.1 (1983), 29-53 (p. 43).

<sup>500</sup> Beryl Daniels, ZI054.



Beryl's pride in husband's cheekiness clearly articulated the wide currency of the term, and the agency and desire of non-white members of society to disturb and trouble those who claimed supremacy in society.

White concerns with Africans ability to be aurally disturbing were exacerbated after independence, as a feeling grew that 'Africans became very bolshie and vocal in the first years. I think that they had to make a point.'<sup>501</sup> It was the newly emboldened 'cheeky' African which threatened whites' sense of comfort.<sup>502</sup> By 1969 a white farmer in southern Zambia noted in her diary after a trip to Lusaka that the 'Lusaka Hotel is now very Zambianised and noisy.'<sup>503</sup> The idea of urban spaces becoming noisy - and therefore threatening - in postcolonial Africa was reiterated by many participants who bemoaned the aural assault of being loudly and publicly labelled a *mzungu* (white person).<sup>504</sup>

However, whilst the discourse of 'cheekiness' has endured it has also been reversed in the decades since independence, as whites' 'noisiness', or vocal racism, gets described as 'cheekiness'.<sup>505</sup> Roger Kemp, a semi-retired salesman in Ndola, self-identified as 'cheeky' in his old age, a temperament he viewed as being more vociferous about the naturalness of his racial privilege and his use of colonial-era language.<sup>506</sup> Black Africans have similarly lit upon this discourse to describe whites who they view as transgressing or troubling the supposed racial equality of postcolonial Kenya and Zambia. Peter Mubanga, who had worked with white farmers in central Zambia for years,

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<sup>501</sup> The Maguires ZI038 and the Campbells ZI045.

<sup>502</sup> Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism*, p. 288.

<sup>503</sup> ZNA, HM/83/2, Diaries, 3/3/69.

<sup>504</sup> See interviews in Kenya with Debbie Wood KI055, Camilla Watson KI063, Roger Challenor KI070, Trevor Donaldson KI078. Interviews in Zambia with Tony Percival ZI009 and Becca Coulson ZI066.

<sup>505</sup> Peter Mubanga ZI047 and informal interviews/participant observation with the black Zambian staff of Masebe farm and Mkushi Country Club.

<sup>506</sup> Roger Kemp, ZI055.

recounted how ‘we know who the cheeky [white] farmers are’.<sup>507</sup> Charles Kapwepwe, an elderly Zambian driver in the same district as Peter, attempted to make light of white racism as we drove past one farm, he pointed and laughed, ‘the farmer here is very cheeky. He’s a South African.’<sup>508</sup> Clearly the colonial discourse of ‘cheekiness’ has filtered into the consciousness of Africans who work in close proximity to whites.<sup>509</sup> Using the terminology of ‘cheekiness’ served both to avoid overt criticism of racist whites, who are often in a position of power, whilst also using coded language to articulate that their behaviour has been noted and they have been marked as ‘cheeky’, impacting their ability to attract staff.<sup>510</sup> This speaks to a dynamic noted by Karen Hansen in her study of domestic servants in Zambia. She noted how the ‘runaway economy’ in the 1970s exacerbated tensions from the colonial period, in which whites hired staff for security, but at the same time could feel less secure due to the proximity of large numbers of black Zambians.<sup>511</sup> Hansen’s argument notwithstanding, it is also pertinent to think beyond economic changes, to how increasing black African agency and intolerance of racism have changed social behaviour and psychological dispositions. African use of ‘cheeky’ provides a compelling example of how colonial discourses could be co-opted by the previously ‘colonized’ in the postcolonial period.

The transition to white cheekiness and ‘noisiness’ which began in the desegregating urban bars of the Copperbelt and Lusaka has echoed through the decades since independence into the social clubs of white farming districts. James Barton recalled the Mkushi Country Club before he left the region for the north-west of Zambia:

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<sup>507</sup> Peter Mubanga, ZI047.

<sup>508</sup> Participant observation in Mkushi in January 2017.

<sup>509</sup> For literature on ‘cheeky’ Africans see Shutt, *Manners*.

<sup>510</sup> This idea was developed particularly in regard to participant observation amongst the farming community of Mkushi in January 2017.

<sup>511</sup> Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 253.

I'd go to the club and yeah there weren't many [Africans] there, but big farmers and friends of mine like Joe Phiri, Daniel Mupeta and all those would sit around drink beer, have chips and steak and discuss cropping. But now... one of the deciding factors was when Joe came to me one night and he had a particularly harsh time with the Zimbabweans being cold shouldered and ostracizing. Before they [Zimbabweans] came, he was involved in the club. But after that [incident] he said, "I won't be coming again".<sup>512</sup>

James described how the club was a place of socialization – and noise – and a place for consuming food and drink. Yet it was the behaviour of whites which drove both James, and his black friends, from the club. Derek Webber, a white farmer in Mkushi who avoided the Country Club, described how 'no self-respecting Africans would go there. It's full of whites who are drunk and noisy.'<sup>513</sup> In both examples noise was a means of defining spaces and regulating access. Notably both Derek and James referenced the influence of white Zimbabweans in the hostile environment created in these spaces, despite the presence of white Zambians.<sup>514</sup> This could be attributed to two factors. First, white Zimbabweans having a more vociferous and defensive racialized identity, shaped by the civil war and subsequent targeting by ZANU-PF. Second, white Zambians use white Zimbabweans as a point of reference to define themselves against; the noisy racism and violence associated with Zimbabwe becomes everything which Zambia is not.

### ***Sensory knowledge, belonging and reverie***

Whilst the discourse of sensory difference has remained potent in the informal regulation of social mixing, there has been a growth in the use of sensory language by whites as a means of stressing an affective, sensorial bond with Africa. The senses are a valuable lens for approaching the intersection of identity construction, belonging and reverie due to the emphasis put upon sensory experience by whites themselves. The

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<sup>512</sup> James Barton, ZI007.

<sup>513</sup> Derek Webber, ZI044.

<sup>514</sup> Barton ZI007 and Webber ZI044 and participant observation in Mkushi country club January 2017.

smells, tastes and sounds of Africa are common points of reference for whites. It has been through descriptions of the sensory experience of Africa, and Africans, that whites have displayed their knowledge of the continent, and tried to justify their natural place within it. This section of the chapter develops the term 'sensory knowledge', the idea that knowledge of people and places is expressed through the senses. For example, 'knowing' a smell of a person or environment, especially one in which evocative memories are entangled, entails a close knowledge of what that smell *should* smell like. Thus, the senses have to be considered within a framework of intimacy and power.

The knowledge of sense is a demonstration not only of familiarity but of power; the subject is conforming to your idea of what they should smell/taste/sound like. This relies upon notions of senses remaining current within in a discourse. As such whites in Africa constitute themselves as whites in part through recognizing senses: in having their own 'lived experience' which affirm a set of scripts that they know already, if only subliminally. This is a point of particular urgency for whites in contexts where their previous claims to power have been invalidated or openly challenged. Sensory knowledge has played a particular role in white mitigation of postcolonial angst as a means of stressing an affective, sensorial bond with Africa. Memories have been recalled through sensory stimuli, and form part of a wider strategy, of not only belonging, but rationalisation and cognitive rebalancing, in which connections to Africa and Africans are lived through beautified memories rather than engaging with what's fraught and complex about the past.

This sensory recall, of memories being remembered and relived through the senses, became evident during oral history dialogues in which participants recollected pertinent memories from their lives in postcolonial Africa through emotive sensory

language, often whilst in the spaces which invoked them.<sup>515</sup> Thus participants sat on the verandah, walked around the garden or drove around the farm, whilst they recalled experiences and reflected on their lives. Research dialogues took place in white homes, gardens and vehicles, the 'safe spaces' of postcolonial whites' worlds. These dialogues often occurred over several days and were coupled with participant observations. Being located in these evocative spaces meant that participants' stimulation of memory was linked to the smells, sounds, tastes and touch of the environment and people surrounding them. This links closely with Halbwachs' theorisation of memory recall being prompted by 'images reconstructing for a moment the group and the milieu from which the child had been torn.'<sup>516</sup> Rather than Halbwachs' images, it is the sensory experiences of participants which forms this link to their childhood, more specifically it leads to the 'contemplative, dream-like memories' which Halbwachs theorises as offering a sense of privacy and ownership which takes us away from contemporary society and into the society of our past.<sup>517</sup> This theorisation of memory has a particular relevance for whites who are often uncomfortable in contemporary society and find solace in the nostalgic, colonial society of their memory. Similarly, the more formal setting of an oral history interview consciously engaged with the senses as a mnemonic device. Not in the sense of the involuntary memory of Proust, but a conscious foregrounding of sense in memory which is then communicated.<sup>518</sup>

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<sup>515</sup> This methodology was informed by the 'walking interviews' which geographers and anthropologists have used. See Phil Jones and others, 'Exploring Space and Place with Walking Interviews.', *Journal of Research Practice*, 4.2 (2008), D2; James Evans and Phil Jones, 'The Walking Interview: Methodology, Mobility and Place', *Applied Geography*, 31.2 (2011), 849–858.

<sup>516</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p.38.

<sup>517</sup> *Ibid*, p.49.

<sup>518</sup> Proust's 'madeleine' informed this notion of *literally* entering the past. For discussions of Proust's ideas see Paula Hamilton, *The Proust Effect: Oral History and the Senses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 1; Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2006), II.

This 'situated knowledge' represents a sensorial understanding related to a particular place and time.<sup>519</sup> Thus the smells, tastes, sounds and textures of white childhood are recovered through the sensory experience of adulthood. The senses are revealing because in whites' use of sensory knowledge and sensory recall they connect themselves to places whilst traversing time. A phenomenon Proust described when recounting the story of his evocative madeleine; 'the past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object (in the sensation which that material object will give us).'<sup>520</sup> Sensory recall allows whites to subjectively experience entering the past in the moment of its recollection.<sup>521</sup> The linear movement of time is disrupted as whites re-enter the past to feel greater comfort in the present. The senses matter in this history, as both a means of defining white identity and as means of stressing white affinity with the continent through sensorial connections deeply rooted to childhood.

*Affect, land and olfactory longing*

A white sensorial bond to Africa could incorporate the smell of Africans themselves, through the nostalgic aromas of childhood, when physical intimacy with Africans was more commonplace. Peter Godwin, the white Zimbabwean author made famous by his book about this childhood, put into sensory terms, an experience which other whites remembered, being carried by African nurse maids (see Figure 3).

As a baby I was strapped onto her wide back, in the pouch of a thin grey blanket, African-style. I can still remember the smell of her. It was

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<sup>519</sup> Joy Parr, 'Notes for a More Sensuous History of Twentieth-Century Canada: The Timely, the Tacit, and the Material Body', *Canadian Historical Review*, 82.4 (2001), 720–745.

<sup>520</sup> Proust, II.

<sup>521</sup> Proust, II; Paula Hamilton.

a comforting, musky smell, a mixture of wood-smoke and Lifebuoy soap.<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>522</sup> Peter Godwin, *Mukima: A White Boy in Africa* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2007), p. 24; Coetzee, pp. 71–72. For similar experiences, with less discursive use of the senses, see interviews with Clive James ZI004, Reg Turner ZI027,

Those were the most wonderful people to look after  
our little girl and the house and garden., The good old days !



**Figure 3:** Unknown white child with African domestic staff in Fort Rosebery  
(Mansa) 1955

Childhood was the important temporal context for these sensory memories. Nostalgia intersected with the particular power of smell to induce a vivid recall of entire scenes from the past.<sup>523</sup>

Olfactory recall often drew upon nostalgic childhood memories; ideas of home, friendships and freedom, all associated with a handful of olfactory stimuli connected to

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<sup>523</sup> Alan R. Hirsch, 'Nostalgia, the Odors of Childhood and Society', *The Smell Culture Reader*, 2006, 187–189 (p. 187).



African people and African environments. This was repeatedly invoked in Nicola Fuller's memoir *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight*.

When the ship veered into the Cape of Good Hope, Mum caught the spicy, woody scent of Africa [...] She held me up to face the earthy air. "Smell that" she whispered, "that's home."<sup>524</sup>

It was the moment of arrival which was so important to Nicola's mother; smell heralded the return home.<sup>525</sup> In this example Fuller was also describing white sensory attachment being *taught*. Rather than innate attachments to places through smell, or anything else, they are culturally and socially developed through training. This is reaffirmed in white memoirs and novels which are littered with reference to the evocative 'smell of Africa', an apparently tangible and distilled essence of what the continent means to them, as whites in Africa.<sup>526</sup>

However, there is a contradiction within this strategy of belonging, which has grown in starkness in the decades since 1960. The most vociferous, and well publicised, users of this strategy of contradiction are the white diaspora; those who left Africa in the years since independence. Fuller is herself a good example. Although when the 'sweet, raw-onion, wood-smoke, acrid smell of Africa' rushes into her face she wants to 'weep for joy', she finds herself living in Wyoming, not the Lusaka she so evocatively describes the smell of.<sup>527</sup> There is a particularly sharp and poignant use of olfactory language by ex-settlers who no longer live in Africa; a phenomenon made all the more pointed by the comparison to the 'tamer' Global North. The assumed variety and intensity of 'the smell' of Africa provided a store of olfactory memories; wood-smoke, the rains, dank forests,

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<sup>524</sup> Fuller, *Don't Lets Go*, p. 38.

<sup>525</sup> For an analysis of how home is spoken of, including sensorially, see Rosalia Baena, "'Not Home but Here": Rewriting Englishness in Colonial Childhood Memoirs', *English Studies*, 90.4 (2009), 435–459.

<sup>526</sup> For a small number of examples see Coetzee's description of the smell of 'Eddie' the house boy in Coetzee, pp. 75–76. Godwin, pp. 24, 181–1; Doris Lessing, *African Stories* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), p. 111.

<sup>527</sup> Fuller, *Don't Lets Go*, p. 295.

game animals, raw meat; all of which could be condensed into a singular discourse of 'African smell'. However, these romanticised and nostalgic memories were in sharp contrast to the reality of having left the continent. These nostalgic olfactory memories were intimately linked to childhood, the diasporic musings of Fuller and others represents transient whites attempts to reclaim a sense of themselves, through their childhood, in what have often been fragmented lives.<sup>528</sup>

For whites who have remained in Kenya and Zambia, the importance of smell has been more visceral, less vociferous and more intimately connected to the land. The importance of whites using olfactory language has been to deflect the history of colonial, racialised land ownership and to move focus to white affinity with, and knowledge of, the land. During recent violent clashes over land in Laikipia County, Aidan Hartley, a white landowner in Laikipia and journalist for *The Spectator* wrote:

In Laikipia the 'Petrichor', a lovely word suggesting the blood of the gods full of ambrosia and nectar, is a smell that is so delicious after drought that you drink it in. it is so fleeting and impossible to apprehend, yet one of the loveliest you can know. It came to me long before I felt even a droplet of rain fall on my head.<sup>529</sup>

Hartley is a contentious figure, often pilloried for his attempt to curate a novel kind of 'white African' persona for a British audience, in which Africa is reduced to 'its hospitality to white people and animals.'<sup>530</sup> However, his invocation of pleasure, and its intersection with 'indigenous' knowledge in the olfactory environment of Laikipia is informative. By using the term 'petrichor' he is specifically referencing the earthy smell

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<sup>528</sup> For the importance of smells to remembering childhood see Porteous, p. 357; Hirsch, 'Nostalgia'.

<sup>529</sup> <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2018/03/the-wisdom-of-toads-termites-and-wait-a-bit-thorns/>.

<sup>530</sup> For a critique of Hartley see Netta Kornberg, 'Aidan Hartley's Africa' <<https://africasacountry.com/2013/11/aidan-hartleys-africa>>. Hartley was also a foreign correspondent and regularly writes 'knowledgeably' about wider African politics and conservation. He published a book about his 'travels' in Africa see Aidan Hartley, *The Zanzibar Chest: A Memoir of Love and War* (London: HarperCollins UK, 2011).

of freshly fallen rain, it is a term which has a visceral link to the earth.<sup>531</sup> The scent of the rain reaches him before any physical manifestation of the rain does, evidence of his apparently almost supernatural knowledge of the scents of nature. It is through that knowledge that the validity of white ownership of land can be stressed in the face of indigenous claims, which are depicted as neither knowledgeable nor affective.<sup>532</sup>

Scholarly work on the garden has shown how pleasure and reverie are experienced through the aromas of the garden, and how that experience bolsters a sense of ownership. One participant in a Social Geography study by Mark Bhatti described: ‘a small recurring pleasure is a summer night in the garden. I stand and breathe all the marvellous scents, the darkness is soft—not empty but full of life, flowers, trees ... I feel it is my own domain.’<sup>533</sup> In Bhatti’s study ‘many respondents wrote of being enchanted in their gardens: becoming suddenly aware of shades and colours, touching a worm, catching the wind; getting hands dirty in the soil, hearing a sprinkle of water; smelling a flower that takes them back to childhood.’<sup>534</sup> The relationship between smell and this form of reverie is an important one, it draws clear links between childhood sensorial experience and intimate connections between people and places.<sup>535</sup> The idea of enchantment in certain spaces, and the memories of that enchantment being activated by a sensorial experience

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<sup>531</sup> For a description of ‘petrichor’ see <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-44904298>.

<sup>532</sup> For an understanding of the indigenous Maasai connection to land and wildlife see Joy K. Asiema and Francis DP Situma, ‘Indigenous Peoples and the Environment: The Case of the Pastoral Maasai of Kenya’, *Colo. J. Int’l Emtl. L. & Pol’y*, 5 (1994), 149. For more details of the land tensions in Laikipia since 2016 see Anonymous, ‘Cattle Barons: Political Violence, Land Invasions and Forced Displacement in Kenya’s Laikipia County’, *The Conservation Imperative*, 2017; Brock Bersaglio, ‘Green Grabbing and the Contested Nature of Belonging in Laikipia, Kenya: A Genealogy’, 2017; Graham R. Fox, ‘The 2017 Shooting of Kuki Gallmann and the Politics of Conservation in Northern Kenya’, *African Studies Review*, 2018, 1–27.

<sup>533</sup> Mark Bhatti and others, “‘I Love Being in the Garden’”: Enchanting Encounters in Everyday Life’, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10.1 (2009), 61–76.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid.

<sup>535</sup> Hirsch, ‘Nostalgia’. This reverie, being taken back to an ultimately lost place of childhood, fits in with an older historiography which looked at the ‘death’ of rural life in Britain and the ways authors remember the ‘timeless’ rural existence of their childhood which vanishes as they age, although the strength of the affective bond to that sense of place is not lost see Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), CDXXIII. Chapter two *A Problem of Perspective*.

is echoed within white recollections. In McIntosh's study of white Kenyans, she identifies an unnamed young man, I will call Stephen, returning to Nairobi from university in the UK. He said that 'England never felt like home. The smells and colours and the landscapes here are so much more vivid; it's like I feel more alive when I'm walking around.'<sup>536</sup> His sense of contentedness on return to Kenya was shaped by the intensity and variety of sensory stimuli, and the affective response it fosters within him, a process which affirms his sense that Kenya was home. His sensorial experience of return was inextricably linked to his memories of Kenya before leaving and his childhood of freedom and exploration of the natural environment.<sup>537</sup> Importantly he now had the juxtaposition of the 'other home' and cultural reference point, the UK, to contrast to the 'vivid' Kenya of his memory. This echoes Buettner's arguments about Anglo-Indians 'returning' to the UK and feeling their connection to the Raj all the more strongly once they had experienced the dull sensory experience of the 'sooty' and 'grey' home country.<sup>538</sup>

Stephen was not the only postcolonial white to draw direct comparisons to the UK. Charles Drake, a white Zambian farmer just outside Lusaka, mobilised sensory knowledge in a similar way when he remembered visiting the UK for the first time in 1967. He remembered the strange fashion, the odd food and the bizarre habit of only washing once a week, but what really struck him was stepping off the plane when he arrived back in Lusaka, 'you take a deep breath, even with all the fumes, the air is different is here. And you suddenly realise you are home. And it's lovely.'<sup>539</sup> Charles' connection to Zambia, his sense of being at home, was given life through smell. The smell he

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<sup>536</sup> Janet McIntosh, 'Land, Belonging and Structural Oblivion among Contemporary White Kenyans', p. 672.

<sup>537</sup> Ibid, p.672.

<sup>538</sup> Buettner, *Empire Families*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>539</sup> Charles Drake, ZI035. For a similar argument see Fuller, *Don't Lets Go*, p. 133.

associated with Africa and the memories they invoked, enhanced by humidity and warmth, were what rushed into the aircraft and told him he was home.

Whites in Africa have contested and multiple senses of identity. Rationally they know their 'heritage' is European and their rights of citizenship and residency in Africa are tenuous. However emotionally they feel home is Africa due to their sensory associations. This type of belonging has been fostered through childhood memories, which are then invoked in periods of reverie brought on by, and then further romanticising, the sensorial experience of Africa. Even when this sensorial belonging has enmeshed with a political agenda such as continued ownership of land, the intensity of the sensorial experience has often transcended conscious manipulation of olfactory language for political ends; it has become an inseparable part of postcolonial white consciousness in itself.

*Birdsong: rural tranquillity and reverie*

It was not only olfactory stimuli which forged postcolonial whites' connections to places. The evocative sounds of rural Africa, enhanced by the background 'peacefulness' of the countryside, also formed part of a sonic 'memoryscape'.<sup>540</sup> These evocative sounds could be the memory of the sound of rain on a tin roof creating 'a noise like thunder' whilst lying in bed, or the sounds of animals, particularly birds around the house.<sup>541</sup> This drew a direct contrast between the idea of 'pristine nature', the sensory and emotional strains of everyday life and the polluting modernity of African cities. In March 1967, Edith Clayson, a female white farmer in Zambia, noted in her diary how she revelled in 'a lovely quiet day, sitting under fig trees, watching birds and embroidering. Very

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<sup>540</sup> Toby Butler, "'Memoryscape': Integrating Oral History, Memory and Landscape on the River Thames" (New York: Springer, 2009), pp. 223–239.

<sup>541</sup> Acton Richard, 'A Colonial Childhood: Coming of Age in Rhodesia', *The North American Review*, 275.2 (1990), 9–14.

relaxed.<sup>542</sup> It was within the quiet, secluded place under the fig trees on her farm that Edith could take time away from what she described as a stressful day-to-day existence on her noisy and busy farm; of staff problems, rabid dogs, lame cows and predatory game. It was the proximity to a peaceful form of nature, juxtaposed to the predators and diseases she lamented, which allowed Edith to take the time to watch birds and embroider. Compared to the usual stresses and anxieties of farming in Zambia, which she describes in detail in her diaries and correspondence, it was these moments of aural and emotional peace which reaffirmed her family's decision to stay in Zambia beyond independence.

A special place was reserved within such recollections for the sound of birds. Vince Fish, who expressed his profound discomfort in central Lusaka in Chapter Two, described the 'enormous pleasure I get every single day when I'm sitting down, and can look at out at the bush, hear the birds and little animals – its magic. That's going to be hard to leave. You can't find it in other countries.'<sup>543</sup> Vince's emphasis on the fact he took time every day to sit down and listen to the birds surrounding his house, was the rationalization for his continued place in the country. Whites allowing time for this sort of reverie has become explicitly linked to a rationalization of their continued residence in Kenya and Zambia. In Nanyuki Reginald Barker expressed similar views; 'If I go to the UK then three weeks is enough. I miss the whole thing [Kenya]. I'll do the pub grub [in the UK], I'll do all the best things and see the family, but after three weeks I think no. I need to go to the game parks and watch the birds.'<sup>544</sup> Reginald's time to enjoy the birds was what reassured him of the decision not to move to the UK to be with family, despite his claim that 'there is very little in Kenya which is actually profitable. We've only got

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<sup>542</sup> ZNA, HM/83/2, Diaries, 11/3/67.

<sup>543</sup> Vince Fish, ZI024.

<sup>544</sup> Reginald Barker, KI058.

agriculture and the game world. We've got tremendous problems here.<sup>545</sup> During the research dialogue, Reginald and his partner Ruth, discussed the birds in the garden, feeding them from plates whilst we sat on the verandah eating lunch. For both participants birds were a visceral link to Kenya; an embodiment of their rationalization for remaining in the country, whose physical and aural presence transported them away from contemporary concerns.

Similarly, Mark Benson, made almost deaf by years of hunting 'big game' without ear defenders, claimed the sound of the birds in the trees around his home on Lake Naivasha penetrated his deafness, whilst the human voices around him faded away, something he considered a pleasure rather than concern.<sup>546</sup> Mark's enjoyment in sitting by the lakeside and hearing nothing but the birds strikes at more than one elderly man's flight of fancy. It elucidates wider traits within postcolonial white groups in Kenya and Zambia who have developed intimate, emotive links between themselves, specific places and species as a means of finding comfort in an otherwise potentially uncomfortable and uncertain postcolonial environment. These intimate links were remembered and (re)experienced through spending time in spaces of comfort – the verandah, the garden, the car – and allowing themselves to be lost to reverie.

*"Eating with Kaffirs": Childhood, food and memory*

Eating and taste were also key material and sensory experiences which linked whites to their childhood, an imagined non-racial past and potentially uncomfortable present. Food and eating took on a particularly sharp temporal aspect as the relationship between whites, food and Africans shifted through time, specifically as white children aged and their ideas, and communal ideas of appropriate behaviour with food and

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<sup>545</sup> Ibid

<sup>546</sup> Mark Benson, KI043.

Africans changed. Eating food in a 'white way' was a mark of maturity and civilised adulthood. Whilst the culinary rules governing white children could be all together more relaxed. As a result, the ageing process, and specifically evocative childhood memories connected to the convivial social aspects of sharing food, and the physical experience of eating different foodstuffs, played important roles in self-identification.

Memories also formed part of the emotional work required to mitigate postcolonial psychological discomfort. A discussion on the Northern Rhodesia/Zambia Facebook group in October 2018 over the childhood memories of eating mangoes; the taste, the fibrous texture and the injuries and sores from acquiring the fruit, were all pored over, as a means of remembering childhoods in Mufulira, Livingstone and Lusaka (see Figure 2).<sup>547</sup> The members of the group involved in the sharing of memories drew comparisons with the poor quality, insipid tasting mangoes found in the UK, Queensland and France, whilst those who had remained in the country sent in photos of their recent harvests and planted mango trees. By engaging with these memories of collective culinary experiences, shared memories of a nostalgic childhood in Northern Rhodesia were relived. This was in contrast to the tense racial politics and concerns about the physical and psychological loss of their remembered 'Africa' which featured so regularly in comments.

A key part of these nostalgic memories were the intimate and affectionate relationships which white children developed with African domestic staff. Rose Heesom remembered her childhood in 1960s Broken Hill and how her younger siblings, Barbara and John, ate with their domestic staff, Simon and Lucy.

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<sup>547</sup> Northern Rhodesia & Zambia Group, or (the NRZ) October 29<sup>th</sup> 2018, available at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/nrzo/nr/10155690348626817/>, (accessed on 22/5/19). The original post was concerning a particular type of 'carrot mango' which subsequently received 265 comments.



We absolutely loved Simon and Lucy and their family, and they appeared to love us just as much. They were part of our family. Simon taught Barbara to eat 'sadza' [*nshima*] and I still remember her as a tiny toddler sitting on the kitchen table eating it with her hands, just the way Africans did. Lucy taught John to fry and eat flying ants. I never did get a taste for either!<sup>548</sup>

Rose's memory of the affection between her, her siblings and their domestic staff is intimately tied up with food, both its taste and the process of eating. She invoked the trope of Africans' childlike nature, insinuating that her little sister eating *nshima* with her hands, 'just the way Africans did', and cooking 'over the little wood fire' was acceptable, even appropriate, as she was a child.<sup>549</sup> Rose's more senior age marked her out as unable to enjoy the 'African food' of *nshima* and flying ants which her younger siblings did. This highlights the productive double meaning of taste. Rose could not develop a taste for *nshima* and flying ants, she did not like the actual sensation of eating it, which was also inseparable from her aesthetic distaste for it. Thus, her dislike of African food was posited as a sign of her maturity. Her younger siblings' taste for the food was less important, as was their racial transgression in taking part in the convivial culinary experience with their African domestic staff. Although Rose positioned herself socially as separate from these experiences, the clear enjoyment she got from the memories, and the idealised nature of her relationship with Simon and Lucy strikes at the importance of memory being used selectively to diminish problematic or uncomfortable aspects of the past.

Shared inter-racial experiences with food were not limited to domestic staff. Mik Wright remembered living out near Ndola Airport in 1950s Zambia.

My brother and I got to know and play with the black kids our age, we ran around the bush all day. We learned how to catch rats [...] When

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<sup>548</sup> Quoted in Pamela Shurmer-Smith, *Remnants of Empire. Memory and Northern Rhodesia's White Diaspora* (Lusaka: Gadsden Publishers, 2015), p. 65. For similar experiences see James Barton ZI007, Clive James ZI004 and Brendon Lang ZI042. *Sadzza* is the Zimbabwean name for *nshima*.

<sup>549</sup> The idea of African's 'childlike' eating habits can be seen in the white South African term for ugali, 'pap', a synonym for baby food. Similarly, in Kenya whites make much of black Kenyans apparent 'childlike' love of sugar.

we had enough, we would take them to one of the kid's *kias* [sic] and their mother would them cook them up for us to eat [...] This all eaten with a scoop of *sadzza* [nshima] with our hands. My Mom was always mad at us when we came home too full to eat her dinner, having eaten with “the kaffirs”. My good friends. I missed them when we moved into the town.<sup>550</sup>

Mik's memory of hunting and cooking with African friends demonstrates how white children could transgress the spatial and psychological boundaries of colonialism. The rats that Mik described were most likely cane rats – a different species from *rattus rattus* – a larger, commonly eaten form of ‘bush meat’, although this distinction may well have been lost on many whites, and assumptions of Africans ‘uncivilised’ eating habits given further credence through the eating of rodents. Mik's memory serves to demonstrate just *how* integrated he and his brother were. They not only took part in these activities but relished them. The importance of emphasising eating *nshima*, and with hands, just as Rose did, was to demonstrate the extent of their ‘Africanness’. Their mother's displeasure at her children “eating with Kaffirs” but her inability to prevent, or tacit acceptance, of such activities points toward how notions of childhood and maturity could allow for such racial transgressions to take place. Mik finished in a wistful moment of considering how he lost touch with his African ‘friends’. The fact that his behaviour was acceptable out in ‘the bush’ but was not when they moved ‘into the town’, demonstrates the contextual realities of different spaces. Whilst the transgressive behaviour of eating with Africans could escape a more public white gaze when in the countryside, such behaviour within the more examined environment of the urban Copperbelt, would have brought embarrassment, if not censure, to the family.

A reversal of Mik's situation, in which his African friends came to his home to eat ‘white’ food would have been unthinkable. Brendon Lang, a white farmer in

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<sup>550</sup> Shurmer-Smith, *Remnants*, p. 95.

Mazabuka, 450-kilometres south of Mik's childhood home outside Ndola, remembered a similar experience of hunting with his brother and the African children of farm workers.

We would take pellet guns and go with the [black] guys... we'd all take turns who cooked, who caught and who was next to eat it. It was all pretty fair. When we went home and that, the workers' kids didn't come into the house, that's where it sort of stopped.<sup>551</sup>

Whilst Brendon took part in the more 'African' culinary social arrangement; of turns being taken around a central pot of communal food when out in the farm, the spatial boundary of the white home was the physical limit of these interracial childhood friendships. African children sitting at a table in a white home, using cutlery, being served by African staff and eating the same food as white children, would have represented an open challenge to racial hierarchies. White children could cross these culinary and spatial boundaries due to the racialised power structures underpinning their childhood relationships. African children were rarely given the opportunity to see how whites ate.

A counterpoint to this prevailing trend was the Barton family of remote North-West Zambia (see Figure 2). James Barton had similar fond memories of 'hunting, fishing and swimming' with African friends around the farm, just as Brendon did, and both placed a great importance on these childhood experiences. Although James was cognisant of white norms, he had a different experience with his parents.

"Africans are different from us, they don't eat the same, look how messy they are". They are the prejudices which have come from childhood [...] My parents were the most balanced. My [African] friends could come into the house, I could eat with them at home. They could have a glass of juice, we'd make manioc mush together, there wasn't a problem.<sup>552</sup>

James' memory of his parents' level of 'balance' was directly linked to their willingness to let his African friends eat in the house. They also cooked the local food

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<sup>551</sup> Brendon Lang, ZI042.

<sup>552</sup> James Barton, ZI007.

within the house, ‘manioc mush’ referring to the *nshima* produced in the more tropical north-west of the country where maize is replaced with manioc/cassava. *Nshima* made from manioc is distinctively sticky to prepare and eat and can only effectively be eaten with the hands. The fact that this distinctive staple was eaten in James’ home provided common ground between him and his black friends. Whilst the context of the white home differed from eating with friends in the bush or ‘compound’, their tastes were the same.

James recognised the exceptionality of his parents’ behaviour, and his culinary experiences, after attending school in Rhodesia in the 1970s and hearing the visceral racism of other white boys which his upbringing in rural Zambia had hidden from him. Similarly, his retrospection that prejudices around African difference, particularly in regard to differences around food, have come from childhood also point to his experiences in Southern Rhodesian schools, in which he was bullied and called ‘Kaffir lover’ for protesting about the use of racist language.<sup>553</sup> James’ views were shaped by his experiences as an ‘exceptional’ white who spoke ChiLunda fluently and moved back to his remote family home after rejecting the ‘white enclaves’ of Kabwe and Mkushi. He defined himself against white ‘colonial’ society by arguing; ‘you have a choice. If you are brought up with colonialism you either accept it or jump ship – if you don’t have a strong upbringing you just accept the racism and colonialism and become part of it.’<sup>554</sup> Although James was an outlier, his thoughts demonstrate the interplay of racial politics and food which shaped the intimacy of interracial childhood friendships around independence, and in the decades after. The decisions made by parents regarding the limits of their children’s friendships with Africans was played out over the white dinner table. James’ early experience of his parents welcoming his black friends into the home to share food was

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<sup>553</sup> For similar experiences of schooling affirming racial difference through eating habits see Fuller, *Don't Let's Go*, pp. 150–51.

<sup>554</sup> James Barton, ZI007.

formative in his shaping his anti-colonial consciousness. Who ate what, with whom and where were important in the decolonising societies of Kenya and Zambia; it helped draw boundaries of affect and shaped white ideas of self.

As whites aged in Kenya and Zambia they lost the freedom of being able to interact with Africans as they did when they were young.<sup>555</sup> After secondary schooling white teenagers having intimate, bonding relationship with African staff and their children, 'dies out' as Reginald, the bird-loving engineer introduced earlier, described it.<sup>556</sup> This 'loss of innocence' and growing racial awareness in the teenage years was described by Brendon Lang as being due to economic difference and material opportunity, as white children started riding, attending expensive schools and meeting new white friends.<sup>557</sup> The physical removal of white children to largely white, if not solely white, boarding

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<sup>555</sup> Francis Church, ZI019. For others explaining the loss of freedom since childhood see interviews with James Barton ZI007, Melvin Nowak ZI014, Dom Walker KI057, Deidre Walton KI062, Mark Benson KI043

<sup>556</sup> Reginald Barker, KI058.

<sup>557</sup> Brendon Lang, ZI042.

schools often outside of the country played an important role in establishing notions of the white self as distinct from African ‘others’ (see Figure 4).



**Figure 4:** Pembroke School photo, Gilgil, Kenya c.1950s

Isabel Jenkins, the young women so moved by the poverty of Durban, remembered coming back home to Kitwe from boarding school in South Africa in 1969.

My brother, who was about six years old, was running around playing with three or four African boys, all talking [Chi]Bemba and having the time of their lives. All the kids, my brother included, were filthy, just in shorts, no shoes, and as happy as anything. My brother wanted to show us where his friends lived, so took my sister and I around the back of the garage to the *khaya* [...] All of the family were living in the one room. There was a fireplace with fire lit outside, with a pot on it

cooking *putu* [maize meal]. There was lots of smoke everywhere from the fire. We felt terribly embarrassed.<sup>558</sup>

Isabel's sense of propriety was shocked by the ease of her brother with the African children, his fluency in ChiBemba and his involvement in the intimate domesticity of preparing and eating food. Whilst her younger brother was evidently unbothered by the living and cooking conditions of his friends, Isabel conveyed not only a slight sense of disgust, but also embarrassment. These more self-aware 'adult' emotions, as opposed to the happiness and contentedness of her younger brother, fed into the sense of loss felt by whites as they aged. The childlike state of reverie was lost as racial awareness and 'becoming part of the colonial racial system,' as James Barton termed it, placed a greater emphasis upon performing whiteness through aloofness, rationalism and superiority. One way in which this performance could most effectively be carried out was by whites withdrawing from the intimate conviviality associated with eating with Africans, and ultimately remove the danger of developing the same, 'African' tastes.<sup>559</sup>

### ***Conclusion***

White identities in Kenya and Zambia were shaped by decolonisation and the particularities of the failed settler colonial projects, but they have been experienced through the senses. Each sense in this history cannot be atomised, as taken together they have formed a rich sensory experience for whites. White ideas of the senses were constructed by the long and fraught history of sensory discourse being used to justify and reinforce racial hierarchies. It is this lingering history which has meant that the senses have been used to support enduring claims to separateness from Africans, whilst also

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<sup>558</sup> Isabel Jenkins, ZI077.

<sup>559</sup> For examples of adult whites explaining the awkwardness of eating with Africans see Mark Benson KI043, Joyce Campbell ZI051, Sharon Mintram KI005, Keith Clarke ZI059.

paradoxically helping to explain and rationalise whites' corporeal claim to knowledge of Africa and resulting validity within the continent.

A central feature of this sensory experience of Africa has been the importance of childhood memory and reverie in shaping white identities and belonging. Childhood has been nostalgically remembered as the most sensorially vivid period of whites' lives, a time of unparalleled freedom, excitement and enjoyment. These memories are sustained and sharpened by their sensory richness, nourished by continued sensory recall through their adult lives. For example, 'the smell of the rain', 'the taste and feel of *nshima*', 'the sound of the birds' are all evocative recalls to a childhood which is continually re-experienced. Gaston Bachelard, the most important philosopher of reverie, stressed how flashes of recall through sensory stimuli allow for reveries *toward* childhood which 'nourish the person in the second half of life. One feels a sort of redoubling of reverie late in life when he tries to bring the reveries of childhood back to life'<sup>560</sup> The combining of memory and reverie restores, but to do so the past must first be beautified, as he argues 'even our tragic episodes are reconsidered, reconstructed, through the lens of distant memory. Once any past traumas are dealt with, older people are able to recall the amazement of having once been new to the world.'<sup>561</sup>

Taking Bachelard's arguments further I would suggest that whites' use of reverie, stimulated through sensory memories, are an attempt at alleviating the 'unsettledness' of the postcolonial white condition. By escaping to a dreamlike African childhood, the discomfort and anxiety of the inescapable conspicuousness of whiteness are lessened. By retreating to memories of 'non-racial' idyllic childhoods, the adult reality of manifest

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<sup>560</sup> Bachelard, *Reverie*, p. 102. See Ann.E Michael's conceptualisation of Bachelard in <https://annemichael.wordpress.com/2012/05/21/reveries-toward-childhood/>.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid, p.128.



racialised hierarchy, lived through the omnipresence of domestic staff, can be blurred (if



**Figure 5:** Unknown children playing in 1950s Northern Rhodesia

only temporarily) and a white denial of racism can be claimed. Figure 5 was taken from a Facebook post in March 2017 on the Northern Rhodesia/Zambia group, it encapsulates the retreat into reverie which childhood recollections represent for many whites. It is instructive that the photo shows a white and black child sharing food, one of the most evocative memories which this chapter has sought to bring forward. The post generated a lot of interest, as other whites who grew up in Northern Rhodesia reminisced about the sharing of food, the taste of mangoes, the ‘smell of the bush’ and the sound of birdsong.<sup>562</sup> In these recollections the simplicity and purity of childhood was positioned

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<sup>562</sup> The original post and comments were taken from Northern Rhodesia & Zambia Group, or (the NRZ), October 20<sup>th</sup> 2017, available at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/nrzofnr/permalink/10154245716651817/>, (accessed on 22/5/19).

in contrast to the racialized experiences of adulthood. The invocation of memories in response to this Facebook post are as much a commentary on the past sixty-one years of southern African history as they are on the actual memories of people. They wrote about racial harmony in the 1950s, not as a fact, which it clearly was not, but as a means of trying to understand the decline in their own standing, and their sense of worsening racial relations, over the past sixty years; from undisputed colonial elites to feeling like marginalised targets. Thus, the sensory reveries of whites are not *just* reverie, but part of a wider strategy, of not only belonging, but rationalisation and cognitive rebalancing, in which connections to Africa and Africans are lived through beautified memories rather than engaging with the more fraught, complex race relations of the present.

By remembering the past in these ways, whites are also in a sense reinventing - by constructing the past in the present they are rethinking both what happened, and how it is interpreted. Taking direction from Pierre Nora's work on monumentalisation and the gap between memory and history, the use of nostalgic sensory memories to build 'the past' of postcolonial whites can also be seen as a project in identity construction.<sup>563</sup> As whites struggle to piece together a coherent identity in postcolonial Kenya and Zambia, sensory childhood experiences can fill in as 'sites of memory', which unite whites through the homogenised experience of a memory, and at the same time make invisible other experiences and histories.

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<sup>563</sup> Nora, 'Between Memory and History'.

## **CHAPTER FOUR – LANGUAGE, EMPATHY AND INTEGRATION**

### ***Introduction***

If you're going to get into someone's home and someone's head, you'll have to learn their language.<sup>564</sup>

The words of James Barton, a white farmer and hunter fluent in the local vernacular of north-west Zambia, stayed with me as I travelled through Kenya and Zambia, conversing with everyone in English about the importance of language and understanding. James argued for the importance of accessing peoples' intimate social worlds and developing empathy for people, two things which he saw as essential for white integration, but severely lacking amongst his white compatriots.

Empathy here is defined as 'the ability to understand and share the feelings of another.'<sup>565</sup> Brett Shadle's argument that settlers in colonial Kenya felt the need to teach empathy to Africans, particularly in regard to animals, demonstrated how whites viewed themselves as particularly empathetic and used this to bolster arguments for white custodianship of land.<sup>566</sup> However white empathy for black Africans, as full and equal humans who are not exclusively defined by their employment, has been limited. That being said, interracial empathy contains within it power dynamics, as observed by North American cultural theorists Alisha Gains and Bell Hooks, who have viewed white empathy for people of colour as a potentially invasive, continued exoticization of the 'other' which re-inscribes the status quo.<sup>567</sup> However, in the contexts of postcolonial

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<sup>564</sup> James Barton, ZI007.

<sup>565</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/empathy> - accessed 20/07/18.

<sup>566</sup> Brett L. Shadle, 'Cruelty and Empathy, Animals and Race, in Colonial Kenya', *Journal of Social History*, 45.4 (2012), 1097–1116.

<sup>567</sup> Bell Hooks, 'Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance', in *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords*, ed. by Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M Kellner (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), pp. 308–18 (p. 308). Taken from Alisha Gains, *Black for a Day: White Fantasies of Race and Empathy* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 2017), p. 8.

Kenya and Zambia, where whites continue to live very different lives to their black compatriots, empathy could be a means of fostering a degree of understanding which breached the psychological silos whites have tried to construct to rationalise their material and racial privilege.

James' argument was not only an altruistic one. He considered the long-term position of whites in Africa to be based upon the ability to integrate, with the catalyst to this being learning African languages. One of the most common ways in which whites asserted their claim to an African identity was in speaking one or more African languages, as David Gough has demonstrated for the white farmers of the Eastern Cape in South Africa.<sup>568</sup> Language learning was an essential means to achieving integration, though the nature of this integration remains contested. R.H.Kaschula's study of the use of Xhosa by white farmers in the Cape pointed toward how whites' use of African languages co-existed with a continual othering of black Africans and precluded the development of empathetic relations.<sup>569</sup>

Fluency in language does not automatically generate understanding. The slipperiness of words, intonation and tone are indicative of its difficulties. In Kenya and Zambia, whites' use of African languages has rarely achieved mutual understanding with Africans. Rather, whites have used language to stress their commitment to, and place within, the new nation. These performative linguistic exercises have also been used in attempts to build empathy. Yet colonial-era language has also been reconfigured to cement existing racial divisions, as rising African prosperity and the tenuous nature of

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<sup>568</sup> David Gough, 'The English of White Eastern Cape Farmers in South Africa', *World Englishes*, 15.3 (1996), 257–265.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid. It is worth noting that in South African history a large number of whites have become fluent in African languages, mostly Xhosa and Zulu, without desiring or achieving integration. See R. H. Kaschula, 'Cross-Cultural Communication in a North-Eastern Cape Farming Community', *South African Journal of African Languages*, 9.3 (1989), 100–104; Rajend Mesthrie, *Language in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 2.

white belonging threatened to destabilise colonial hierarchies. This paradoxical use of language helps illuminate lingering colonial mentalities, levels of integration and ultimately the traction of white claims to African identity.

Communication is not simply a matter of linguistics but also of identity and power.<sup>570</sup> This has been highlighted in white lives since the decolonisation era. Language became a means through which whites sought to understand and control aspects of their lives, in the face of economic and political change. The work language did within whites' intimate lives – at home, school and work – was central to the processes of postcolonial identity formation. However these processes, and the language upon which they relied, shaped African perceptions of whites, particularly within on-going political debates regarding white citizenship and land ownership. The lack of African language learning and the continual use of phrases such as *muntu* and *watu* demonstrates the retention of colonial era slang. This disregard for vernacular languages, demonstrated in their pejorative use, marked whites out as unreconstructed, privileged outsiders who had not understood the reality of social change since independence.<sup>571</sup> Conversely, knowledge of African vernaculars and close attention to use of derogatory language could strengthen white claims to an understanding of wider society.

Language is approached in this chapter through three principal avenues: the history of colonial pidgin languages, whites' knowledge and use of African vernacular languages, and the use of slang. The continued presence of colonial pidgins in postcolonial Africa

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<sup>570</sup> Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1992); Emma Hunter, 'Language, Empire and the World: Karl Roehl and the History of the Swahili Bible in East Africa', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41.4 (2013), 600–616; P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); Elizabeth De Kadt, 'Language, Power, and Emancipation in South Africa', *World Englishes*, 12.2 (1993), 157–168.

<sup>571</sup> *Muntu* is the generic word within Bantu languages for a person and *watu* means people within Kiswahili. The particular ways in which these words have been used by whites will be further explained later in the chapter.

has not previously been the subject of sustained analysis and this chapter seeks to demonstrate how their continued usage uncovers lingering notions of racial hierarchy inherent within postcolonial white identity and the role of language in entrenching difference. Janet McIntosh has argued that in Kenya today white Kenyans' use of Kiswahili is part of a 'linguistic atonement' to stress an engagement with Kenya, and Kenyans, on African terms.<sup>572</sup> Brett Shadle has similarly engaged with the use of Kiswahili slang and pidgin 'kitchen Swahili' in order to emphasise a sense of being 'colonial' within prescribed spaces.<sup>573</sup> This chapter moves beyond the confines of Kenya to the putatively non-settler context of Northern Rhodesia, thereby comparing how language has articulated white identity in both settler and non-settler contexts. The concept of linguistic atonement will be nuanced to consider the case of Zambia, which did not have a *lingua franca* like Kiswahili, but instead had a greater white knowledge of indigenous local vernaculars. Whites' use of these vernaculars will be shown to be highly emotive but also selective, as language is mobilised as part of a repertoire of linguistic 'othering' techniques.

White slang in these contexts has thus far escaped historical or anthropological investigation. A close analysis of slang is used here to raise questions about the decolonisation of language, positing slang as a prism through which to view white mentality and the often-fraught engagement between whites and African society. This chapter aims to address which languages are spoken and how, thereby advancing the idea that despite white claims to the racially unifying nature of shared language, this has been

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<sup>572</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, p. 152.

<sup>573</sup> This reference to Shadle is taken from McIntosh, *Unsettled*, p. 155., in which she discusses correspondence with him. Kennedy also discusses 'kitchen kaffir' in Kennedy, *Islands*, p. 157.

a contested field in which both the colonial and African dimensions of white identities have been consolidated.<sup>574</sup>

### ***Pidgin languages in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia/Zambia***

#### *Chilapalapa and Ki-settler*

Language holds a particular place within the historiography of colonial east and southern Africa. Clifton Crais has demonstrated how the use of English became a key part of spreading British control over the Xhosa in South Africa. Sir Harry Smith, an early Governor of western Xhosaland, announced to Xhosa chiefs in the 1930s that ‘your land ... shall be divided into towns, counties and villages, bearing English names. You shall all learn to speak English at schools which I shall establish for you... You may no longer be naked and wicked barbarians.’<sup>575</sup> Smith sought to both reorganize space and language as a means to spreading British control and ‘civilizing’ the Xhosa. The Comaroffs and Patrick Harries have demonstrated how missionary interventions into African cultural practices were principally through linguistic means. Harries argued that missionaries viewed language tuition as a means of creating a shared mode of thought between Africans and Europeans.<sup>576</sup> Thus the use of the Bible and the teaching of European languages, particularly through the use of dictionaries as Derek Peterson has shown, codified which languages were suitable for discourse, education and ‘advancement’ in the colonial system.<sup>577</sup> The Comaroffs have argued that ‘it was language in short that provided the fixed categories through which an amorphous cultural landscape became subject to

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<sup>574</sup> Susan Fitzmaurice, ‘Ideology, Race and Place in Historical Constructions of Belonging: The Case of Zimbabwe’, *English Language & Linguistics*, 19.2 (2015), 327–354.

<sup>575</sup> Clifton C. Crais, *The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992), LXXII, pp. 144–45.

<sup>576</sup> Patrick Harries, ‘The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South-East Africa’, *African Affairs*, 87.346 (1988), 25–52 (p. 39).

<sup>577</sup> Derek Peterson, ‘Colonizing Language? Missionaries and Gikuyu Dictionaries, 1904 and 1914’, *History in Africa*, 24 (1997), 257–272.

European control.<sup>578</sup> It is clear that language was a key pillar of the ‘civilising mission’. This chapter seeks to move beyond a focus upon the colonial state and missionary interventions to instead question the nature of the colonisers’ use of language after independence and to consider how decolonisation has reconfigured the power of language.

The importance of language as a means of communicating both words and power was central to the white settlers of Eastern and Southern Africa. However, unlike the missionaries and the colonial state, settlers had a practical need to communicate with Africans, whilst still demonstrating white difference and superiority. This prompted the use of pidgin languages which enabled limited communication whilst also excluding Africans from conversing with whites in English. Settlers were aware that language could create equalities and also disrupt borders and hierarchies. Alison Shutt has demonstrated how settlers in Southern Rhodesia sought to regulate Africans use of language to fit within the prescribed boundaries of proper behaviour, and thereby reinforce colonial hierarchies.<sup>579</sup> If Africans transgressed such boundaries the prospect of violence was ever present.<sup>580</sup>

In Kenya a pidgin form of the coastal Kiswahili language was developed called Ki-Settler.<sup>581</sup> In Southern Africa a similar linguistic construct emerged from the mines of South Africa, with the varying names of ‘Kitchen Kaffir’, ‘Fanagalo/Fanakalo’ and ‘Chikabanga/Chilapalapa’, reflecting the varied contexts and countries in which pidgin

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<sup>578</sup> Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), I, p. 222.

<sup>579</sup> Shutt, *Manners*, p. 85.

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid*, p. 85; Shadle, *Souls*, p. 75.

<sup>581</sup> Kennedy, *Islands*, pp. 156–58.



has had a presence across Southern Africa.<sup>582</sup> As with Ki-Settler, Chilapalapa lacked standard grammar or vocabulary, borrowing originally from English, Afrikaans and isiZulu, before taking on elements of ChiShona, ChiBemba and ChiNyanja as it moved north into the Rhodesias with the spread, and return, of African migrant mineworkers.<sup>583</sup> The links between migrant workers and the spread of Chilapalapa was remarked on by an elderly white settler in Choma:

The older people [whites] speak a lingua franca called Chilapalapa, or Kitchen Kaffir. It was developed in the mines in South Africa. Most of the old [white] people who came here learnt that, because the old Africans also spoke that.<sup>584</sup>

The sole academic study of Chilapalapa by Ralph Adendorff emphasises how the language enabled settlers to communicate with Africans, whilst never shedding its negative connotations as a language of work, instruction and asymmetrical racialised power relations.<sup>585</sup>

These pidgin languages restricted interracial intimacy by preventing anything but conversation on the ‘most commonplace subject.’<sup>586</sup> These were languages designed for orders, not for settlers to ‘understand *their* point of view’, as prominent Kenyan settler Arnold Paice lamented.<sup>587</sup> Rather than foster empathy, pidgin languages injected a ‘steady stream of misunderstanding and vexation into the struggle to communicate [and] actively

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<sup>582</sup> For the anecdotal history of Chilapalapa see interviews with Clive James ZI007, Brenda Coogan ZI015. Kennedy mentions ‘kitchen kaffir’ in Kennedy, *Islands*, pp. 141 and 157–59. Adendorff, Ralph, ‘Fanakalo: A Pidgin in South Africa’, in *Language in South Africa* ed. by Rajend Mesthrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 179–198 (p. 188).

<sup>583</sup> Chilapalapa will be the term used to describe this pidgin due to the prevalence of this particular term in Zambia. Adendorff, ‘Fanakalo’, pp. 192–94. For the history of African migration around southern Africa in this period see Zoe Groves, ‘Transnational Networks and Regional Solidarity: The Case of the Central African Federation, 1953–1963’, *African Studies*, 72.2 (2013), 155–175; Zoë Groves, ‘Urban Migrants and Religious Networks: Malawians in Colonial Salisbury, 1920 to 1970’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38.3 (2012), 491–511.

<sup>584</sup> Clive James, ZI004.

<sup>585</sup> Adendorff, ‘Fanakalo’, pp. 179–81.

<sup>586</sup> Kennedy, *Islands*, p. 157.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid*, p.158

accentuated the rift between the two races.<sup>588</sup> If whites could not fully comprehend what their black employees were saying, how could they empathise with their experiences and emotional states?

As the colonial period wore on, it was the 'civilised African' in European dress, Christianised and speaking English who threatened to bridge this rift and with it settler ideas of superiority.<sup>589</sup> Central to maintaining the racial rift was the withholding of English as a means of communication, favouring the clumsy language of Ki-Settler. The power dynamic behind speaking in certain languages was described by JM Kariuki, a Kenyan nationalist politician, in 1963: 'Many Europeans refused to talk to educated Africans in any language but their deplorably bad Swahili.'<sup>590</sup> By refusing to speak English, Europeans were performing the hierarchy upon which colonialism rested; English was for the civilised whites and bastardised Kiswahili (Ki-Settler) was for the African to communicate with their white superiors.

Kariuki's observation is significant. In the year that Kenya gained independence, settlers' use of language was a point of contention. This chapter suggests that within the context of Kenyan and Zambian decolonisation, language became an arena in which the race relations of the new majority-ruled state became reconfigured. Brett Shadle has argued that in the 1920s settlers and Africans did not speak the same language, literally or figuratively, and instead turned to violence as the colonial *lingua franca*.<sup>591</sup> However, at independence settler violence was invalidated and many settlers and Africans *did* speak

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<sup>588</sup> Ibid, p.160.

<sup>589</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 34. For mimicry to subvert colonial power structures see Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', *October*, 28 (1984), 125–133. For mimicry as an African means to survive repressive colonial regimes see James G. Ferguson, 'Of Mimicry and Membership: Africans and the "New World Society"', *Cultural Anthropology*, 17.4 (2002), 551–569 (p. 552).

<sup>590</sup> Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, *Mau Mau Detainee: The Account by a Kenya African of His Experiences in Detention Camps, 1953-60* (London: Penguin Books, 1964), pp. 41–49.

<sup>591</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, p. 118.

the same language, be it English, Kiswahili or a pidgin. This early postcolonial period is particularly interesting for the ways in which language changed through decolonisation. Interracial communication grew in some areas, as black Kenyans and Zambians took on positions of economic and political influence, particularly within the fields of banking and government departments upon which white farmers and businessmen relied.<sup>592</sup> Yet in domestic and social areas communication was far slower to decolonise.

*Postcolonial Chilapalapa and Kiswahili*

If pidgin languages intensified the antipathies of race and secured symbolic racial boundaries during the colonial period, it is through these languages and white slang that the permeability of postcolonial racial boundaries can be understood.<sup>593</sup> In Kenya and Zambia independence diminished white confidence in both their material position and their sense of self. Colonial language was moderated to guard against allegations of racism yet simultaneously re-emerged to affirm white identities. Duncan Smith, a white Zambian farmer in his eighties based in Choma discussed Chilapalapa during an extended research dialogue on his farm.

In my young days, very few Africans spoke English. The average Africans spoke what we called Chilapalapa [...] Straight after independence it started fading out. I can remember a young employee, I spoke to him in Chilapalapa and he said: "I do not speak that language", very forcefully, because it was the language of the colonialists [...] But it had spread widely. Not long before independence in Mozambique I was there on holiday, and I could speak to the guy who cleaned the bedrooms. He couldn't believe that I came from Zambia, he said you must come from the *mgodi*, from the big hole, you know from the Mine [Kimberley in South Africa].<sup>594</sup>

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<sup>592</sup> For the importance of relationships with black bank managers and government officials see James Barton ZI007, John Strathern ZI041, Brendon Lang ZI042 and Peter Johnston KI077.

<sup>593</sup> Kennedy, *Islands*, p. 160.

<sup>594</sup> Duncan Smith ZI002. For similar arguments about the contested position of Chilapalapa see also Clive James ZI004, James Barton ZI07, Brenda Coogan ZI015, Terry Marks ZI039, Mary Jones ZI040, The Strathern ZI041, Brendon Lang ZI042 and Peter Squire ZI079.

Whilst Chilapalapa was a language learnt for practical reasons in his youth, it took on an overtly political nature in the postcolonial period. Thus his 'young employee' felt emboldened to confront Duncan about his use of the language.<sup>595</sup> However, knowledge of Chilapalapa also contributed to Duncan feeling he belonged to southern Africa. A point reiterated by other elderly whites.<sup>596</sup> His exchange with a hotel worker in mid-1970s Mozambique, ten years after independence in Zambia, demonstrated not only that he could communicate with Africans but that he could be mistaken for coming from a completely different part of the continent. Whilst Duncan viewed Chilapalapa as a unifying language, his admittance that it started fading straight after independence betrays the fact that this was a language of colonialism, and no longer acceptable in independent Zambia.

Despite the unacceptability of the language Duncan acknowledged that he still spoke it around the farm, as did other white farmers.<sup>597</sup>

Generally, on the farm it's the older people who've learnt the language [Chilapalapa]. The younger people don't speak it. Martin [senior Zambian farm worker] speaks it, but he doesn't speak it well. I speak it a lot better than he does [laughs].<sup>598</sup>

Duncan's comment demonstrated the importance of *who* was being spoken to. The willingness of Martin, a middle-aged Zambian, to speak to Duncan in Chilapalapa demonstrated the extent to which some workers had learnt the language for employment purposes. Brendon Lang, a white farmer further north of Duncan in Mazabuka, acknowledged that 'very few of the younger generation [of black Zambians] understand

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<sup>595</sup> During participant observations on the Smith's farm in Choma December 2016 two other employees were hostile to Duncan's use of Chilapalapa.

<sup>596</sup> See Brenda Coogan ZI015, Bill Newton ZI031 and the Strathern ZI041.

<sup>597</sup> See Terry Marks ZI039, the Stratherns ZI041, Brendon Lang ZI042.

<sup>598</sup> Duncan Smith ZI002.

Chilapalapa. They are having to learn it to communicate with white farmers.<sup>599</sup> Brendon's neighbours in Mazabuka, John and Deborah Strathern, admitted that out of thirty permanent workers on their farm only four did not speak Chilapalapa, and that the younger white generation also used it widely.<sup>600</sup>

We all speak Chilapalapa, that's the problem. Everyone gets by with it you know? My son [on a neighbouring farm] mainly speaks Chilapalapa, his staff all speak it.<sup>601</sup>

Deborah's comment was striking as her middle-aged son, born after independence, still used the language so frequently despite its connotation as 'a real colonial hang-up and quite derogatory' as Brendon described it.<sup>602</sup> The persistence of Chilapalapa can partly be attributed to geographical location, with white enclaves witnessing a 'passing down' of the language from one generation to another. Within these enclaves using Chilapalapa excited less social censure than elsewhere due to the relative security of a surrounding white population and lack of black-owned land. The disparity of economic and social power between white farmers and the black Zambians who lived in such areas was instrumental in Chilapalapa's continued existence.

Terry Marks, an ex-farmer living just outside Lusaka who prided himself on speaking the local language of ChiNyanja whilst he farmed in the 1980 and 1990s, acknowledged that white farmers were still making workers speak Chilapalapa.

[It's] such an insulting, primitive language. You can't express yourself [...] I had a [white] guy doing some surveying here [a couple of years ago] and Ulanga [one of his staff] was holding a pole [...] he kept shouting at him in Chilapalapa. I said "don't shout at him in Chilapalapa, speak English." He wouldn't, he said "No, he's black. I'll speak to him in Chilapalapa." Ulanga doesn't even speak Chilapalapa! [laughs] There is a fixed thing in their mind that if a guy is black you

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<sup>599</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042.

<sup>600</sup> The Stratherns ZI041 and Peter Squire and family, ZI001 and ZI079.

<sup>601</sup> Deborah Strathern, ZI041a.

<sup>602</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042.

speaking Chilapalapa to him. I'm shocked to still hear farmers speaking in Chilapalapa. And of course, the labour has to learn it. Why not just speak English?<sup>603</sup>

Terry highlighted the fallacy of whites using Chilapalapa - a language which few Africans have learnt since independence - instead of English. He admitted that he gradually stopped speaking ChiNyanja as so many of his farm workers spoke English. The position of the white surveyor was a striking one, for he occupied a socially marginal job in white society, which required close work with Africans in often tedious and lonely jobs that led to a high degree of racial animosity and irritation. The intimate contours of the distinctly racist position the surveyor adopted was the mirror against Terry could assert his own 'enlightened views' - a consistent theme amongst participants who reflected on others regressive views to highlight their own progressiveness. Ultimately what drove the surveyor to continually shout Chilapalapa at Ulanga, despite not being understood, was the fact that he was a black African. By not using English the surveyor was performing his position in the hierarchy.

Kiswahili, and its corrupted version Ki-Settler, have occupied a slightly different position in postcolonial Kenya. Ki-Settler was not a distinct language as Chilapalapa was. Ki-Settler is closer to poorly spoken Kiswahili, rather than a *lingua franca* in its own right. Thus Ki-Settler has not survived as a discrete pejorative language intimately connected to ideas of white supremacy. Instead white Kenyans have often been noted for their poor Kiswahili.<sup>604</sup> However, this does not mean that colonial notions about the hierarchy of languages have disappeared. Janet McIntosh has shown how whites have tried to use Kiswahili as a racial leveller and to perform their Kenyan identity, yet an enduring

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<sup>603</sup> Terry Marks, ZI039.

<sup>604</sup> Kariuki, *Detainee*, pp. 41-49.

linguistic hierarchy exists in which Kiswahili remains a language of the 'heart' and English the language of the 'head'.<sup>605</sup>

Nevertheless, the white use of Kiswahili in postcolonial Kenya has been markedly different to the continued usage of Chilalalapa in Zambia. Due to its wide geographic and demographic base, expanded vocabulary and rich written tradition, Kiswahili became the means for the British colonial government to solve the 'problem' of linguistic diversity in East Africa.<sup>606</sup> As a result it was under colonial rule that Kiswahili was standardised and codified, spreading from its relatively narrow base on the Swahili coast to the East African interior.<sup>607</sup> Therefore, whilst Kiswahili became a more codified *lingua franca* during the colonial period, in a different but comparable way to Chilalalapa, it was never as inescapably colonial as the southern African pidgin, due to its pre-colonial origins, firmly rooted in Afro-Arab history.<sup>608</sup> Indeed, after independence Kiswahili became a tool of both African nationalism and pan-Africanism, adopting a status as the language of national sovereignty and a potential symbol of transnational unity in East Africa.<sup>609</sup> Thus whites' use of Kiswahili in independent Kenya made a more coherent claim to 'Africanness' compared to the highly problematic usage of Chilalalapa in Zambia.

If decolonisation reduced the distance between white and black in socio-economic terms, language became a means through which whites could propagate a psychological

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<sup>605</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, pp. 176–77.

<sup>606</sup> Alamin M. Mazrui and Ali A. Mazrui, 'Dominant Languages in a Plural Society: English and Kiswahili in Post-Colonial East Africa', *International Political Science Review*, 14.3 (1993), 275–292 (p. 277).

<sup>607</sup> Mazrui and Mazrui, p. 277; Ali A. Mazrui and Pio Zirimu, 'The Secularization of an Afro-Islamic Language: Church, State, and Market-Place in the Spread of Kiswahili', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1 (1990), 24–53 (p. 43).

<sup>608</sup> Alamin Mazrui, 'Roots of Kiswahili: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Dual Heritage', *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 20.3 (1992), 88–100.

<sup>609</sup> Mazrui, 'Roots', p. 88; David Mathew Chacha, 'Julius Nyerere: The Intellectual Pan-Africanist and the Question of African Unity', *African Journal of International Affairs*, 5.1–2 (2002).

distance, reflected in their disparagement at Africans' use of English.<sup>610</sup> James Ferguson's conceptualisation of mimicry within the cultural politics of colonisation, building upon Homi Bhabha's exposition of mimicry as part of anti-colonial action in India, explains how 'at one level colonisers sought to civilise their subjects and mould them in the image of the European... colonial imitation always threatened to become excessive and uncontrolled and thereby unsettle the boundaries and relations of authority between settler and native.'<sup>611</sup> Postcolonial whites' mocking of Africans speaking English fits within Ferguson's depiction of mimicry for the colonial period in Africa. Black Africans speaking English threatened whites' ideas of superiority and destabilised the notion that they were the custodians of 'civilized' language.

Brenda Coogan, the self-identified 'Welsh-Brit' introduced earlier described her great enthusiasm for languages and her pride in picking up Afrikaans easily. However, when questioned on her knowledge of ChiBemba, the most prominent African language on the Copperbelt, she responded:

I speak what they call here 'Chikabanga' [Chilapalapa]. Unfortunately, the younger Zambians don't understand it. '*I speak English*' [mock Zambian accent]. Oh yeah? OK... [laughs]<sup>612</sup>

Brenda's comment was striking for her lamentation at the lack of Chilapalapa. Nevertheless Brenda made claims to being accepted within the local African community, as she described having no problem going into the African 'compounds', and employing local *shanga* [street] boys to guard her car whilst she shopped.<sup>613</sup> Ironically her interaction with these *shanga* boys must have been conducted in English, as their knowledge of

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<sup>610</sup> Fitzmaurice, 'Ideology'; Kennedy, *Islands*; Shadle, *Souls*. Also Michael O. West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) for a comparable African class dynamic.

<sup>611</sup> Ferguson, 'Mimicry' p. 553; Bhabha 'Of Mimicry'.

<sup>612</sup> Brenda Coogan, ZI015.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid.



Chilapalapa and Afrikaans would almost certainly have been non-existent. White derision towards Africans speaking English was not restricted to the Zambian Copperbelt but was widespread throughout both Kenya and Zambia. Other whites were keen to imitate Africans' use of English, often through the parodying of Africans 'accents', and showed no reluctance to do so in front of me.<sup>614</sup> Even those styled as 'liberals' who spoke some vernacular and drew upon a family history of missionary work, such as Richard and Helen Campbell:

The trouble is now all the Africans speak English... I moved around too much as my father was an agricultural officer. We lived all over -  
Richard

He was *totally confused* as 'they' would say - Helen<sup>615</sup>

Helen's interjection of a mock 'African' accent hinted at the common currency of such disparagement, and how it could sit comfortably with whites who claimed a place within the continent yet still served to reinforce feelings of white separateness and superiority as custodians of 'proper English'.

### ***Whites (not) learning African languages***

White mockery of Africans' use of English stood in contrast to their own pride in their knowledge of African languages. Their knowledge of these languages was by no means consistent, often depending upon the geography and politics of their upbringing. A key distinction between Kenya and Zambia being that Kenya's *lingua franca* of Kiswahili has been learnt by a far greater proportion of whites than African languages within Zambia.<sup>616</sup> This is in part due to the position Kiswahili holds as the Kenyan national

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<sup>614</sup> For whites' impersonations of 'African' accents see the Campbells ZI045, Becca Coulson ZI066, Bill Newton ZI031, Terence Dobson ZI034. In Kenya see interviews and participant observation with the Bensons KI043, Isla MacDonald KI067, Charles Braithwaite KI069 and Jennifer Mutuku KI056.

<sup>615</sup> Richard and Helen Campbell, ZI045.

<sup>616</sup> In Kenya all 72 whites who participated in this research claimed some knowledge of Kiswahili. In Zambia 8 out of 59 whites still resident in the country spoke some African vernacular.

language (alongside English) and a second language for many Kenyans who grew up speaking a local vernacular. Kiswahili therefore enables Kenyans of all ethnicities to communicate with one another. In Zambia the national language has formally been English since independence as a means of circumventing the politics of adopting one ethnic vernacular as the official national language.<sup>617</sup> Correspondingly, whites in Zambia have not adopted the ‘linguistic atonement’ strategies of their Kenyan counterparts, who have stressed their attachment to the postcolonial nation through knowledge of the ‘African’ national language.<sup>618</sup> White Zambians have instead stressed the practical difficulties of learning vernaculars when the national language was English amidst a plurality of African languages across the country.<sup>619</sup>

#### *Colonial language education in Northern Rhodesia*

White disengagement from African languages in Zambia can be traced back into the colonial period, where linguistic plurality became one of the justifications for not teaching African languages in European schools. In January 1950, the Director of European Education sought advice from the Department of Native Affairs on language tuition. The Secretary of Native Affairs replied, not only detailing the linguistic variety of Northern Rhodesia but also questioning the vernaculars’ integrity, arguing that if children learnt one, they could learn others, and that ‘in effect it is not so important which language is taught.’<sup>620</sup> Whilst the Secretary claimed that the encouragement of learning African languages was ‘warmly appreciated’, the reality was that by the late 1950s no concerted

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<sup>617</sup> Lutz Marten and Nancy C. Kula, ‘Zambia: “One Zambia, One Nation, Many Languages”’, in *Language and National Identity in Africa*, ed. by Andrew Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 291–313 (p. 296).

<sup>618</sup> See McIntosh, *Unsettled*; McIntosh, ‘Land, Belonging’.

<sup>619</sup> Roger Kemp ZI055, James Barton ZI007, Deborah Strathern ZI041, Brendon Lang ZI042 and Mike Webster ZI008.

<sup>620</sup> ZNA, ED/1/8/852/1, Teaching African Vernaculars, Letter from Secretary of Native Affairs to Director of European education, 20/01/50.

attempt at teaching vernaculars had been made.<sup>621</sup> A Northern Rhodesian Government report into 'Native Language Instruction' in 1959-60 stated that:

Five schools reported that at one time or another arrangements were made for the teaching of a native language. These schools have all lapsed for a variety of reasons. At one school insufficient support was forthcoming and at three of them it has proved impossible to find capable instructors willing to undertake the work [...] Several schools referred to the reaction which resulted when an African was employed to teach Shona [sic] at Umtali High school.<sup>622</sup>

The lack of qualified instructors was itself a symptom of both a lack of knowledgeable Europeans, as well as an aversion to Africans teaching Europeans. This clear inversion of customary colonial power relations represented a more destabilising experience which outweighed any potential benefits to 'race relations' by European children learning vernaculars.

In September 1950 the Principal of the Frederick Knapp School in Kitwe summarised the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meeting to the Director of European Education by explaining that no 'Bantu language' tuition had taken place as there were not enough qualified teachers available.<sup>623</sup> Within the same document he articulated parents' fears about employing educated, English-speaking Africans.

What is the policy on the introduction of African staff to schools at present open to only Europeans? This will present obvious disciplinary difficulties.<sup>624</sup>

The PTA's problem with discipline was notable as it articulated the power that insubordinate white children would hold over a black teacher. It also makes clear to the

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<sup>621</sup> Ibid.

<sup>622</sup> ZNA, ED/1/8/852/ 1 (Teaching African Vernaculars) and 6 (Secondary education vernacular 1959-60). 'Native Language Instruction'. Also see letter from Secretary of Education J.Cowie to Mr Stakesby Lewis, Chairman of the African Discussion Group, 31/5/1950.

<sup>623</sup> ZNA, ED/1/8/6 Secondary Education Vernacular, 9 AJ Gunn Principal of the Frederick Knapp School Kitwe to Director of European Education, 26/09/50.

<sup>624</sup> Ibid.

European Education Department that employment of African teachers would not be tolerated. The colonial government's position on teaching African languages was encapsulated within a motion passed by Chingola PTA in April 1958, explained by the Headmaster of Chingola High School (see Figure 2):

“The teaching of an African language in this school should only be introduced as a voluntary, additional subjects, outside the normal curriculum”. The attendance at this meeting was small, but the motion is probably a fair reflection of general public opinion in this town.<sup>625</sup>

Whilst debates around teaching African languages were raised during the 1950s, the small attendance and general disinterest locates these discussions within part of a wider pattern of ‘window-dressing’ of race relations during the Federal period.<sup>626</sup> Indeed, the consideration of the teaching African languages indicates a political imperative driven by the British colonial government to appear racially progressive against the backdrop of apartheid South Africa and the growing settler control of three African nations of the Federation.<sup>627</sup> These motivations are further highlighted by a comparison with Kenyan archival sources, which show an absence of discussions of language in European schools, apart from debates around the relevance of teaching both Latin and Afrikaans.<sup>628</sup>

### *Learning African languages at home*

Early childhood provided one opportunity for whites to learn African vernaculars outside of school. Central to this education were African domestic staff. The intimate relationships between white children with African cooks, *ayabs* (nannies) and house staff

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<sup>625</sup> ZNA, ED/1/23/997/45, Race Relations 1953-58, Headmaster of Chingola High School to Regional Director, Federal Ministry of Education 9/4/58, ‘Teaching of African language in European schools’.

<sup>626</sup> Evidence of this window dressing is within the large amount of archival material on Race Relations Committees during the 1950s in ZNA, largely found in the Provincial Administration, Secretariat, Ministry of Education files.

<sup>627</sup> Andrew Cohen, “‘Voice and Vision’-The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland’s Public Relations Campaign in Britain: 1960-1963’, *Historia*, 54.2 (2009), 113–132; Schwarz. See chapter 6.

<sup>628</sup> KNA, ED/2/18914, Organisation of European Education Policy, 1949-53. Languages to be taught in European schools 1945-59.

formed the bedrock of many white childhoods before their schooling years. Those fluent in a vernacular language later in life recalled how they were often left alone with domestic staff whilst young, being raised by staff and playing with their children.<sup>629</sup> Clive James, a white farmer in his sixties from Choma recalled his childhood on the farm:

I was carried around by a nursemaid, who eventually died here at an old age. Obviously listening to talking when you're young you pick it up easily. All the house servants were from Malawi, so within the house I learnt Nyanja [sic]. People outside [the house] were mainly Tonga so I learnt my Tonga [sic] outside. That is the best way to learn. I struggled with French at school so I don't think I'm a natural linguist. I was raised by the nanny, my parents were busy [...] I spent most of my time, very happily, with the house girl.<sup>630</sup>

Clive's recollection is illustrative of other whites who spoke a vernacular fluently who attributed their knowledge to their close relationship with domestic staff.<sup>631</sup> The implications of whites learning African languages orally from employees may well have been an entrenchment of racial attitudes, as Karen Hansen noted in her study of domestic servants in Zambia. Hansen used the example of Mrs Rabb, the chair of the Federation of Women's Institutes, who argued publicly in Northern Rhodesia in 1955 that 'it is not surprising that a child left in the care of a servant whose mental agility is lower than its own, should develop a bullying and tyrannical sense of superiority.'<sup>632</sup> Rabb paradoxically promotes biological racism whilst critiquing the propensity for whites to grow up into oppressive adults with a superiority complex. These unequal power relations did not preclude the development of empathy and understanding through the learning of language, but they did make it more difficult. The happiness Clive attaches to this memory, coupled with the long service of the domestic staff, hints at the mutuality and

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<sup>629</sup> For whites fluent in local vernacular due to childhood experiences see Clive James ZI004, Leyton Moran ZI005, James Barton ZI007, Brendon Lang ZI042 and Leslie Mayo KI033.

<sup>630</sup> Clive James, ZI004.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid. See also Leyton Moran ZI005, James Barton ZI007, Brendon Lang ZI042 and Leslie Mayo KI033, Isabel Jenkins discussing her brother in ZI077 and Harry Marchant ZI080.

<sup>632</sup> Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 176.

emotional connection which could exist within such transient childhood relationships. Clive's later acceptance as a 'white Tonga' and his reputation as an approachable 'liberal' by other Zambians can be logically connected to these childhood relationships.<sup>633</sup>

These relationships extended beyond domestic staff relationships to the wider fictive kin networks whites had with surrounding African families through their capacity as home/farm workers and also in urban environments due to the presence of *kbayas*. African domestic staff regularly had their families living with them in the *kbaya* after independence, as colonial regulations about the movement of African people were relaxed, meaning domestic staff no longer had to work away from their families.<sup>634</sup> White children in these environments often played with the children of African staff as the closest potential playmates. To facilitate these friendships a common language had to be found in these scenarios when one white child played with many African children.

We [he and his brothers] had to learn their language to communicate and play, certainly the children had no grasp of English. We had to talk in their language, today it's frighteningly different. I was fluent in Tonga [sic], absolutely fluent in Tonga. [My] Grandkids now can't speak Tonga, they speak English.<sup>635</sup>

Brendon Lang's recollection reiterates how African languages were learnt by white children in the late colonial and early postcolonial period, whilst African children were also discouraged from learning English, just as their parents were. His comment also demonstrates a perceived change over time. Brendon was in his seventies, and his middle-aged sons spoke ChiTonga, however his grandchildren did not. Brendon and other whites identified two reasons for this change since the 1960s.<sup>636</sup> First, the growing spread of

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<sup>633</sup> For Clive's' acceptance into the community see Leyton Moran ZI005, Duncan Smith ZI002 and Duncan Mutenda ZI006.

<sup>634</sup> Isabel Jenkins ZI077. Fictive kinship will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

<sup>635</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042.

<sup>636</sup> Ibid. Also see Clive James ZI004, James Barton ZI007, Melvin Nowak ZI014, Terry Marks ZI039 and Peter Squire ZI079.

English in the decades since independence and the decline in the use of the colonial Chilapalapa meant that Africans and whites had begun communicating in English more. Peter Squire, a white Zambian farmer in Chisamba (see Figure 2) who spoke ChiNyanja noted how ‘now [African] people want to speak English with *mzungus* [whites]. They want to feel on *that* level.’<sup>637</sup> Peter subtly indicated the different strata which English, which had locally been associated previously with whiteness, supposedly occupied compared to African languages. However, in recent decades the use of language by whites to perform superiority has been challenged by Africans who have demonstrated a command of, and confidence in, the English language that has threatened a racialized linguistic hierarchy, whereby the English language was the property of whites alone.<sup>638</sup>

Aside from the growing spread of English as a lingua franca, a key factor in whether white children learned African languages was the attitude of their parents. Brendon explicitly drew links between his parents’ influence and his knowledge of ChiTonga.

I’m one of the few whites in this province who speaks the local language. All my friends and that were the black workers kids. We were encouraged to play with them, encouraged to learn the language and encouraged to respect the people. My two boys are the only ones of their generation that speak ChiTonga. We were just very fortunate we came from a background where my Dad spoke Zulu [sic], and he said, “We’ll speak Tonga.” [sic]<sup>639</sup>

The generational aspect of Brendon’s observation is important. Whilst his father spoke ChiTonga, as did Brendon and his sons, the generational learning of ChiTonga ended there; the rarity of his sons speaking ChiTonga was itself indicative of a wider trend of younger generations of whites not learning vernaculars. Brendon’s grandchildren not speaking ChiTonga was attributed to a lack of need to speak it as well as their parents

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<sup>637</sup> Peter Squire ZI079.

<sup>638</sup> Bhabha’s idea of mimicry could be applied here to consider how Africans’ use of English has been used to challenge enduring colonial power structures see Bhabha *Of Mimicry and Man*.

<sup>639</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042.

(Brendon's sons) evidently not placing as much importance on it. Brendon's connection between language and respect is also key for considering the links between childhood linguistic learning and development of empathy. His father speaking isiZulu (the family emigrated from South Africa) was indicative of a white background which privileged learning local languages, a trait identifiable in white families with both missionary backgrounds and those such as Brendon's family which styled themselves as 'white Africans'.<sup>640</sup> On the other hand, whites who wanted to keep distance between themselves and Africans retained colonial pidgins or English as a means of communication. Language in other words highlights significant differences within white societies, reflecting variation in the desire to engage with, and assimilate within, African communities. This reflected either a distinctive moral perspective on interracial relationships, or a functional response to the absence of parents or white playmates.

In Kenya Kiswahili was more often learnt by whites when they started working in the rural economy, as a necessity, as opposed to the Zambian example of childhood engagement with vernaculars.<sup>641</sup> In Zambia if whites had not learnt a vernacular as a child, they managed in the rural economy with English, due to the lack of a comparable African lingua franca such as Kiswahili. Learning a language as an adult, through a work environment, differed to the emotional connection fostered through learning language via intimate relationships with Africans as a child. The impact of this formative experience upon the few whites who were fluent in local languages was clear in the closeness of the

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<sup>640</sup> For missionaries see James Barton ZI007, Ben Barton ZI0036, The Campbells ZI045, Benjamin Liddell ZI046 and Leslie Mayo KI033. For participants identifying as 'white Africans' see Clive James ZI004, Leyton Moran ZI005, Webbers ZI044, Brendon Lang ZI0042, Joe Cleall ZI074.

<sup>641</sup> For examples in Zambia see Clive James ZI004, Leyton Moran ZI005, James Barton ZI007, Webbers ZI044. In Kenya Leslie Mayo KI033 and Debbie Wood KI055 were fluent in Kiswahili due to childhood, the following learnt whilst working Andrew Runciman KI017, June Grout KI018, Sam Jennings KI028, Derren Broadley KI039, Owen Broadley KI002. For the lack of interaction between white children and staff see Mark Benson KI043, Jennifer Mutuku KI056, Deidre Walton KI062, Camilla Watson KI063, Trevor Donaldson KI078.



relationships they had with surrounding communities. In Kenya this pattern was less perceptible, although the Leakey family famously learnt Gikuyu and some whites who grew up on the coast were fluent in Kiswahili due to its prevalence.<sup>642</sup> An important dimension to this has been the lack of continued use of vernaculars beyond childhood. For example, Mark Benson who learnt Ogiek as a child in the Mau forest of Kenya (see Figure 1), had lost the language due to lack of use in later life.<sup>643</sup> The majority of his staff at his home in Naivasha, just over one-hundred-kilometres from his childhood home, spoke Gikuyu, a language which he knew nothing of. In contrast Clive, Brendon, Leyton and James (the most fluent vernacular speakers in Zambia) lived amongst the people they had grown up with, reinforcing not only their linguistic knowledge but their intimate connection to the surrounding community and their place within it.

#### *Postcolonial schooling*

Elizabeth Buettner has demonstrated how the schooling of white children from the British Raj *within* England was central to maintaining a ‘pukka’ identity when back in India, securing the proper racial currency to be successful within the colony.<sup>644</sup> In contrast within colonial Kenya and Zambia only administrative staff and settler elites could afford to send children back to Britain for schooling. Instead white identity could be secured through segregated European only schools. This meant that the majority of white children stayed within the territory for schooling, encouraging a degree of emotional and social attachment to the country. After the desegregation of schools in the early 1960s, white fears developed over the ‘physically developed and sexually more sophisticated’ African students mixing with European girls ‘at tender ages’, as well as the perceived drop in

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<sup>642</sup> Leslie Mayo KI033 and with Debbie Woods KI055.

<sup>643</sup> Mark Benson KI043.

<sup>644</sup> Buettner, *Empire Families*, pp. 72–73.

educational standards which would emerge with mixed schooling.<sup>645</sup> This prompted a gradual increase in the use of overseas boarding schools as well as the growth of white-



**Figure 6:** A government school in Ndola, Zambian Copperbelt in the mid-1960s

established, putatively mixed-race, schools; although as Figure 6 shows some government schools in the mid-1960s were truly mixed.<sup>646</sup>

Jennifer Mutuku, a black Kenyan who had established her own private school in Nanyuki, identified a tendency amongst white Kenyans to educate children abroad or at

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<sup>645</sup> ZNA, ED/1/4/812/225, 'Separation of the sexes' in the *Northern News*, 8/8/1963.

<sup>646</sup> White created schools after Independence include Chengelo in Mkushi and Musikili in Mazabuka.

very elite Kenyan primary schools and the resulting impact upon whites' knowledge of indigenous vernacular.<sup>647</sup>

I think there is a problem with the *mzungus*, as much as they want their children to have the best, they're also shooting themselves in the foot because they are separating themselves. My son interacts with *mzungus*, so he has no problem but 99% of his generation are not interacting with *mzungus* so when they [whites] say 'we are Kenyan', the other Kenyans say 'what? Where were you?' [...] the Indians do take their children to Kenyan schools, so they are being accepted as Kenyan Indians, they are invested in the country, they speak different languages [...] Now that is the mistake [...] the *mzungu* Kenyans are doing when they take their children to Pembroke.<sup>648</sup>

Jennifer's statement illuminates several important traits within postcolonial white subjectivity. First, the continued role of wealth and privilege in perpetuating white elitism since independence, in this case through educating children at schools like Pembroke, a colonial era prep school in the Rift Valley (which is still remarkably over 50% white) or abroad at foreign schools.<sup>649</sup> As Jennifer noted it has been only wealthy black Kenyan children who have integrated with white children, who represent a small proportion of the overall population. Notably she placed emphasis upon the intersection of language, interaction and integration. The Indian Kenyan population were noticed for attending 'Kenyan' schools, meaning they speak Kenyan languages and are thus more integrated. The disconnect between white and black Kenyans was rooted in these divergent experiences of schooling. Whites struggled to know the 'inner worlds' of their black compatriots or relate to their experiences.

The importance of schooling and language to integration was reiterated by Derek Webber, a self-proclaimed 'liberal' white farmer in Zambia.

If you seriously want to become Zambian then you keep your children here, you make them learn the local language, you really become

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<sup>647</sup> Jennifer Mutuku KI056.

<sup>648</sup> Ibid.

<sup>649</sup> Observations from two days researching in the Pembroke School archives.

properly immersed in it. When people's children speak the local language, you will immediately know that these are people who are anxious to get involved here in a meaningful way.<sup>650</sup>

Derek's use of 'anxious' references both an archaic use of the term to describe 'keenness', as well as the emotion of anxiety which was felt across white groups who were schooled both in and outside the country. To visibly perform commitment to the country was an anxious experience. It meant potentially closing international routes to children, as well as the social pressure weighing down on whites who were 'breaking the mould'. Whites who were schooled outside the country, yet were resident within it, often faced the anxiety of not being integrated. The dislocation this engendered was expressed by twenty-two year old Rupert, the son of white farmers in Mkushi, who described how deeply affected he was by this lack of integration; 'I will never be anywhere and 100% belong as you will in Britain. It really bothers me.'<sup>651</sup> He placed this lack of belonging within a dichotomy of not *feeling* European when in Europe and not being *treated* Zambian when in Zambia.<sup>652</sup> Rupert attributed his treatment in Zambia to his whiteness, although his schooling in South Africa was also notable, particularly in relation to contrasting white experiences in the same farming district.

On the neighbouring farm Derek Webber discussed the central role of his childhood in South Africa, where he was isolated from African children and languages.

When we came to Zambia, we went out of our way to ensure Tim and Paul [sons] [...] [sic] that no-one spoke to them in English on the farm, as a result they speak Bemba [sic] perfectly. They've both had black Zambian girlfriends. They went to a school [Chengelo] where Tim was the only white guy in his class at the time. We didn't send them, as was the custom, and still is, [to] send kids to Zimbabwe or South Africa. They [white farmers] don't like to send them to predominately black schools.<sup>653</sup>

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<sup>650</sup> The Webbers ZI044.

<sup>651</sup> The Cosgrove Family ZI043 in Mkushi and speaking to Mary Kamau KI059 and John Kariuki KI060.

<sup>652</sup> Rupert Cosgrove ZI043.

<sup>653</sup> The Webbers ZI044.

Whilst the decision to send children overseas for schooling was often rooted in academic reasoning, Derek noted how the top school in the world for IGCSE results was Chengelo, and suggested that local white farmers motivations were purely racial.<sup>654</sup> Another white farmer in Southern Province mulled over her choice to send her children and grandchildren to South Africa. England had apparently been too expensive and sending her children to either Zimbabwe or Zambia simply had not entered her mind as an option. She claimed that it was not a racial decision, as schools in South Africa were now integrated; ‘down there [in South African schools] now, boy there are lots of Africans!’<sup>655</sup> The irony of her comment about there being a lot of Africans in South African schools illuminates the selective sight which many postcolonial whites have adopted, ‘seeing’ Africans when it is comfortable and necessary.

The choice to send children abroad for schooling was an important one which struck at the heart of whites’ sense of self and perception of the future. As Derek made clear, the decision to educate his sons in Zambia was an ideological one to ensure that their sons belonged in Zambia, evidenced in his sons’ having had black Zambian girlfriends. The break with conformity that inter-racial relationships symbolised meant that many whites feared situations where African and whites were placed on an equal footing. This fear was actualised in Southern Province when a white farmer’s daughter returned from private school in Lusaka with a black boyfriend.<sup>656</sup> Whilst not explicitly invoking the colonial era notion of dangerous African sexuality encased in ‘black peril’ discourse, some whites such as Deborah Strathern in Mazabuka did hint at such logic.

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<sup>654</sup> Ibid also see <https://www.lusakatimes.com/2016/05/10/five-chengelo-students-top-world-cambridge-exams/> - accessed 17/07/18.

<sup>655</sup> Deborah Strathern ZI041a. For other examples see interviews with The Cosgrove Family ZI043, June Rasch ZI033, Terence Dobson ZI034, Bill Newton ZI031 and the Smiths ZI001.

<sup>656</sup> Leyton Moran, ZI005.

Just the thought of a mixed marriage with my daughters. I just think it's the sexual connotation really. I don't know why I say that... I don't know why I can justify this bold statement. It's just oohhh no no no no. You see some of these really nicely spoken [sic]... speaks better than most of us [whites] you know? But just no. We are associating ourselves with a lower-class person.<sup>657</sup>

It was significant that Deborah placed emphasis upon speech, and although she recognised that many Africans are now better educated than whites, there was still a visceral rejection of the idea of mixed-race relationships. The transgressive potential in language was demonstrated by the fact that Africans could learn English 'better' than whites, and in a way 'unfix' race. As a result Deborah reasserted race *despite* the language competence of many black Zambians. Class was made to stand in for race in this instance. Class retains a useful ambiguity – the nicely spoken black man may well be upper middle class in sociological terms, but here Deborah use the term as a synonym for breeding. The well-spoken Africans she describes were therefore simply masking the underlying inherent difference between the races in her view. She invoked the scepticism of the 'civilised native' which had been common colonial discourse since the 1920s. Her disapproval and outright refusal to contemplate both an equal black Zambian and the prospect of interracial romance failed to recognise the reality of twenty-first century Zambia and instead relied on the old discourse of the subterfuge of the 'well-spoken', fluent and 'nicely dressed' African.<sup>658</sup>

Mary Kamau and John Kariuki, two black Kenyans in their twenties living in Nanyuki, pointed to schooling and language as key barriers to white integration. They argued that the sending of white children abroad, or to highly elite private schools, was regarded by Kenyans with both puzzlement and frustration as the performance of white

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<sup>657</sup> Deborah Strathern ZI041a. For other examples see Edward Fisher KI037, Terence Dobson ZI034 and observations in the Fishing Club of Malindi in June 2017.

<sup>658</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy*, pp. 99–104; Shadle, *Souls*, p. 32.

difference. Rather, they identified language as being central to creating a sense of belonging, which for them was about understanding Kenya and its people. They noted, 'if you speak the language it's different. You won't get treated like a *mzungu* if you speak the language [Kiswahili]'.<sup>659</sup> However, they added the caveat that 'Kiswahili can be spoken in different ways, and that most of the settlers learn Kiswahili which is used for ordering and has a power dynamic, rather than learning how to converse and socialise'.<sup>660</sup> They pointedly used the term 'settler' to characterise those whites using Kiswahili to order Kenyans around. This illuminates the importance of language in creating understanding and empathy between whites and Africans, but also the potential of a commonly understood language to reinforce difference and hierarchy.

### ***Linguistic integration and its limits***

#### *Empathy, understanding and language*

Returning to James Barton, the white Zambian, anointed Lunda chief and fluent ChiLunda speaker who opened the chapter:

If you make the effort to learn even 100th of their language, you're in. [Whites say] "English is the official language in Zambia", well it's not.<sup>661</sup>

James viewed language as the means into someone's 'home' and 'head', conceiving of his fluency in ChiLunda as enabling relationships, understanding and empathy with local people. He placed this experience firmly in his childhood growing up with Lunda children and being immersed in their culture from a young age, with parents who encouraged such behaviour. James represented an outlier as a postcolonial white being based in rural north-west Zambia away from any concentration of whites, however he

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<sup>659</sup> Mary Kamau KI059 and John Kariuki KI060.

<sup>660</sup> Ibid.

<sup>661</sup> James Barton ZI007.

was an example of a wider trend in Zambia of African identity being articulated through vernaculars. With the lack of a *lingua franca* like Kiswahili, whites who are emotively embedded in Zambia and seek integration do so through learning the language of their province.

James is a case in point. Whilst he undeniably lived well and the disparity between his own living arrangements and those of his staff was considerable, they were not as starkly opposed as those on many other white farms. Notably he also encouraged, and financed, local children through education if they showed ability and application. He would then meet with the child and their parents to discuss opportunities for further education or careers. In these exchanges he took on the role of a 'godfather' type figure, who provided financial support and emotional encouragement to the children of the wider community. In addition James provided a weekly farm 'surgery' where workers could discuss financial difficulties or receive grants of building materials and foodstuffs.<sup>662</sup> Whilst paternalistically inflected – a dynamic he attributed to his chiefly status and seen as a more literal understanding of a father figure - the ease and friendliness of the exchanges between James and his staff, compared to other whites, underlined a more pronounced and comfortable engagement in African kinship networks, from which he drew considerable satisfaction and vindication.<sup>663</sup> James described the close relationship he had with the Lunda women he employed in the house in terms of 'like a father-daughter' connection. These women and their families held a particular place in the social

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<sup>662</sup> Observations from two days with James Barton in the North-Western Province of Zambia in January 2017.

<sup>663</sup> For more 'colonial' staff relations in which participants described their domestic arrangements or I witnessed staff being ordered, meal times being closely regulated and supervised with bells etc see interviews and participant observations in Zambia with Smiths ZI001, Melvin Nowak ZI014, Brenda Coogan ZI015, Bill Newton ZI031, The Stratherns ZI041, The Campbells ZI045, The Liddells ZI046, Roger Kemp ZI055, Becca Coulson ZI066, Paul Beer ZI070. In Kenya with the Bensons KI043, Lance Courtenay KI052, Camilla Watson KI063, Deidre Walton KI062, Charles Braithwaite KI069, Trevor Donaldson KI078, Roger Challenor KI070, Reginald Barker KI058, Sharon Mintram KI005.



systems of the wider farm community. They lived in larger houses, having solar panels fitted as was demonstrated during my visit, and secured closer ties to James as a figure of patronage.

Perhaps the most important distinction of James compared to most other whites was his treatment of African guests within the home. He was one of only a handful of whites who received African guests and sat with them within the house, conversed easily in a vernacular and placed the guests at obvious ease.<sup>664</sup> His knowledge of ChiLunda, and his reputation in the area, made it possible for passing black Zambian students from a Copperbelt university to approach his home, accept tea, make jokes and request him to put on his chieftain robes for them to get photographs.<sup>665</sup> The fact that the students asked him to don his robes was striking. It was not only playful but hinted at the limits to which a white man can -seriously – be an African chief. This kind of mutual intimate exchange; intimate in both physical proximity and the closeness fostered through shared jokes in ChiLunda (an intimacy sharpened by my own inability to be involved) was never replicated during research in Kenya and Zambia.

There was a clear specificity to the space in which this occurred, being in James' house, on his farm and amongst people among whom he was known. Thus, James' position as inclusive and progressive was both conditional and contextual. It was conditional on his being in the safe space of his farm, his home and entertaining his guests. And it was contextual, black Zambians did not behave some informally with him away from his home area because *they* would not know what boundaries they could be transgressing. James acknowledged that in other geographical areas, 'he was just another

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<sup>664</sup> James was the only white to welcome African strangers. The only other examples of hosting 'known' Africans in the home Debbie Woods KI055/Dom Walker KI057, Terry Waller KI076 and The Drakes ZI035.

<sup>665</sup> Observations from two days with James Barton in the North-Western Province of Zambia in January 2017.

*mzungu*'. Postcolonial whites have struggled to overcome a painfully self-aware whiteness which has defined rationales for not integrating. However, whilst James acknowledged this phenomenon, he also stressed that 'you break down that barrier [of whiteness] by identifying with them and speaking to them, especially in their language – if you make the effort its completely different.'<sup>666</sup> Clive James, a fluent ChiTonga and ChiNyanja speaker, echoed James' argument, and noted how he negotiated potentially uncomfortable spaces such as roadblocks and public meetings, by using language to help mitigate otherness. Whiteness marked whites as others but did not preclude them from integration. However, this took place within the specific contexts in which they had spent formative years, formed relationships and kinship networks, and ultimately loaded whiteness with a certain set of meanings – being benign, enabling and hospitable – fulfilling the role of good African patron.

Clive's neighbour, Leyton Moran, was another fluent ChiTonga speaker who credited his knowledge of the language, developed whilst a child raised by a Tonga cook, for his particular affinity with Africans. This had culminated, unusually for a white, in his marriage to a Tonga woman and his position as a local headman.<sup>667</sup> The importance of whites being able to converse with Africans generally, and their staff in particular, in an African vernacular should not be understated. Vernacular knowledge articulated loyalty to, and knowledge of, a particular ethnic group or locality, as well as showing a level of honour and interest in individuals. Brendon Lang, the white farmer in Mazabuka introduced earlier, described how:

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<sup>666</sup> James Barton ZI007. For the idea of glaring whiteness see Melissa Steyn, 'As the Postcolonial Moment Deepens: A Response to Green, Sonn, and Matsebula', *South African Journal of Psychology*, 37.3 (2007), 420–424 (pp. 421–22).

<sup>667</sup> Leyton Moran ZI005. Leyton was one of only two mixed marriages amongst participants representing 1.02%.

I've personally always had the privilege that my junior of juniorest [sic] worker can approach me and I can understand him [...] they feel more free to contact you and talk to you if they have a problem [...] [There is] huge, absolutely huge, huge respect and empathy.<sup>668</sup>

Empathy was a recurring theme in white discussions of language. It is the mutual humanity fostered through empathy, by shared feelings and understanding which in-depth knowledge of a mutual, non-colonial language provided, which has provided the opportunity to decolonise some white mentalities. In the colonial period it was the missionaries and colonial officials able to speak African languages who were often the most vociferous defender of African rights against settlers. Harries has demonstrated how missionaries in southern Africa viewed language as not only a means to evangelism, but was the major determinant in structuring modes of thought.<sup>669</sup> Whilst missionary defence of African interests was often wrapped within paternalistic discourse, it was borne of an empathy developed through living with and befriending Africans.<sup>670</sup> There was a clear correlation between whites' knowledge of African vernaculars, particularly to a fluent level, and having African friends, being comfortable in public situations, not using racist language and being positive about the future, all hallmarks of a more integrated, 'decolonial' white position.<sup>671</sup>

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<sup>668</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042.

<sup>669</sup> Harries, p. 46.

<sup>670</sup> Examples of colonial-era whites defending black African interests, albeit often through paternalistic discourse, see Louis Seymour Bazett Leakey, *The Southern Kikuyu before 1903* (Cambridge: Academic Press, 1977), II; Colin Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1975). In Northern Rhodesia the Moffat and Fisher missionary families were prominent supporters of African interests, as was Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, see the Shiwa Ng'andu archive and Robert I. Rotberg, *Black Heart: Gore-Browne and the Politics of Multiracial Zambia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), xx. Also see Thomas Fox-Pitt, a colonial officer turned anti-colonial activist and Secretary of The Anti-Slavery Society. His correspondence with Simon Zukas in the ZNA, HM/75 PP/1/52.

<sup>671</sup> For further examples of the 'liberal' white view and integration due to language see interviews with James Barton ZI007, Matthew Barton ZI012, The Campbells ZI045, Benjamin Liddell ZI046, The Webbers, ZI044, Leslie Mayo KI033.

*'To think in English': clinging to cultural superiority*

Whilst Clive also emphasised, as James, Brendon and Leyton did, that speaking ChiTonga had enabled him to build a level of understanding and rapport and he had been able to 'get into the head' of his workers, there were underlying tensions to these expressions of empathetic relations.<sup>672</sup>

[I'm] very much able to empathise with, and understand, farm labour. [There] are a lot of things that I will never totally understand. and somethings which I find totally abhorrent in their beliefs, especially when it comes to witchcraft, but that is the way it is.<sup>673</sup>

Clive acknowledged that there were some things within Africans he would never understand. Witchcraft provided the allusion to a place that he could not go, either in Africa, in African culture or within African people. Whites' association of Africanness with witchcraft was itself a marker of their cultural distance. Whites' lack of belief in witchcraft's reality reflected their social distance from it, which in turn grants them immunity from its power.<sup>674</sup> Thus, whilst language provided the basis for the most concerted attempts at white integration and empathy building, the extent to which whites could really occupy and understand their black compatriots' inner worlds were limited by a lingering sense of cultural superiority.<sup>675</sup>

Clive elaborated his views on witchcraft further:

Why don't I believe that [witchcraft] when I was brought up in their [Tonga] system? I don't know, maybe that is something my father was talking about. He thought it was more superior to think in English, you advance yourself more... if you totally immerse yourself in African culture and language you're probably not prepared for later life when

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<sup>672</sup> For examples of whites occupying a more 'decolonial' position in terms of their actions see Clive James ZI004, James Barton ZI007, Leyton Moran ZI006.

<sup>673</sup> Clive James ZI004.

<sup>674</sup> Max Gluckman, 'The Logic In Witchcraft', in *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1970), pp. 81–108 (p. 94).

<sup>675</sup> The idea of the limits of racial empathy building see Hooks, 'Eating the Other'.

you're exposed to other white people, you'd be a very different person. I already was slightly. I was more liberally inclined.<sup>676</sup>

Clive had expanded in earlier conversation about his father's encouragement of his and his brother's learning of vernaculars, however he also made a firm point of telling them to 'think in English'. This is a powerful phrase. It points towards how western languages have long been imagined as particularly suitable for scientific and philosophical discourse. A hierarchy of languages emerges in which Clive and his father placed English above local vernaculars.<sup>677</sup> Language was doing the work of race here, as providing the means for a natural stratification of mentalities and cultures and ultimately validating the elevated social position of whites. Underlying Clive's comments are a sense of his father's fear of his sons being *too* African and not being prepared for later (white) life.

The supposed change which a white person underwent through *thinking* in an African language can only be guessed at. Adam Ashforth has argued that within Western thought belief in witchcraft has been countered by the all-pervasive ideas of rationality and modernity.<sup>678</sup> However, McIntosh has demonstrated that for whites in Kenya witchcraft occupied a more ambivalent position; 'many whites found themselves in the paradoxical position of simultaneously trafficking in local concepts while trying to sustain a strategic distance from them'.<sup>679</sup> Her conclusions resonated in postcolonial Zambia, where a retired white farmer 'Terry Marks' scepticism over witchcraft was shaken after his ChiNyanja fluency granted him access to a ceremony on his farm. He maintained that belief in witchcraft created a lack of sympathy from white farmers, but seeing his workers

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<sup>676</sup> Clive James ZI004.

<sup>677</sup> The idea of a hierarchy of languages had existed since the colonial period and was rooted in the idea that Bantu languages and Kiswahili lacked proper grammar and any notable linguistic tradition. See McIntosh, *Unsettled*, p. 153.

<sup>678</sup> Adam Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 111.

<sup>679</sup> Janet McIntosh, "'Going Bush": Black Magic, White Ambivalence and Boundaries of Belief in Postcolonial Kenya', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 36.3 (2006), 254–295 (p. 260).

outside of a labour context, and involved in local witchcraft practices, 'I suddenly understood who they actually were.'<sup>680</sup> Empathy was built through Terry's access to these cultural events, access which was granted due to his linguistic abilities. However, the more consistent, and expressed, opinion of witchcraft was as something unfathomable, which whites should avoid, or just 'plain bullshit', as former engineer Bill Newton disparagingly commented.<sup>681</sup> The fear of not being acceptable to white society, by crossing the boundary into acceptance of African beliefs, demonstrated the boundaries of linguistic integration. Whilst liberal whites occasionally learnt African languages, the understanding was that they never forgot who they were and where they belonged. In Clive's case he acknowledged that he was already changed by his experience and knowledge, being closer to the local population, yet was still conversant, if critical, within white society.

Deborah Strathern, a white farmer in Mazabuka, excused her own lack of ChiTonga by explaining that:

I think in those days [colonial period] you'd pride yourself on speaking in English. My main sheep guy, he's limited because of [his lack of] English. That's why the school have to do English.<sup>682</sup>

Deborah deflected her own lack of linguistic knowledge on to her 'main sheep guy', who was limited in conversation with her and her husband by his lack of English. Zambian schools being required to teach English aligns with an increasingly globalised world in which English is the lingua franca.<sup>683</sup> During dinner one evening Deborah told me how embarrassed she was that her cook, Daniel, had approached her to say how impressed he was that I had spoken to him in ChiTonga. Earlier in the day I had said

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<sup>680</sup> Terry Marks, ZI039.

<sup>681</sup> The Stratherns ZI041, Campbells ZI045, the Liddells ZI046, and Clive James ZI004. The 'bullshit' comment was made by Bill Newton ZI031.

<sup>682</sup> Deborah Strathern ZI041a.

<sup>683</sup> James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

*Tvalumba* (thank you) after lunch, followed by a conversation in broken English. Deborah admitted that in her entire life spent in the Southern Province she had never conversed in ChiTonga, and was apparently ashamed by my paltry effort.<sup>684</sup> Within the context of a white family committed to spending the rest of their life in rural Southern Province it is worth questioning who was limited by their lack of linguistic knowledge: a Tonga man who could converse with all of the people around him or a white Zambian who could speak with other whites or well-educated urban Zambians but struggled to converse beyond basic instructions with the Zambians surrounding her.

The purposeful avoidance of using basic African vernacular within white homes to interact with domestic staff could be explained by two factors. First, the embarrassment many whites felt at their inability to speak a vernacular properly may have limited the use of piecemeal vernacular as a means of interacting with staff. Deborah's awkward laugh at her inability to speak ChiTonga pointed to such claims. Perhaps more significant was the rigid use of English within the home, to draw the boundaries of intimacy through limiting any emotional proximity and joviality, which the informal use of vernacular may have created. The domestic space in these contexts has also been a space of employment: whilst maintenance of some formality and hierarchy may be explained in order to create 'proper' working conditions, it must also be recognised that these domestic relationships have often been both intimate and long-lived. The formal use of English has been a way of attempting to structure these relationships and clarify its boundaries. These conclusions can also be applied in Kenya, where Kiswahili was widely spoken by whites, with varying degrees of fluency, yet English largely remained the language of communication with domestic staff.<sup>685</sup> The difference between the 'public' performance of Kiswahili and the

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<sup>684</sup> Participant observations with the Stratherns in Mazabuka, March 2017.

<sup>685</sup> Out of 74 interviews with whites in Kenya I visited 54 white homes and only 2 families explicitly used Kiswahili when speaking with staff or engaged in conversation beyond brief orders in my presence.

'private' directive use of English highlighted the dichotomy between white desire for superficial 'linguistic atonement' within wider African society, whilst they simultaneously used language as a means of limiting problematic intimacy which could undermine attempts at maintaining the increasingly tenuous notion of white superiority and aloofness.

Deborah's rationalisation of her lack of African language was important as she represented a far greater proportion of the postcolonial white population than the more integrated outliers such as Clive, James and Leyton. Proportionally speaking 16.3% of whites still resident in Zambia who took part in this research spoke some form of African vernacular.<sup>686</sup> When considering that the majority of participants lived in rural or semi-rural areas in which English was only unevenly spoken, particularly amongst older workers, the limits of this linguistic imbalance can be appreciated. In Kenya the proportion of whites taking part in this research and speaking an African vernacular which was not Kiswahili was even lower, at 3%.<sup>687</sup> If taking into account the number of Kiswahili speaking whites in Kenya the figures are different, with almost all participants claiming some knowledge of the language but only 13.5% demonstrating or claiming fluency in the language, although as has already been discussed the type of Kiswahili spoken was in itself demonstrative of white integration.<sup>688</sup>

Gender has also played a central role in shaping whites' experience of learning African languages. The most prominent participants who noted parental censure of their children playing with African children were all women, and vernacular speaking whites

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<sup>686</sup> 8 out of 59 whites still resident in Zambia spoke some level of African vernacular.

<sup>687</sup> 3 out of 74 whites still resident in Kenya spoke some level of African vernacular which was not Kiswahili.

<sup>688</sup> 10 out of 74 whites in the research explicitly spoke fluent Kiswahili, others all laid claim to some level of proficiency or did not mention their linguistic ability.



were overwhelmingly men.<sup>689</sup> David Anderson and Jock McCulloch both identified how ‘black peril’ - white male fears of black African male sexuality in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia - led to legislation and social behaviours which regulated both white women and African men’s bodies.<sup>690</sup> Whilst the legal and physical violence which Anderson and McCulloch associated with colonial era ‘black peril’ did not live through independence, white fears persisted and sharpened after 1963/4. This fear resulted in white female children not having the same kind of freedoms their male counterparts enjoyed. Whites in the twenty-first century still invoked this fear when discussing the colonial legacy. Leyton Moran, described how ‘there were horror stories on both sides [black and white] – but you never hear the story of a white daughter raped by the African cook boy.’<sup>691</sup> Leyton could have been indicating that these events did not happen, however his tone indicated that he believed they had occurred but were too offensive to be spoken of. This chimed with the imagined threat of Africans. It did not matter so much if such events *had* occurred, but it was important that they were imagined as occurring, or the prospect was so invasive it could not be allowed to occur. It was this strength of feeling which shaped young white females’ experience of childhood friendships with Africans and contributed to later feelings of emotional and linguistic dislocation.

This dislocation was reinforced by a greater proportion of women leaving both Kenya and Zambia since independence than their male counterparts.<sup>692</sup> The reason for

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<sup>689</sup> For censure of playing with Africans see Camilla Watson KI063, Deidre Walton KI062, Trevor Donaldson KI078, Jennifer Mutuku KI056, Mark Benson KI043. The only fluent female vernacular speakers were Clive James’ (ZI004) daughter, Tony Percival’s (ZI009) daughter and Debbie Woods KI055.

<sup>690</sup> David M Anderson, ‘Sexual Threat and Settler Society: “Black Perils” in Kenya, c. 1907–30’; McCulloch, *Black Peril*.

<sup>691</sup> Leyton Moran ZI005. Also see the Websters ZI008, Deborah Strathern ZI041a and Deidre Walton KI062.

<sup>692</sup> Evident in both the destinations of white participants’ female children and the proportions of men and women taking part in this research . Kenya (Male – 45, Female – 20, Male-Female couples – 7) Zambia (Male – 28, Female – 8, Male-Female couples - 13). An element of this also represented self-selection in which some women refused to take part on the basis that “their husband had more to say”. This was not

this discrepancy can be attributed to two principal causes: first, the enduring perception of Africa as a 'man's world', in which whites have engaged in masculine niches within society centred on agriculture, tourism and conservation. The vast majority of white women are either retired, dependents or working with a white husband within one of these industries; of the twenty eight women interviewed in Kenya only two worked independently, others were retired or married and financially supported; two women out of twenty two interviewed in Zambia were working independently. The lack of independent white female employment within African society has further limited linguistic knowledge due to a lack of engagement with Africans outside the domestic environment, in which informal communication channels existed and staff have often learnt enough English to work.

### ***Language, slang and the emotions of belonging***

*My first language was Swahili. I am Kenyan': white pride and anger*

Through speaking African languages whites have been able to perform belonging to their respective country; correspondingly, an inability to speak local languages has reinforced a sense of separation from wider African society.<sup>693</sup> Janet McIntosh alluded to the emotive dynamics of this process in her theory of linguistic atonement; emotions are central to understanding the contested ways in which white have used African languages.<sup>694</sup> The emotion most associated with whites' ability to perform belonging through language has been pride. Peter Squire, the previously aspiring MP from

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the case for single women who were happier to take part. For refusal to take part see Bill Newton's wife ZI031, Toby Waite's wife KI001 and Terry Waller's wife KI076.

<sup>693</sup> Using the idea of performativity developed in John L Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

<sup>694</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, p. 152.

Chisamba introduced earlier, explicitly addressed his pride in speaking ChiNyanja and the role it had played in terms of his own sense of self.

They [Africans] are surprised that there is a white person who can speak Nyanja [sic]. They assume that if you're white, you're a foreigner [...] We are hidden by the façade of all the foreigners [...] [You] get a lot of respect when they know you've learnt their language.<sup>695</sup>

Peter's pride stemmed from his ability to transcend the label of 'foreign whiteness' earning him respect as a fellow Zambian. He enjoyed the respect he gained from Africans; this was the source of his pride which in turn represents a recognition of the value of Africans' thoughts and feelings and recognised their legitimacy as fellow citizens. This acknowledgement of other Zambians legitimacy, and other whites' potential illegitimacy, enabled him to define himself as Zambian, to the extent that he took the highly unusual step for a white in Zambia of running for political office – albeit unsuccessfully.<sup>696</sup> This echoed other fluent whites who reaffirmed their own distinctness compared to other whites, as an integrated, linguistically competent white Kenyans and Zambians.<sup>697</sup>

Even in instances when formal citizenship was not claimed by a white, language was the means through which legitimacy could be claimed in lieu of legal status. Thomas Jones, a white farmer in Timau (see Figure 1) explained how:

I'm actually not Kenyan, it's really simple. My parents are Kenyan, my wife and children are Kenyan [...] Tara [wife] holds the farm, my mother, my sister all hold it... I count myself as Kenyan. I was born in Nanyuki, grew up in Kenya... OK I was UK for 13 years, but I was back here every holiday. My first language was Swahili [sic]. I am Kenyan.<sup>698</sup>

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<sup>695</sup> Peter Squire ZI079.

<sup>696</sup> Ibid. The only prominent white politician in Zambia has been the ex-Vice President, and briefly Acting President, Guy Scott (2011-2015).

<sup>697</sup> Ibid. For similar examples see Debbie Woods KI055, Agnes Walker KI042 and The Campbells ZI045.

<sup>698</sup> Thomas Jones KI066.

Thomas pivots between claiming and disavowing Kenyan identity within the same statement. Whilst legally speaking he was a British national, and therefore was not officially the owner of his farm, it was the location of his birth and most importantly his fluent knowledge of Kiswahili which validated his sense of 'Kenyaness'. The contradiction this elucidates has been one facing whites since independence, who struggle with the national documentation they should commit to. Whites who kept a British passport have maintained international mobility, yet also opened themselves to critiques as non-Kenyans/non-Zambians.<sup>699</sup> The means to mitigate this discomfort and sense of dislocation has been to claim identity divorced from legal definitions.

Debbie Wood, a middle-aged white Kenyan who grew up speaking fluent Kiswahili and had Kenyan citizenship, recognised that not only retaining British passports, but whiteness, marked them as 'other'. However, language was a means to overcome this.

I feel Kenyan, as Kenyan as I can possibly feel but I know there is a separateness which is there. I know I won't be viewed by a black Kenyan as a Kenyan [...] Until you open your mouth, [and] you show that you have beautiful Swahili, you're just another *mzungu* or a foreigner. I think it really sad that's the way it is.<sup>700</sup>

Whilst Debbie felt pride in her linguistic ability, particularly compared to that of her partner and the correspondingly close relationship it fostered with her domestic staff, her overwhelming feeling when discussing language and identity was sadness.<sup>701</sup> Her sense of 'Kenyaness' was indelibly marked by her whiteness. It was only her fluent Kiswahili which allowed her Kenyan identity to be acknowledged. She went on to explain:

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<sup>699</sup> For the debates over British passport retention and the perceived need to have an 'escape plan' see interviews in Zambia with Mel and Roger Teevan ZI020, The Maguires ZI038, Becca Coulson ZI066, Susan Wright ZI025, John Strathern ZI041b, Francis Church ZI019. In Kenya with Bill Kent KI041, Deidre Walton KI062, Mark Benson KI043, Douglas Mitchell KI080, Thomas Jones KI066, Sharon Mintram KI005, Dom Walker KI057.

<sup>700</sup> Debbie Wood KI055.

<sup>701</sup> Participant observation living with Dom Walker KI057 and Debbie Wood KI055 for one week in May 2017.

You're seen as having bags of cash, seen as being a source of money or jobs. Never had any sense of abuse or anything like that. [just] Something to be laughed at, but you hold your tongue and then respond in Swahili [sic]. People react differently when they know you're actually from here.<sup>702</sup>

For Debbie speaking Kiswahili was evidence of belonging and identity - it was the articulation of her *being* Kenyan, helping to raise her from the sadness of being labelled as part of the homogenous wealthy yet mocked whites - a *mzungu* - to a more nuanced position of white Kenyan.<sup>703</sup>

Not all whites have felt that speaking African languages has helped mitigate their conspicuous whiteness. Other whites felt anger at their lack of acceptance; an anger only exacerbated by the perceived rejection of white linguistic knowledge. Tony Percival, a white farmer and conservationist in Kabwe, had a chequered history of personal violence in postcolonial Zambia. As a result his homestead was notable for its high fencing, omnipresent weapons and militarised atmosphere, a feature he developed after visiting the militarised farmsteads of Rhodesia following his father's death at the hand of ANC guerrillas.<sup>704</sup> Despite Tony's attempts to put physical and emotional distance between himself and black Zambians he was also a fluent ChiNyanja speaker and spoke a little ChiBemba. It was the disconnect he felt between his own sense of self and his perceived reception by black Zambians which was the source of his anger.

I very much see myself as Zambian [but] I'm not accepted at all. I've got a white skin. I'm a *mzungu*. Finished. Even if you speak a language it doesn't make any difference.<sup>705</sup>

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<sup>702</sup> Debbie Wood KI055.

<sup>703</sup> For other examples of the enjoyment and importance of speaking Kiswahili or a local vernacular in Zambia see Owen Broadley KI002, Thomas Jones KI066, The Webbers ZI044, Dave Parker ZI011, James Barton ZI007, Peter Squire ZI079.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid. For discussion of militarised farmsteads see Zimbabweans in Mkushi and Serenje; Paul Beer ZI070, Dan Ferguson ZI071, Declan and Emily Kimball-Evans ZI072 and Joe and Dorothy Cleall ZI074 and 75.

<sup>705</sup> Tony Percival ZI009.

Tony's experience of violent crime had shaped his mentality and behaviour to the degree that he could not experience the sense of belonging explained by Debbie and others.<sup>706</sup> He saw himself as Zambian but could not feel it. A sense of rejection only heightened by his knowledge of local languages which served to both anger and demoralise him to the extent that he had encouraged his daughter – also fluent in ChiBemba - to think of her future outside Zambia.<sup>707</sup>

Whilst Tony's level of discontent and anger was more marked than most, there were a minority of whites, particularly in Zambia, who felt that whites were little more than 'guests' in Africa, that no amount of linguistic or social integration could resolve.<sup>708</sup> The wider prevalence of this feeling in Zambia as opposed to Kenya can be attributed to the particular experience of instability, suspicion and occasional violence which faced whites in Zambia in the decades after independence, due to the close proximity of white supremacist states in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as the volatility of the Congo after 1960 and the corresponding overspill of violent crime.<sup>709</sup>

*White Slang: belonging and othering*

Slang has been an important part of postcolonial white culture in southern Africa as a means of codifying and manifesting collective group identities; it was a means of expressing solidarity whilst identifying the other.<sup>710</sup> The key slang terms which will be analysed are *muntu* in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and *watu* in Kenya. *Muntu* is the singular

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<sup>706</sup> Debbie Woods KI055, also see Thomas Jones KI066, Leyton Moran ZI005, James Barton ZI007.

<sup>707</sup> Interview with Tony Percival ZI009.

<sup>708</sup> For examples of being a 'guest' see The Drakes ZI035, Mike Webster KI008, Vince Fish ZI024.

<sup>709</sup> This is explained in more detail in the historical context chapter but see The Smiths ZI002, Becca Coulson ZI066, The Drakes ZI035, The Maguires Zi038, Tony Percival ZI009, The Teevans ZI020. For examples of crime from the Congo see James Barton ZI007, Bill Newton ZI031, Joyce Campbell ZI051 and Caroline Jacobs ZI026.

<sup>710</sup> Lawrie A. Barnes and Charles Pfkwa, 'Ethnic Slurs as War Names in the Zimbabwean Liberation War', *Names*, 55.4 (2007), 427–436; Alan Simon, 'Rhodesian Immigrants in South Africa: Government, Media and a Lesson for South Africa', *African Affairs*, 87.346 (1988), 53–68.

of 'abantu', the Bantu language phrase for people. *Watu* is the Kiswahili phrase for people. Whilst the use of slang has served to bolster whites' sense of identity, it has also reinforced African perceptions of whites' continued racism and superiority complex.

When independence was granted to Zambia in 1964 whites became aware that their use of language would have to be modified, particularly colonial-era racist slang such as the phrases 'kaffir' and 'munt'.<sup>711</sup> Peter Barak, the anti-colonial activist introduced in previous chapter, described how 'blacks were munts not Africans. Munts became Africans once Africans had political power.'<sup>712</sup> 'Munts' becoming Africans symbolised what independence represented for whites. Black Africans, who had been subjugated, controlled, and othered through language, now had political power. Whites' existence was contingent on their acceptance of the shift of power - as they now relied on the goodwill of African political leaders.

The notion of white language in Zambia being decolonised became highlighted in contrast to the white Rhodesian 'other' in the 1970s. Dave Parker, a Zambian-born white who worked on the mines of North-Western Province, recalled a visit to his Rhodesian family in the 1970s:

It was real racism [in Rhodesia]. They used words like 'munt' and 'kaffir'. We would never dream of saying that. We were horrified. They [cousins] were throwing rocks at the gardener. They made him run across the garden whilst they threw rocks.<sup>713</sup>

Dave specifically referenced 'munt' and 'kaffir' as phrases which he perceived to be unacceptable in independent Zambia, compared to settler-controlled Rhodesia. The logical extension of such racialised language in his mind was the physical violence displayed by his cousins in their taunting of their gardener. The supposed distinction

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<sup>711</sup> Timothy Clarke ZI056 and Susan Wright ZI025.,

<sup>712</sup> Peter Barak, ZI028.

<sup>713</sup> Dave Parker ZI011.

between white Zambians and the settlers of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and South Africa was enacted at a drinks party in Mazabuka where an elderly South African man repeatedly used the term 'munts' when discussing Pietersburg, aptly using the colonial name for Polokwane; 'no munts were allowed in town after 6pm, they are now and its gone downhill.'<sup>714</sup> In contrast Benjamin, one of the white Zambians present, whilst echoing the sentiments of the South African guest, consistently and pointedly used the phrase 'muntu' when discussing the issues of maize theft and poaching.<sup>715</sup> For Dave and Benjamin, and a large number of other white Zambians, the 'more racist Rhodesia' and South Africa held up a flattering mirror to Zambia's whites and their theoretically decolonised use of language.<sup>716</sup>

White slang was not only designed to 'other' Africans. It also provided a framework through which newly postcolonial whites could situate themselves. Like Chilapalapa during the colonial period, slang served as a means of emphasising a shared background, identity and solidarity after independence.<sup>717</sup> Slang demonstrated a distinct white colonial heritage, particularly in contrast to the influx of white tourists and expatriate workers. By using slang - derived from local vernacular - whites were seeking to complicate the picture of postcolonial whiteness in both countries. Reginald Barker, a British resident in Kenya since the early 1950s, gave his opinion on how slang developed after independence:

They [young whites] were torn in two directions. Closer to Africans than their fathers had been, they hadn't been brought up in the UK [...] so, they rather overdid being 'African'. They dressed in bush gear,

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<sup>714</sup> Participant observation at the Strathern's party in Mazabuka, March 2017.

<sup>715</sup> Ibid.

<sup>716</sup> Direct quote of 'racist Rhodesia' taken from The Campbells ZI045. For other examples of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe as racist compared to Zambia see Dave Parker, ZI011, Leyton Moran ZI005, James Barton ZI007, Melvin Nowak ZI014, Tony Williams ZI023, The Drakes ZI035, David McShane ZI016, Bill Newton ZI039, The Webbers ZI044, Terry Marks ZI039, Peter Squires ZI079, Becca Coulson ZI066.

<sup>717</sup> Adendorff, 'Fanakalo', pp. 195–96.



invented their own language [...] they were trying to replace the lost English educational background.<sup>718</sup>

Whilst Reginald's comment was specifically targeted toward young white Kenyan men who 'drank too much and behaved badly' in his view, hence their 'overdoing of being African', he made a pertinent point about postcolonial whites wanting to stress their distinctively 'African' status. Phrases like '*muntu*' and '*watu*' were one of the ways in which this status was claimed, because they are indigenous words which require certain knowledge to understand.<sup>719</sup> They helped define a white Kenyan or Zambian against 'another' white.

However, claims to a form of belonging through white slang were problematic and contradictory, both in their form and their usage.<sup>720</sup> Whilst white Zambians eschewed terms such as 'kaffir' and 'munts' after independence, the growth of the term '*muntu*' in place of 'munts' warrants close analysis. Becca Taylor, a third-generation white Zambian involved in agriculture and tourism in Muchinga Province (see Figure 2) explained her repeated use of '*muntu*' through the discourse of etymological correctness: '*Muntu* is just a Bantu word for 'people'. When I talk about the *muntu* I mean people.'<sup>721</sup> However the context within which the phrase was used, and the specific racialisation of the term betrayed the supposed universality of '*muntu*'. White Kenyans have also claimed a history of relative non-racism compared to their southern counterparts, just as Dave did in Zambia. This was explained by white farmer Thomas Jones; 'I don't call the guys [workers] anything. In Zimbabwe and South Africa, they have terminology for their people. I don't.'<sup>722</sup> Despite Thomas' personal explanation of not using certain

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<sup>718</sup> Reginald Barker KI058.

<sup>719</sup> For use of vernacular to demonstrate 'Africanness' see Debbie Woods KI055, Dave Parker ZI011, Peter Squire ZI079, Derek Webber ZI044.

<sup>720</sup> For similar arguments in the South African context see Verwey and Quayle, 'Whiteness'.

<sup>721</sup> Becca Coulson, ZI066.

<sup>722</sup> Thomas Jones, KI066.

terminology, his compatriots have been using a specific term since independence. Whilst it did not have the troubling inheritance of the term '*muntu*' and its derivative 'munts', the phrase '*watu*' should be analysed within the same paradigm as '*muntu*'.<sup>723</sup>

Both phrases exaggerate difference and impose black homogeneity. Sharon Mintram, an elderly white Kenyan in Kilifi (see Figure 1) used the term '*watu*' repeatedly during a research dialogue, in a variety of ways which was consistent with its usage by other whites. "The *watu* are starving [...] I got on terribly well with the *watu* on the farm [...] I've never had any trouble with the *watu*."<sup>724</sup> The way the term has been used has denied Africans their individuality, creating a homogenised pastiche of 'the African' which whites could quantify and place in oppositional relation to themselves.<sup>725</sup> At an 'open house' event just outside Lusaka, young white Zambians complained alongside their older compatriots about the work ethic of 'their labour' and 'the *muntus*' more generally.<sup>726</sup> The social acceptance of this language, in the presence of black Zambian domestic staff (the only black participants at the event), demonstrated the normalisation of such postcolonial language. The widespread usage of '*muntu*' in Zambia was part of a wider mockery, ranging from describing how '*muntus* don't really know how old they are' to making Zambian farm labourers wear ski suits which were cheaper than the farm uniforms to buy; 'they [workers] didn't mind and *muntus* in ski suits was hilarious.'<sup>727</sup> This supposedly humorous and innocuous usage reveals the pernicious dehumanisation of black Africans which has continued throughout the postcolonial period, as terms evolve faster than

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<sup>723</sup> For examples of Kenyan whites use of *watu* see Nicole Webb KI007, Dom Walker KI057, Edward Fisher KI037, Sharon Mintram KI005, Trevor Donaldson KI078, Reginald Barker KI058, Mary Kamau ZI069, John Kariuki KI060 and participant observation at a BBQ in Burgeret in July 2017.

<sup>724</sup> Examples of *watu* usage taken from interviews and participant observation with Sharon Mintram KI005.

<sup>725</sup> It is notable that 'munts', *munt* and *watu* are pluralised – they are used to describe Africans en-masse.

<sup>726</sup> Participant observation at the Drakes' New Year's Day party, Lusaka, January 1st 2017.

<sup>727</sup> The two examples here are taken from interviews and participant observations with Duncan Smith ZI002 and Paul Beer ZI070.

power relations, with '*muntu*' fulfilling the social function which 'kaffir' and 'munts' did during the colonial period.<sup>728</sup>

In both Kenya and Zambia, '*watu*' and '*muntu*' respectively have been used since independence as a postcolonial linguistic tool of racialised othering and to construct white identity.<sup>729</sup> Whites have used arguments of etymological correctness as a means of justifying their linguistics and also claiming indigenous knowledge.<sup>730</sup> The choice of '*watu*' as opposed to 'munts' or 'kaffir' has been a means of articulating problematic racial attitudes more obliquely; the two phrases have become a linguistic embodiment of an 'us and them' postcolonial white mentality.

Despite some whites' protestations of linguistic accuracy, there was a minority who accepted that these words are recognised by both whites and Africans as being overtly racial and pejorative.<sup>731</sup> Dom Walker, a horticulturalist outside Nanyuki, described an exchange between his ex-partner and a local Kenyan community policing meeting.

There is this very colonial thing of talking about the *watu*. *Watu* is the Swahili [sic] word for people. But you know in colonial English it refers to the blacks, as opposed to the whites. I remember going to one meeting, and Laura was rattling on about the *watu* and I was thinking 'fucking hell wind your neck in!<sup>732</sup>

Dom was aware of the problematic use of '*watu*' by whites, prompting his discomfort at remembering the meeting in which they were the only two white participants. Dom's awareness of not using the term '*watu*' in front of Africans was in

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<sup>728</sup> For colonial use of these terms see Kennedy, *Islands*, pp. 130 and 140; Shadle, *Souls*, p. 67; Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*. This also strikes at the importance of the relationship between relations and language. These phrases derive their power from the relationality; white people in power directing them towards black people, they do not have power or meaning in their own right.

<sup>729</sup> For arguments about this in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe see Fitzmaurice, 'Ideology', p. 341.

<sup>730</sup> This in itself represented a form of cultural appropriation which demonstrated the power dynamics behind who is able to speak which languages.

<sup>731</sup> For other examples of awareness of problematic language see Peter Mubanga ZI047, Duncan Mutenda ZI006, Mary Kamau KI059, John Kariuki KI060, Clive James ZI005, James Barton ZI007, Debbie Woods KI055 and Leslie Mayo KI033.

<sup>732</sup> Dom Walker KI057.

contrast to Laura's obliviousness. Notably Dom followed this excerpt about the police meeting with an admission.

Debbie [current partner] chunters at me at times for doing similar things apparently. I don't think I do it, but I know Deb has the same sensitivities, but as a result of being a child of colonialism I don't notice it as much.<sup>733</sup>

Dom's admission about using the word '*watu*' could be taken to indicate both his awareness of African sensitivities as well as apparent differences in levels of mental decolonisation, excused by his being 'a child of colonialism'. Dom made an important point here, namely that those more comfortable with their colonial heritage are less actively engaged with critiquing their inherited privilege. The widespread usage of such slang across generations, alongside the more seemingly innocuous but even more pervasive use of 'the African', helped elucidate the on-going, and slow-pace of white engagement with Africans as individuals.

Within the same area of Laikipia County as the police meeting Dom described, Mary Kamau and John Kariuki, the two young Kenyans who work closely with whites and were introduced earlier, explained their views on whites' use of '*watu*'. Both agreed the term was used by whites to articulate a sense of superiority due to their position in the upper reaches of Kenyan society.<sup>734</sup> By speaking about Africans, in their presence, through the terms '*watu*' or '*muntu*', whites were performing the unequal power dynamics which have been a defining feature of interracial relations, particularly within the kinship networks surrounding the white home and farm. This was demonstrated at a barbeque in Burgeret (see Figure 1) when a black Kenyan domestic worker walked through the white group and a guest jovially remarked to the host; 'He's all skin and bones. You're not

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<sup>733</sup> Ibid.

<sup>734</sup> Ibid.

feeding your *watu*!<sup>735</sup> The paternalism of ‘your’ and the implied responsibility of the host to feed his staff underlined the expected patronage within this relationship. The visible discomfort of the member of staff in question raised further questions. His knowledge of English was evident in the brief exchange with the guests prior to the ‘*watu*’ comment. The guest’s choice to raise a laugh from other white guests rather than engaging the black member of staff in conversation represented the boundary-drawing work which such language performed. An important aspect of this boundary drawing was the cognisance of many black Kenyans and Zambians as to what this language represented.<sup>736</sup>

### ***Conclusion***

Language stood as one of the most glaring areas for decolonisation after 1963 due to the potency of colonial-era language such as ‘kaffir’, ‘munts’ and ‘boy’. This language had served to demean Africans and reinforce hierarchical race relations in both colonial territories. The morphing of colonial-era slurs into postcolonial, etymologically ‘correct’ terms helps elucidate how language has been used to structure social relations. Whites’ loss of political power after independence was an inescapable social reality, but the way whites retained a sense of control was through the continued use of language to demean and differentiate. This reiterates how language has been used by whites as a system of actions to codify identities and find belonging and security in the potential precarity of their postcolonial surroundings. This chapter has demonstrated the power of words to *do* things; words are not merely points of reference or symbolic indicators, but actions that have structured the social relationships of these colonial and post-colonial societies.<sup>737</sup> By

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<sup>735</sup> Participant observation at BBQ in Burgeret July 2017.

<sup>736</sup> For examples of black Kenyans and Zambians awareness of white use of language see Miriam and Douglas Chona ZI003, Peter Mubanga ZI047, Duncan Mutenda ZI006, Mary Kamau KI059, John Kariuki KI060 and participant observation with young black Kenyans in Kilifi in June 2017 and Nairobi in August 2017.

<sup>737</sup> Austin, *Words*.

referring to someone as a 'muntu' or 'watu', a relation of power is produced in the act of speaking. However, this is not to undermine the ability of those at the receiving end of these speech acts to challenge them, and in turn use language as a system of actions to defy socio-economic power relations.

Just as whites have used language as a system of actions to engender the kind of social reality they want to see; black Africans have also mobilised language to define and other the whites around them. The common use of the term *mzungu*, alongside the less common Southern African usage of *Boer* are examples of this.<sup>738</sup> *Mzungu* is a particularly pertinent phrase. It has developed from its Kiswahili roots in east Africa to become a widely used phrase around central and southern Africa in the decades since independence.<sup>739</sup> It represents a postcolonial form of resistance by less privileged Kenyans and Zambians.<sup>740</sup> The naming of whiteness has been an effective tool for Africans to isolate and discomfit the privileged whites around them. The use of the phrase *mzungu* made sure that whites could not escape racial awareness, and thus the very means of their privilege. The othering work that this phrase carries out for black Africans has marked out whites as different and not belonging to African society.

The dialectic between white and black use of language to understand the postcolonial situation elucidates the role of language in the continuing process of decolonisation. In 1986 Ibbo Mandaza argued that Zimbabwe found itself in a 'post-

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<sup>738</sup> Schroeder, *After Apartheid*, p. 2. The phrase *Boer* originally comes from the Dutch for farmer, however it became chiefly associated with the Afrikaans speaking population of South Africa, and in this context was used as an insult by black Zambians toward whites they perceived as racist, as it invoked the legacy of apartheid. For example during participant observation in Lusaka in October 2016 after an altercation at a bar between Dalitso, a black Zambian friend and a white stranger. For irritation and discomfort of being labelled a *mzungu* see interviews with Thomas Jones KI066, Becca Coulson ZI066, Roger Challenor KI070.

<sup>739</sup> Cassandra Bramley ZI082. She only noticed the phrase when she returned to Zambia twenty years after she left.

<sup>740</sup> The idea of *mzungu* as a form of resistance relies upon Scott's formulation in James C Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

white settler situation in which the former white settlers [found] themselves with such political and economic guarantees as would be the envy of any former colonisers in the decolonisation process.<sup>741</sup> His argument six years after Zimbabwean independence remains pertinent for Kenya and Zambia over fifty years after their independence. The contested use of language in both territories is emblematic of the on-going struggle to decolonise both societies, as colonial-era language continues to shape and define the lives of both whites and black Africans.

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<sup>741</sup> Ibbo Mandaza, *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980-1986* (Dakar: Codesria, 1986), p. 3; Fitzmaurice, pp. 344–45.

## **CHAPTER FIVE – LIFE-COURSE: ECONOMIES OF CARE, WHITE LEGITIMACY AND FICTIVE KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS**

### ***Introduction***

On the 25<sup>th</sup> October 2016 Duncan Smith – an eighty-four-year-old white Zambian - sat on his verandah and looked out through the mosquito gauze to his carefully manicured garden and to the rolling cattle farm beyond. He gazed out over the landscape of rural Southern Province which he had come to know so intimately over his life and sipped his tea, delving into his memories over the course of almost two hours. He recounted events, feelings and recollections as they came to him; creating a zig-zag patchwork of his experience of ageing in Zambia, rather than a straight-line from colonial childhood to postcolonial adulthood and now old age. Within twenty minutes of our meeting, Duncan had recalled his first memory, his family's pioneer story at the century's start, the use of language with domestic staff over the past fifty years, his memory of Chinese students at school and apartheid in South Africa during the 1970s.<sup>742</sup>

The act of remembering conflated Duncan's past and present: inhabiting his past in the present, he troubled the linear movement of time.<sup>743</sup> Though the boundaries of the past and present are artificially fixed in many historical accounts, the perception of time – and lived experience of ageing – point toward a more fluid conception of the past and present.<sup>744</sup> Lynne Segal has argued that 'as we age, changing year on year, we also retain, in one manifestation or another, traces of all the selves we have been [...] rendering us psychically, in one sense, all ages and no age.'<sup>745</sup> The oral histories which form the basis

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<sup>742</sup> Duncan Smith, ZI002a.

<sup>743</sup> For another example of this see Jackson, 'No Country for Old Men', pp. 2 and 16.

<sup>744</sup> Bachelard makes a similar argument to Segal in *Reverie*, p.102, when he argues for reveries toward childhood in old age troubling the notion of linear time.

<sup>745</sup> Segal, *Out of Time*, p. 4.



of this research attest to this fluidity, as participants engaged in ‘everyday time-travelling’, just as Duncan did, by navigating the ‘complex layerings of identity’ they have accrued over a lifetime.<sup>746</sup>

The historical literature on ageing within colonialism remains sparse, whilst childhood continues to be a growing field of historical study.<sup>747</sup> Will Jackson has identified this historiographical discrepancy as the result of colonial communities’ preoccupation with the health and wellbeing of the young, due to their centrality in the creation of racial categories and continuation of the colonial project.<sup>748</sup> Similarly Andreas Sagner has noted the relative scarcity of social histories of ageing in South Africa, the category of ‘old age’ has instead been analysed through policy, in particular public pensions schemes by economists and policy analysts.<sup>749</sup> Whilst Sagner’s work was one of the first to critically approach old age policy within history, it remained a state-centric study focused upon producing ‘empirical data’.<sup>750</sup> This chapter moves away from the states’ influence upon ageing, to focus upon the social history of ageing, in a method influenced by Jackson’s micro-history of the ageing ‘pioneer’, John Lee.<sup>751</sup> Rather than using ‘fragments’ from the colonial archive to recover the aged as historical actors, as Jackson does, this chapter uses oral history to understand the process of ageing and the

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<sup>746</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>747</sup> For an example of the wealth of literature on childhood see Buettner, *Empire Families*; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*. David Arnold, ‘European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth Century’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 7.2 (1979), 104–127; Emmanuelle Saada, *Empire’s Children: Race, Filiation, and Citizenship in the French Colonies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Baena; Owen White, *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa 1895-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); Ellen Boucher, *Empire’s Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869–1967* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

<sup>748</sup> Jackson, ‘No Country for Old Men’, p. 2.

<sup>749</sup> Andreas Sagner, ‘Ageing and Social Policy in South Africa: Historical Perspectives with Particular Reference to the Eastern Cape’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26.3 (2000), 523–553 (pp. 523–24).

<sup>750</sup> Ibid, pp. 524–25.

<sup>751</sup> Jackson, ‘No Country for Old Men’.

special covalence between the present and past when people are remembering their life-stages from their current age.

Whites' ageing in Africa – through and beyond decolonisation - provides a particularly apt means of analysing inter-racial relationships as a means of better understanding decolonisation, since postcolonial whites' pronounced awareness of historical change and their dual loss – of youth and political power – created a sharpened sense of nostalgia.<sup>752</sup> This nostalgia reflected both a connection with a time of youth and a time when white power and privilege were more secure. This approach builds upon Liz Buettner's work, who argued that for the Anglo-Indian community the end of Empire became connected to nostalgic memories of youth; their adult identities being constructed in reference to the 'halcyon days' of childhood under the Raj.<sup>753</sup> Although the intersection of major historical changes with individuals subjective experience of ageing has been strongest amongst whites who lived through, and remembered, the colonial period and political decolonisation, these arguments are also salient for more recent generations, as nostalgia for the colonial period and a sense of lost freedom have become part of an internalised group subjectivity.<sup>754</sup>

The ways in which age structured relationships with Africans is the focus of this chapter, which addresses the need for the 'ex-coloniser' to relate, on new terms, with previously colonised people and countries which they inhabited. These relationships formed contested networks of patronage and fictive kinship between whites and the Africans intimately involved in their lives. Patronage and fictive kinship are considered in

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<sup>752</sup> Chase and Shaw, 'Nostalgia'.

<sup>753</sup> Buettner, *Empire Families*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>754</sup> This approach shares interesting parallels with a study of how women's reproductive choices in twentieth-century Russia mapped onto wider historical events, see David L. Ransel, *Village Mothers: Three Generations of Change in Russia and Tataria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

tandem; white patronage fostered kinship ties traditionally associated with family and marriage, complicating the notion of the postcolonial white nuclear family.<sup>755</sup> This idea draws upon Naomi Tadmor's work, which confounded the idea of the early modern nuclear family in England, by attending to the presence of extended kin-like networks of domestic employees within the early modern household, who were often referred to in familial terms.<sup>756</sup> Tadmor's argument emphasises how the presence of domestic servants, often deemed 'other' and 'inferior', can be incorporated into kin-like relations, particularly pertinent to the contexts of postcolonial Kenya and Zambia. Notably, in these contexts white and black views of patronage did not necessarily align. Patronage was often interpreted by whites as paternalism; a continuation of colonial patterns of behaviour which consolidated racial hierarchies by depicting Africans as child-like and in need of European generosity. Patronage created and re-affirmed hierarchies but they were not – or did not need to be – explicitly colonial nor racial. Patronage also fostered kin relations, in which the recipient became indebted to the patron and both became dependent on one another.<sup>757</sup>

Building upon McIntosh's use of the term 'fictive kinship' to describe the 'genuine affection' which linked whites to their black staff, this thesis employs the concept to argue that by stressing the affective dimensions of these relationships, whites sought to lessen

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<sup>755</sup> David Murray Schneider, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984); Janet Carsten, *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Helen Rose Ebaugh and Mary Curry, 'Fictive Kin as Social Capital in New Immigrant Communities', *Sociological Perspectives*, 43.2 (2000), 189–209; Hazel Mac Rae, 'Fictive Kin as a Component of the Social Networks of Older People', *Research on Aging*, 14.2 (1992), 226–247.

<sup>756</sup> Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp. 6–10.

<sup>757</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London: Routledge, 2002); Bruce J. Berman, 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism', *African Affairs*, 97.388 (1998), 305–341; Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt and Louis Roniger, 'Patron—Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22.1 (1980), 42–77; Morris Szeftel, "'Eat With Us": Managing Corruption and Patronage Under Zambia's Three Republics, 1964–99', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 18.2 (2000), 207–224; Tadmor.

the economic basis of such ties.<sup>758</sup> The consistent use of familial language by postcolonial whites to describe interracial employment relationships as kin-like positioned staff as co-dependent members of extended family networks, and demonstrates the development of these fictive kinship ties: a phenomenon noted by the Russells in their study of Afrikaner communities in Botswana in the 1970s and by Gressier in her recent study of white Batswana.<sup>759</sup> Karen Hansen noted a similarly uneven dynamic in Zambia, albeit between black Zambians as employers and employees ‘as inequality was recreated every day in household interaction’ through the adoption of bwana/servant dynamics between black Zambians which replicated colonial-era white/black divisions.<sup>760</sup> This chapter recognizes the inequity which Hansen described but also acknowledges the language of fictive kin which whites have adopted in domestic contexts, following the lead of McIntosh, Gressier and the Russells. However, this chapter expands these earlier formulations by foregrounding how these relationships shaped white identity and specifically how ideas of kinship, patronage and hierarchy changed as whites aged.

The psychological discomfort inherent in these fictive kinship relationships, and their clear intergenerational dynamics, were made clear by Francis Church, a 66-year-old white Zambian safari operator:

You always live with servants around you. You take on their families and you put them through school and, you know, you’ve got a lot of dependents. And that relationship is great. You’ve got people working with you for years. That’s great. [But] there is also that sense of well “supply me this, I want that”. I think that is what gets you after a while.

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<sup>758</sup> McIntosh, *Unsettled*, pp. 132–33.

<sup>759</sup> For examples of entangled interracial relationships of employment see Margo Russell, ‘Slaves or Workers? Relations between Bushmen, Tswana, and Boers in the Kalahari’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2.2 (1976), 178–197 (p. pp.178-9); Margo Russell and Martin Russell, *Afrikaners of the Kalahari: White Minority in a Black State*, 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) - chapter 6. For an example of intra-racial employment kinship see Gressier, *At Home*, pp. 78–79.

<sup>760</sup> Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 249-251.

They [staff] say that “you are our mother, you are our father, you must supply me.”<sup>761</sup>

What Francis described was a form of fictive African kinship – made clear through the language of familial ties - which had fostered a co-dependency, in turn causing a degree of emotional discomfort. Although Francis expressed a sense of resentment at his obligations to his patronage network, it was complicated by an awareness of these kinship ties which enabled him to be successful, and which helped to mitigate the absence of any state support and the appreciation of the status which he accrued from his generous patronage. Francis’ cultural heritage was not shaped by extensive kin expectations; he referred instead to the alternative conceptual reference point of the UK’s welfare state. Whilst he gained satisfaction from his patronage, he did not feel that he was part of a reciprocal network of affection and support; his whiteness – and connected wealth – marked him out as patron, and not as mutual kin. His resentment was managed through vacations outside the country, rather than a sense of moral rectitude which more traditional kin networks offered, explored by James Ferguson’s work on the Zambian Copperbelt.

Ferguson’s work has demonstrated how the ‘modern’ domestic units of black Zambians did not conform to the Western nuclear family, but instead that households were ‘tied into a wider set of kinship ties and obligations’.<sup>762</sup> The household units of white Kenyans and Zambians can also be considered in such terms. They did not easily fit into the ‘modern’, self-sufficient nuclear family associated with Western society and were instead embroiled in systems of African kinship. Beyond the nebulous notion of belonging, whites have maintained their strongest – albeit uncomfortable - claim to a form of postcolonial African identity through these kinship networks as they participate

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<sup>761</sup> Francis Church ZI019.

<sup>762</sup> Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, p. 173.

in communal ties and co-dependencies with African communities. By more fully understanding the historical dimensions of these relationships – and their distinct African character – the complex entanglement of race, privilege and intimacy which formed the basis of claims to white African identity can be understood.

The nature – and understanding - of these patronage and kinship ties changed throughout the different life-stages of whites, and notions of (co)dependence were at the heart of them. Ageing and dependence are closely linked concepts. Dependency is an intrinsic part of the human condition; we only come into existence, and then acquire any type of subjectivity, through our dependence on others.<sup>763</sup> However, acceptance of this dependency is culturally dependent. In Western society ageing is viewed as a process through which dependency is shed in adulthood. Consistent with a neoliberal view of society as comprised of atomised, self-reliant individuals, dependency is viewed as a deficiency or inadequacy. Old age is and has been viewed as a period of dependency, and therefore weakness and insufficiency, as Sagner demonstrates in her work on state pensions which shows how the South African state tried to induce relatives to care for ‘elderly dependents’ rather than rely on the state.<sup>764</sup> This links into a wider white cultural fear of ‘dependence’ in settler colonial Africa, exposed perhaps mostly clearly by Jeremy Seekings, who posited ‘dependence’ as a key feature of the ‘poor white’ in South Africa, who was a burden both upon the state and the church.<sup>765</sup> However, in Kenya and Zambia’s postcolonial contexts, dependency needs to be conceptualised differently. Co-dependence between Africans and whites has been an accepted part of commercial and domestic life since independence. However, the nature of that co-dependence and the

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<sup>763</sup> Segal, *Out of Time*, p. 35.

<sup>764</sup> Ibid, pp. 260-261; Sagner, 'Ageing' p. 528.

<sup>765</sup> Jeremy Seekings, 'The Carnegie Commission and the Backlash against Welfare State-Building in South Africa, 1931–1937', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34.3 (2008), 515–537 (pp. 520–21).

hierarchies which existed within it, fluctuated within different life-stages and were largely rooted in the notion of care.

Life-stage is demarcated in this chapter through dependencies and the economy of care. Who cares for whom within the shifting dynamics of racial hierarchy was contingent upon age. The economy of care conceptualised in this chapter draws upon the African philosophy of *ubuntu*, becoming a person through your relationship with others.<sup>766</sup> *Ubuntu* includes African systems of care, in which kin networks look after and support one another as part of a holistic philosophy which is rooted in the concept of mutual dependence. As such it is the intersection of care and kinship in *ubuntu* which underpins this chapter. White children were cared for by Africans, as were elderly whites, but the difference lay in the expectation of power and status that white children were socialised into by their parents, other whites and through the deferent racialised kin-networks they were embedded into. Simultaneously the African staff drawn into white patterns of care could secure and express their agency through networks akin to *ubuntu*. They cared for white children and elderly whites, whilst fulfilling their kin (and employment) obligations to white adult patrons who sat atop racialised kin-like hierarchies.

This chapter's analysis of fictive kinship, care and life-stages is structured through the established notions of childhood, adulthood and old age. However, the boundaries between these stages are acknowledged to be porous and culturally contingent. In broad – and analytically useful – terms, childhood will be conceived as punctuated with moments of 'racial realisation', and ending with adolescence, attending senior school and starting formal employment, supported by Buettner's argument that childhood for white

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<sup>766</sup> *Ubuntu* is spoken about here as an 'African' philosophy, this is not to essentialise systems of belief within the continent but to recognize the commonalities in different beliefs were are conceptualized as *ubuntu*. See Mluleki Mnyaka and Mokgethi Motlhabi, 'The African Concept of Ubuntu/Botho and Its Socio-Moral Significance', *Black Theology*, 3.2 (2005), 215–237; Maria G. Cattell, 'Ubuntu, African Elderly and the African Family Crisis', *Southern African Journal of Gerontology*, 6.2 (1997), 37–39.

colonials can as much be defined by geographical or historical change, as much as reaching a specific age.<sup>767</sup> Likewise, adulthood is not defined by a specific age, but instead through employment and the assumption of a distinct positionality as a *bwana* or ‘madam’.<sup>768</sup> Finally, old age is considered to be a period demarcated by a shifting discourse of ‘care’, through which African staff begin to ‘care’ for white employers; inverting the paternalism which shaped earlier life stages.

### ***Childhood: race, friendships and school***

#### *White privilege and ‘racial realisation’*

Despite a relative wealth of historiography on childhood – itself a product of colonial governments’ focus upon raising children for the future of the colony and race – there is relatively little work that considers the social forces and contexts that shaped white childhood beyond those children who came into contact with the colonial state.<sup>769</sup> Stoler’s theorisation of ‘sentimental education’, whereby white children were taught the importance of race and place, is drawn together with Buettner’s work upon how childhood was nostalgically remembered as being intimately connected to historical change, particularly decolonisation, to inform the ideas of racial awareness in this chapter.<sup>770</sup> This chapter not only considers how life course and historical change intersected but also how racial awareness was constructed during white childhood in late colonial and post-colonial Kenya and Zambia, through the experience of racial privilege

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<sup>767</sup> Buettner, *Europe after Empire*, p. 63.

<sup>768</sup> *Bwana* is a Kiswahili masculine word meaning boss or master but has become widespread throughout east and central Africa like *mzungu*. Whilst not always as racially inflected as *mzungu*, *bwana* is often assumed to be referring to a white man.

<sup>769</sup> Jackson, ‘No Country for Old Men’, pp. 2–3; Boucher, *Children*; Christina Elizabeth Firpo, David P. Chandler, and Rita Smith Kipp, *The Uprooted: Race, Children, and Imperialism in French Indochina, 1890–1980* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016); Saada; Owen White; Arnold.

<sup>770</sup> ~~Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 18–19; Buettner, *Empire Families*, p. 62.~~



and the development of racialised patronage networks.<sup>771</sup> White children learnt to ‘see racially’ from their parents and their white contemporaries by witnessing racial hierarchies in action. Their conception of what behaviour *should* be imitated shaped white children’s awareness of racial categories and the structure of racialised relationships.

This witnessing of racial hierarchies in practice was described by Charles Drake – a white Zambian farmer just outside Lusaka. He vividly recalled a number of incidents in which race featured prominently from his childhood in late 1950s and early 1960s Lusaka. He traced these as formative events in his realisation of his own racial privilege, and correspondingly his disgust with an enduring racial hierarchy in Zambia.

I remember once in my dad’s butchery [in the 1950s] I went into the cashier’s office. My dad had a black guy who got trained as a clerk who became so trustworthy, he became a cashier. This guy came into the butchery bought some meat and when the black cashier gave him his change, he turned to me and said “I don’t even have a black man in my house. I won’t come here again” ... My own uncle – apparently, I was too young to remember at the time, but black employees told me and my father said it was true - made a [African] member of staff eat a whole *polony* [fine-minced pork sausage] for taking a slice. He threatened him with a knife.<sup>772</sup>

In this example Charles experienced two contrasting forms of education. First, the racist white customer addressed Charles as a means of trying to instil ‘proper’ white behaviour, in response to his father’s example of ‘inappropriate’ use of a black cashier. Second, the black employees sought to teach Charles about the racism of his uncle and to exceptionalise this act of racial violence – rather than letting it become normalised.

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<sup>771</sup> For African-American histories of childhood racial awareness through prejudice see Rhonda L. White-Johnson, Kahlil R. Ford, and Robert M. Sellers, ‘Parental Racial Socialization Profiles: Association with Demographic Factors, Racial Discrimination, Childhood Socialization, and Racial Identity.’, *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16.2 (2010), 237; David H. Demo and Michael Hughes, ‘Socialization and Racial Identity among Black Americans’, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 1990, 364–374.

<sup>772</sup> Charles Drake, ZI035.

Both parties assumed the racial naivety of the child in the story and as a result both tried to impart a lesson of their own.

Racial violence was also a prominent feature of Charles' story. It served to physically enact the hierarchies which underpinned colonial rule, and provided a vivid lesson in whites' racial education:

My own father – which I could never understand after he lived through the pogroms [in Poland] - had a German Shepherd which was a nasty piece of shit. I remember once the herdsman had been drinking – dad beat him up and the dog attacked him [the herdsman]. This was in front of the kids and the wife [Charles' family]. This happened all the time. It was constant. On the neighbouring farm, I once went there with my dad and the farmer was bashing his labourers with a *sjambok* [heavy whip]. He said to the [African] foreman, “take over I've got to do business with this man”. The foreman refused to take over, so he beat up the foreman too.<sup>773</sup>

Charles' recollections came unprompted and obviously featured prominently in his memories of his childhood. In the 1950s he was a young boy, and these were formative experiences in which close family members violently enacted the racial hierarchy of late colonial Northern Rhodesia in front of him. His awareness of his own race was cemented by his interaction with racist customers in the butchery and the African staff who divulged the behaviour of his uncle. Racial violence was an intrinsic aspect of the interactions Charles witnessed first and second hand. As historians of the American South have demonstrated, racial violence was carried out as a demonstration to its white audience as much as its black; it was the public spectacle of lynching which bound together disparate whites in the Deep South.<sup>774</sup> The racial violence Charles witnessed as a child fulfilled a similar role; the embodiment of racial hierarchy was violently performed through the beating of African workers in front of Charles, his siblings and mother. They were bound

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<sup>773</sup> Ibid.

<sup>774</sup> Amy Louise Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890-1940* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press, 2011); Dora Apel, *Imagery of Lynching: Black Men, White Women, and the Mob* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

together by their complicity with the actions of their father. The violent, hierarchical relationship between white and black – witnessed by a young child –taught Charles his position within Northern Rhodesia; that of white man and therefore boss or *bwana*. He admitted in the same interview that if it had not been for independence and the unacceptability of wanton physical violence, he feared that he would have become his father.

Whilst Charles Drake was made explicitly aware of his race through the racial violence of late colonial Northern Rhodesia, Sean O'Brien realised the gradations of white racial identity in early postcolonial Kenya through his experience of racial hierarchy in the schoolground:

I was considered a 'thick paddy' which is when I realised, I wasn't one of them. I was separated from the white Brits by this. I got on better with Greeks and Italians and other minority whites. It all comes down to bloodline and I wouldn't be accepted.<sup>775</sup>

Sean's awareness of his exclusion from white British identity due to his Irish heritage shaped his adult subjectivity and explained why he formed closer relationships with the 'other whites' in postcolonial Kenya – Greeks and Italians - and then later white inhabitants of Zimbabwe where he lived for ten years. His rejection of British white identity rested upon his childhood rejection by British 'snobs' and then later by the visible wealth and mobility of Kenyan whites, as opposed to the apparent rootedness of the whites he met further south. This helped form Sean's discrete white Kenyan subjectivity – distinct from many 'British' white Kenyans in his clipped white southern African accent. He still viewed himself as 'always a Kenyan' but not part of the insular clique of whites of British descent who have 'cultivated their snobbiness in independent Kenya'.<sup>776</sup> In

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<sup>775</sup> Sean O'Brien KI040.

<sup>776</sup> Ibid.

both Sean and Charles' examples it was childhood interactions which shaped their later subjectivity. Their complicity in actions of racial violence, and experience of ethnic othering, fostered a sense of contested dependence upon white hierarchies, which although not based upon care or patronage, still shaped the formation of their identity.

*Domestic staff and inter-racial 'friendships': care and patronage*

The childhood relationship between white children and African caregivers; the *ayabs*, nannies and cooks who remained prominent in white memories, taught both hierarchy and notions of patronage. White parents' delegation of care roles to black Africans led, in many instances, to employees taking responsibility for 'raising' children before school (see Figure 7). These intimate relationships were akin to Stoler's description of childhood in Java, where Europeans remained consistently troubled by the porous



**Figure 7:** Unknown white children with their nursemaids or *ayabs* in Northern Rhodesia c.1950s

boundaries of intimacy and affect which structured these domestic relationships.<sup>777</sup> In Kenya and Zambia it was the care provided by African staff which taught white children African languages, food cultures and traditions, as Chapter Three and Four have demonstrated in turn. The sensorially rich and emotive experiences that white children had with African staff not only created nostalgic memories which helped secure a sense of belonging in adulthood as Chapter Three demonstrated. Such relationships and experiences also embedded white children into fictive-kin networks, as they were welcomed convivially into African homes to eat and socialise. Reginald Barker, the retired engineer living in Nanyuki who was introduced in Chapter Three, recalled his children's relationship with his staff.

The most wonderful interface was in the way we let Africans look after the children [...] as soon as we had gone [for the night] they would run into the African quarters and live like Africans. The children grew up eating African food.<sup>778</sup>

'Living like Africans' was often signalled via reference to eating as Chapter Three demonstrated. The conviviality of eating together, the hospitality which staff had to give within their own space and the physical sharing of that space and food marked out these childhood experiences as uniquely intimate in the lives of whites. These transgressions were all the more enchanted by the fact that domestic staff welcoming white children into their quarters – their homes - were no longer servants, but were hosting white children, and interacting with them, as people, outside the roles laid down to them by colonial-era domestic service. It was in these instances that the white entanglement in notions of *ubuntu*, dependence and care with Africans became most clear. The potential discomfort of such entanglements later in life meant that these recollections, and the emotional mitigation work they did, pointed toward how these convivial experiences were a

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<sup>777</sup> Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*.

<sup>778</sup> Reginald Barker, KI058.

particular means of exoticising childhoods in a way that constituted colonial nostalgia. This engages with nostalgia in the same way that Buettner conceptualises nostalgia as exocitising and yearning for both a lost time in life and also a lost historical period for Anglo-Indians.<sup>779</sup> Therefore Reginald could speak calmly about his children eating with, and like, Africans because at some point they stopped. He omitted the description of children growing up and away from this kind of intimacy which was permissible at that life-stage. The exoticism stems from a time that is always overwritten by its erasure. Similarly, the nostalgia inherent in any depiction of childhood relies upon this erasure, the chasing of something which is by definition irretrievable.

A significant factor in the construction of white subjectivity through racial realisation and the development of patron-client dynamics was the relationship between white children and African children. A key distinction should be drawn here between Kenya and Zambia: whilst childhood interactions with local African children were a regular feature of white male Zambians descriptions of their childhood, only a handful of white women and white Kenyan men recounted similar experiences.<sup>780</sup> Deidre Walton, an elderly white Kenyan woman explained her and her parents' decisions regarding this particular kind of interaction:

My parents employed a Swiss nanny. They didn't want children giving orders to the Africans, it was nothing political, she [mother] just didn't think it was right [us] ordering them [staff] around. We didn't really interact with them [staff], which was very sad really. I mean we got on, we liked them. We would have played with staff children, but we weren't allowed. [Did you allow your children to?] Oh, I don't know, it was a long time ago. I suppose Mau Mau interfered a bit, so I didn't let them.<sup>781</sup>

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<sup>779</sup> Buettner, *Europe after Empire*, pp. 62–64.

<sup>780</sup> For Zambia see James Barton ZI007, Greg Simmonds ZI010, Melvin Nowak ZI015, Mary Jones ZI040, John Strathern ZI041, Brendon Lang ZI042, The Webbers ZI045, Isabel Jenkins ZI077, Peter Squire ZI079. In Kenya the only explicit description of a comparable experience was Mark Benson KI043.

<sup>781</sup> Deidre Walton KI062. For a similar argument see Reginald Barker KI058.

Deidre hit upon two of the key reasons which could explain this difference between the two countries. First, the presence of a Swiss nanny hints at the financial security of Deidre's family, and reflects the role of class in shaping parental attitudes both to interracial interaction amongst children and the fear of having to 'keep up appearances' within the relatively small and insular white settler community.<sup>782</sup> If the practise of letting white children play with local children was not common, its relative rarity was reinforced by a greater proportion of white children in Kenya being sent out of the continent for schooling and at a younger age than in Zambia. Sean O'Brien, whom we met above, emphasised the exceptionality of postcolonial white Kenyans' mobility in contrast to their southern counterparts. He saw the whites of the south as being 'truer' white Africans, more settled, more integrated and less divisive.<sup>783</sup> Second, Deidre identified the lingering spectre of Mau Mau as influencing her decision not to let her children play with Africans around her farm. Her admission was supported by another elderly white Kenyan, Camilla Watson another ex-farmer just outside Nanyuki, who admitted that she was not allowed to play with Africans as a child, and she did not allow her children to either.<sup>784</sup> Both of these women lived through the Mau Mau Emergency whilst living on the slopes of Mt Kenya, an area particularly active with guerrillas during the conflict. The restriction of inter-racial childhood interactions in Kenya points to a learnt socialised behaviour, which, in tandem with the sending of white children to elite institutions or UK schools at a young age, limited interracial relationships in proximity to the white home during the postcolonial period.

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<sup>782</sup> For the idea of white Kenyans being fixated on prestige and the maintenance of appearances see Jackson, *Madness*; Shadle, *Souls*, pp. 58–60; Huxley, *Flame Trees*, p. 16.

<sup>783</sup> Sean O'Brien KI040.

<sup>784</sup> Camilla Watson KI063.



During early childhood, before attending school, white children in late colonial and early postcolonial Zambia did often form relationships and friendships with local black children, as either children of domestic staff or local people. These friendships often relied on mutual experiences of playing outside and hunting wildlife (see Figure 8).



**Figure 8:** A white child and his black African contemporaries raise a Union Jack in c.1950s North-West Northern Rhodesia



These were gendered activities. Women's childhood memories focused more explicitly on school and relationships with domestic staff.<sup>785</sup> A lingering black peril fear alongside a clear idea of gender roles for young girls kept them in the house – in close contact with African domestic staff but without developing the 'friendships' that their brothers experienced outside the home. Thus, just as many white Kenyans were excluded from these experiences, so too were white Zambian women. In many ways, their childhood experiences were similar to white Kenyans' racial realisation through absence – their difference to Africans explained by their lack of presence. It was the apparent mutuality of these male experiences outside the home which fostered a shared understanding, outside the racialised dynamic of wider society.

Brendon Lang, a white farmer who was raised during the 1950s on the same farm in Mazabuka he now runs, recalled his childhood. He explained how the mutual interracial experiences of white childhood were often underpinned by a 'loss of racial innocence' and a corresponding racial realisation of privilege:<sup>786</sup>

We [he and his brother] had our friends with the workers kids. We played very happily. I suppose because I was the boss' son the farm kids were always respectful of that. I suppose in my little group of seven or eight kids I was the leader of the pack, you naturally had that, it was a natural phenomenon in those days. They looked up to you. You could have been nasty and harmful and a bully, I think this could happen, to my knowledge it never happened with my brother and me.<sup>787</sup>

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<sup>785</sup> Debbie Wood KI055, Deidre Walton KI062 and Moira Smith ZI002.

<sup>786</sup> Racial innocence is used here to mean white innocence of racial prejudice and systems of racialisation. Although aware of Bernstein's work it doesn't use his conception directly, Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood and Race from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

<sup>787</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042.

Thus, whilst Brendon sought to stress the fairness of these relationships, he did so with the retrospective awareness that they were not equal relationships – he occupied the position of ‘leader’ of the group due to his father’s position as the employer of the other children’s fathers. This was a perspective gained through a realisation of the wider racial hierarchy of colonial Northern Rhodesia, a hierarchy made visible to a white child when black children they had been playing with were not allowed into the white house. This was the physical and affective boundary of the relationship and the point of realisation of Brendon’s racialised class privilege. White children’s growing awareness of their ‘difference’ was achieved through the relationships they formed as they aged. A central component of the formation of white subjectivity during adulthood, these changing relationships ultimately illuminate the changing dynamics of self-understanding and identity amongst whites in Kenya and Zambia as they negotiated the transition from colonial to post-colonial society.

Peter Squire, the aspiring Zambian politician, used to play with wire cars with his African friends round Chisamba in the 1960. Two things eventually dawned on him.

We stole the wire for the cars from cattle fencing [on the farm]. But I thought, if I hadn’t been playing with them [African children], my father would have told them off. Also, I never made a wire car. The African kids always gave me the best one. They all wanted to give me one as I was the boss’ son.<sup>788</sup>

Peter spoke of this incident as part of a growing awareness of his own privilege, and the difference between himself and his childhood friends. This difference hinged upon his position as the farmer’s son, which thus made him a source of both patronage and protection to his African friends. As a group of children, their ability to freely roam around the farm depended upon Peter’s position, raising the possibility that the black

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<sup>788</sup> Peter Squire ZI079.

children used Peter's position to further their own gains. Peter receiving the best wire car cemented these links of patronage and demonstrated how whites were constructed as patrons from an early age. This relationship did not escape the reach of the wider dynamics of racialised employment within which their parents were also engaged. Similarly, Greg Simmonds, a farmer outside Kabwe in central Zambia, recalled his 'close relationship' with African childhood friends but noted that 'you're still the boss in the friendship, you're the boss's son.'<sup>789</sup> Other elderly whites remembered such relationships fondly but also invoked the white home as the boundary of the white relationship, and their natural ascension to the position of patron amongst their black peers.<sup>790</sup>

James Barton, the white chief, stood out as one of the only participants who could remember his African friends entering his home:

I had an incredible childhood. I think many [whites] wouldn't have one like mine. It was the happiest time in my life, the freedom, running everywhere bare foot, hunting birds, fishing, swimming, all with my friends [...] I don't remember it [friendships] being racial, my friends were allowed in the house. It was very revolutionary - as far as my parents were concerned - they did receive criticism from other members of the family. [It] Set me on a track I will never change from. My link with the people was established then.<sup>791</sup>

James used the language of non-racialism – or 'not seeing race' – within his memories to articulate both the anomalous nature of these friendships compared to other whites, whilst also indicating his awareness of racial categories. The impact of his inter-racial childhood friendships being allowed to be 'normalised' within his home, and to have the explicit participation of his parents in facilitating these relationships, marked out his sense of subjectivity for the rest of his life. The non-racialism that his parents fostered

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<sup>789</sup> Greg Simmonds ZI010.

<sup>790</sup> Also see Isabel Jenkins ZI077 talking about her brother and Melvin Nowak ZI014, John Strathern ZI041 and Dave Parker ZI011.

<sup>791</sup> James Barton ZI007.

within their home – to the chagrin of the wider family – was emulated later in life, when James attained a respected position amongst the local Lunda people. His fluency in the Lunda language, his acceptance of black Zambians into his home, and his separation from the wider white community indicated the extent to which he sought to continue the pattern of racial acceptance encouraged by his parents.

The influence of parents upon the development of racial views was also echoed by Melwin Nowak, a white Zambian who worked in the support industries to the mining on the Copperbelt for decades.

If we abused our staff I can remember being given a hiding. It was the way it was. But yes, I was still a young child able to give instructions to a potentially elderly person. But we were told. These are people. Fine they are black, but they are still people. At the very least they need to be treated with respect and that is something that I was always, always brought up with. Without any doubt, my whole upbringing was based upon a racial divide. I didn't necessarily practise that racial divide but I'm also aware that somewhere along the line I would have had the thought that black people aren't quite as good as white people.<sup>792</sup>

Melwin struck at the fundamental basis upon which racial hierarchies rested. Africans were inferior people but people nonetheless, they were to be treated with respect within that hierarchy that at the same time presupposed their inferiority. Melwin's childhood education in the contours of this hierarchy meant that he admitted to an implicitly racialised mode of thought later in life which positioned black people as inferior. By learning their status and privilege in these ways, white children were prepared for white adulthood, and the adoption of an entitled *bwana* or madam position.

#### *White schooling*

White children's attendance at school was critical to the creation of a *bwana* or 'madam' mentality, through the establishment of clear boundaries of affect and positional

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<sup>792</sup> Melvin Nowak ZI014.

understanding school education instilled. Schooling was a crucial part of developing white children's subjectivity and shaping their socialisation into white society.<sup>793</sup> The schools attended by whites before independence were either specifically white institutions in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia or South Africa - countries in which segregationist laws racially separated education - or actually based in the UK. Although schools were desegregated after independence, this process was gradual, and many whites used their economic clout to continue sending children to schools in Rhodesia, South Africa and the UK.<sup>794</sup> In Kenya, a greater proportion sent their children to the UK and at an earlier age rather than just for final exams as was often the case in Zambia – weakening the links between these children and the country they left behind.<sup>795</sup> These white education spaces reinforced white children's difference from their childhood African friends, as their status as privileged minorities within the previous context was affirmed by their new majority status amongst other whites.

This moment of realisation – and reappraisal of previous childhood relationships within the new light of awareness of racial privilege – was clearly stated by Dave Parker, a white Zambian who grew up in rural Zambia before attending boarding school in the UK in the 1970s:

As a child, I was the *bwana's* son. It meant I was treated with respect even by my African friends. I lived in the big house and they lived in the quarters. We played the games I wanted to play. I didn't get teased or bullied. But school taught me I wasn't special. I wasn't a *bwana*. I ended up fagging [being a servant] for a Nigerian boy! [...] Initially I

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<sup>793</sup> Robert Morrell, *From Boys to Gentlemen: Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal, 1880-1920* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2001); R. Morrell, 'Corporal Punishment in South African Schools: A Neglected Explanation for Its Existence', *South African Journal of Education*, 21.4 (2006), 292–99; Antoinette Errante, 'White Skin, Many Masks: Colonial Schooling, Race, and National Consciousness among White Settler Children in Mozambique, 1934-1974', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36.1 (2003), 7–33.

<sup>794</sup> Deborah Strathern ZI041. For other examples see The Smiths ZI002, Bill Newton ZI031, June Rasch ZI033, Terence Dobson ZI034 and The Cosgroves ZI043.

<sup>795</sup> For explicit black Kenyan critiques of white children being sent away for school see Jennifer Mutuku KI056, Mary Kamau KI059 and John Kariuki KI060.

was more comfortable with the African pupils, until I became a white Englishman too.<sup>796</sup>

Dave's experience of school was formative as he became aware of his previous position of privilege amongst his African friends, a realisation which led to his gradual move away from his African friends towards the adoption of a more clearly defined white identity. The fact that the school was in the UK no doubt shaped his coming to define himself as a 'white Englishman'. This articulates an identification dynamic more common amongst white Kenyans than white Zambians. White Kenyans' removed education in the UK, and correspondingly brief African childhood, tended to lead to a stronger sense of British identity. Dave's experience of 'fagging' for a Nigerian boy pointed to how attending predominately white schools – in the UK, Rhodesia or South Africa - reinforced a codified sense of whiteness, but also had the potential to more directly challenge racial subjectivities, as more students of colour began to attend previously white schools in the postcolonial period.

Brendon Lang sent his sons to the school he attended in Rhodesia - the first school in the country to accept other races, as he proudly described. As a result, his sons attended a school where pupils of colour made up approximately 50% of the student body. He discussed the impact of this experience upon the development of their subjectivity:

My kids had other races - predominately black - below them, above them, bossing them around, bullying them, playing sport with them. Kids will be kids hey? [As a result] My kids have a huge advantage over me. I see it. I see it when my kids deal with local officials. They're far more... better. It's just better.<sup>797</sup>

Brendon acknowledged his own difficulties in interacting with Africans and centred his childhood experience of being the *bwana*, followed by an elite all-white schooling, as having fundamentally changed his relationship with Africans – specifically, with the rural

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<sup>796</sup> Dave Parker ZI011.

<sup>797</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042.

Africans with whom he had been friends as a child, rather than the future class of ‘officials’ with whom his sons now interacted. He remembered how:

[The relationship with African kids] started changing when you were in your teens. Now we were doing things that the other kids couldn’t do. Like riding horses and going to gymkhana. What you did as a three, four, five, six year old was changing. We had to be tough, we had to work.<sup>798</sup>

The process of maturation which Brendon described was rooted in the different experiences of material culture undergone by white and black children as they aged; the white child would take on the wealth and status of someone who could participate in elite sports and receive exclusive education. Adolescence thus became a time when the lived experiences of white and black children diverged, as material differences and ‘work’ began to move their relationships from one built on at least superficial camaraderie to one structured by hierarchy.

Brendon’s employment of the discourse of work was conflicted. His adoption of a ‘tough’ work role was cast in contrast to his African contemporaries who apparently did not have to work – although he acknowledged that African absence from exclusive education at the time meant that his childhood friends started working long before he did. The imposition of employment into the previous friendship dynamic was a key aspect of this maturation of interracial relationships into adolescence. Brendon recalled how a friend from childhood was employed by his father in 1962; ‘he’s my mate but I don’t have a meal with him, he doesn’t come to my house I don’t go to his, but we’re best buddies at work.’<sup>799</sup> In this context the definition of ‘friend’ is expanded to incorporate previous childhood relationships into the new dynamic of employer/employee, and its requisite need for emotional detachment.

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<sup>798</sup> Ibid.

<sup>799</sup> Ibid.

Similarly, Greg Simmonds, the Kabwe farmer introduced earlier reminisced about employing old childhood friends:

You do hope your old friends will come back and work for you. I employed one of my childhood friends recently. They tried to get away with things because we were friends. I had to show that I'm the boss.<sup>800</sup>

Greg hit upon a recurring theme; whites have multiple, complex relationships with Africans across various life-stages, but they are uncomfortable with Africans' attempts to consolidate these into companionships, as Greg mentions, through non-work socialisation, support, and 'special treatment'. It was the performance of 'being the boss' as white children who had ascended to positions of authority in employment that marked the transition from childhood friendships to adulthood 'bwanadom', as well as the beginnings of clearer networks of kinship and patronage. The roots of the adulthood subjectivity of authority and privilege are found in in childhoods in which difference and superiority had been normalised.

The different experiences of white Kenyan and Zambian children in terms of racial interaction and realisation had tangible impacts upon adult identities. These differences were not so discernible in terms of the development of a *bwana* mentality – which became instilled for white Kenyans through private education and assumption of leadership roles during employment - but instead in regard to the stability of their African identity. If white Zambian children experienced racial realisation within domesticated outdoor environments whilst in direct contact with African children, white Kenyan children can be seen to have undergone a similar process via proxy. In other words, it was through their absence from relationships with African children and their removal to elite schools or foreign schools which structured their sense of difference. White Zambian difference

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<sup>800</sup> Greg Simmonds ZI010.



was rooted – albeit often contested – within a specifically African context. White Kenyan difference was more diffuse and constructed to a greater extent within international or British contexts, leading in later life to a more ‘international subjectivity’ amongst white Kenyans, and a stronger sense of African identity amongst white Zambians. Sean O’Brien’s rejection of white ‘Kenyness’ was explicitly due to this international transience, he found himself more comfortably positioned amongst whites from southern Africa, whom he found more rooted and invested in being ‘African’.<sup>801</sup>

Similarly Becca Coulson, the farmer in Muchinga introduced in Chapter Four, mocked white Kenyans’ co-optation of Maasai belts and jewellery whilst having British accents.

Here [in Zambia] whites are understated, in Kenya they are gaudy. They try and dress ‘African’ to assert or legitimise their place. They’ve got a huge drink and drug problem.<sup>802</sup>

Becca saw white Kenyans in a tragic light. They were overly privileged and desperate for validation, a problem compounded by ‘their huge estates’. She saw their apparent substance abuse in this light, as white Kenyans alleged struggles with their anxieties over their legitimacy, and sense of belonging led to addiction. The clear parallel being drawn was with the ‘settled’ and ‘normal’ behaviour of white Zambians whom Becca represented. When considering the differences between white Kenyan and Zambian identities it raises a paradoxical question about the historical status of whites in both countries. Kenya was a settler colony and Northern Rhodesia an African protectorate; whites who settled in Kenya were *settlers*, whilst whites who settled in Northern Rhodesia occupied a more ambiguous position. This raises the question that the divergent

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<sup>801</sup> Sean O’Brien KI040.

<sup>802</sup> Becca Coulson ZI066.

experiences of childhood in both countries has meant that in the postcolonial period the ‘non-settlers’ of Zambia are actually more settled than the ‘settlers’ of Kenya.

### ***Adulthood: becoming the postcolonial ‘Bwana’ and ‘Madam’***

#### *Bwana’, ‘Madam’ and the gendering of white authority*

In the colonial period *bwana* came to be used as the general respectful term for an African to address a white man; *memsahib* - an Anglo-Indian portmanteau for a white woman - or madam being the equivalent female expression.<sup>803</sup> Due to its wide currency across contexts and temporalities, and my experiences with the term, this portion of the thesis’s analysis will focus on the term *bwana*. The persistence of the word *bwana* has been one of the most audible linguistic legacies of colonialism in East and Central Africa. However, *bwana* went beyond a simple linguistic device to demonstrate deference, to encompass a deep-seated structure of racialised thought.<sup>804</sup> Benjamin Liddell, a semi-retired farmer who had lived in Zambia since the early 1950s, recounted working as a government agricultural official visiting old farms which had been abandoned by emigrating whites just after independence:

There was an old [African] guy on a derelict farm who wanted me to start farming there. He’d been waiting for two years for his old *bwana* to come back. It was an oft repeated story. His life structure had fallen apart.<sup>805</sup>

Benjamin’s invocation of the trope of the ‘loyal servant waiting for his master’ was powerful and characterised the white belief in the importance of their existence to the lives of their staff. In his example – one of many, he claimed – the old man was desperate

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<sup>803</sup> Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (London: J. Murray, 1903).

<sup>804</sup> For similar thoughts in South Africa see Danelle van Zyl-Hermann, ‘Baas or Klaas? Afrikaner Working-Class Responses to Transformation in South Africa, ca. 1977–2002 1’, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 86 (2014), 142–158; J. M. Krikler, *Re-Thinking Race and Class in South Africa: Some Ways Forward* (LIT Verlag, 2010), pp. 136–37; Isabel Hofmeyr, ‘Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and’ ethnic Identity’, 1902-1924’ (University of the Witwatersrand, History Workshop, 1984).

<sup>805</sup> Benjamin Liddell ZI046.

for another white man to appear and fulfil the role of *bwana* for him. This white structure of thought rested on the indispensability of the white employer both on a practical and emotional level for the people he employed.

*Bwana* has remained synonymous with white masculinity in the postcolonial period. Sofia Mudenda, an elderly white German who married a black Zambian doctor in East Germany in the 1960s, and had lived in Lusaka ever since, explained how her husband is addressed:

He is called Dr Mudenda. *Bwana* is reserved for *mzungus*. No-one has ever called him *bwana*. They [domestic staff] call me madam which I hate.<sup>806</sup>

Sofia also indicated the racial dynamics behind the term ‘madam’ as well as the gendered contours of the concept of *bwana*. As a white woman she was referred to as madam and her black husband was referred to by his title. The positioning of white women as ‘madam’ demonstrated the gendered roles expected of white men and women. A *bwana* would typically be a public facing figure – receiving the deferential address from strangers as well as employees. A ‘madam’ was specifically constructed as existing within the domestic space and whilst not exclusively used within the home became synonymous with domesticity. The consolidation of these categories could be attributed to the differing childhood experience of boys and girls. As explored earlier in the chapter, boys played outside with African children more frequently than girls, learning and performing the racial dynamics which would shape their adult lives as *bwanas*. Girls more often stayed within the home, interacting with African domestic staff and their family, the gendering of their experience shaping their perceived sphere of ‘influence’.

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<sup>806</sup> Sofia Mudenda ZI030.

This is not to suggest that these roles could not be subverted. In rural farming contexts – particularly in the absence of white male figures – women could and did assume the *bwana* role. Nicola Maguire recalled farming outside Lusaka in the 1970s whilst her husband practised medicine around the country:

It was an issue me not being the *bwana* but they [staff] got used to it. They don't like working for a woman. My children told me about their memories of me being the *bwana*; of knocking together the labourers' heads.<sup>807</sup>

Nicola had to perform the masculine role of *bwana*; evidenced through the physical aspect of the discipline of staff that she described. Notably, her children also witnessed these interactions, continuing the cycle of learned racialised hierarchy through the behaviour of parents.

The emphasis on being 'strong' and 'tough' was further echoed by Deborah Strathern, who recalled taking over the farm after her husband was killed by illegal hunters in 1981.

When Henry died, I had a little boy of 8 and a 10 and a 12 year old and I suddenly had to farm, so I became - I had to - quite tough. I found it very hard, when I remarried with John, not to be the boss, because that's what I had to do. I had 3 kids to educate [when Henry died] I had to carry on, I had to become tough. With very little knowledge I had to listen and get peoples' help and go forward. Before that I was sewing dresses, making our own kids dresses, doing correspondence school with them. I was absolutely home orientated – totally - and Henry was a very strong character and that was where I stayed. I'm of the belief that the man is the man of the house and you have to hand over. That's been a tricky one hey. I've ended up a bit bossy because I've had to be. I went into growing flowers [and rearing sheep] to get out of John's hair.<sup>808</sup>

Deborah intimately described the difficulty of transitioning back and forth between the two gender roles of *bwana* and 'madam'. Her assumption of masculine traits of

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<sup>807</sup> Nicola Maguire ZI038.

<sup>808</sup> Deborah Strathern ZI041a.

toughness and physicality on the farm in the absence of her husband made her move back to domesticity once she remarried particularly difficult. She viewed her time of 'being the *bwana*' as changing her – she was now more 'bossy' and was not happy being confined solely to the domestic space, instead taking on aspects of farm work by growing flowers and rearing sheep, while John raised cattle and farmed crops. Her stated need to return to domesticity when another white man entered the farm demonstrates the strength of these gendered categories of work. Other examples of women assuming prominent roles in rural industries from Kenya and Zambia also centred on the co-option of a form of 'bwanadom', whereby masculine traits were performed in order to secure the compliance, if not respect, of staff.<sup>809</sup>

The racial dynamic of *bwana* was experienced first-hand during fieldwork. Whilst staying at a farm outside Choma I was reprimanded by my hosts for introducing myself to their domestic staff and asking them to use my name. It was explained to me that I should not 'ask them to call you by your name instead of Sir or *Bwana* because it confuses them.'<sup>810</sup> The continued use of the phrase in this context was a means of distancing me from their domestic staff through both impersonal language and their attempt to explain apparent African simplicity. My discomfort with the phrase, and my attempts to subvert this distancing, became a point of amusement for their cook Mary, who would call me *bwana* ironically. Due to the widespread use of the term – and relatedly, its continued prominence within white subjectivity – it is a particularly useful object of analysis. However, *bwana* has continued to be used by postcolonial whites with the awareness that it carries connotations of colonial oppression and retains its symbolic power. Dr Matauka

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<sup>809</sup> For other examples see Becca Coulson ZI066, June Grout KI018 and Debbie Wood KI055.

<sup>810</sup> Participant observation at the Smiths ZI002.

Lee, a prominent black Zambian anti-colonial activist in the 1960s who was married to a white British man, reacted strongly to hearing the word:

Why should you be my *bwana* when I don't know who you are and get nothing from you!? You are talking to the wrong person, I have a family in the UK. They are not *bwanas* but family. I don't see basis for it [using the term *bwana*] today but the economic situation means it is still around.<sup>811</sup>

Despite Matauka's aversion to the word – due to its reification of white superiority – she acknowledged that the continued economic inequality in Zambia was often sharply racialised, and that as a result, *bwana* had retained both widespread usage, and its power.

#### *Contribution, developmentalism and paternalism*

The construction of *bwana* subjectivity leans heavily upon theorisations of 'work' within labour history and white identity in Africa, which can be seen to solidify existing racial hierarchies and patterns of behaviour from childhood, whilst simultaneously providing legitimacy and rationalisation to the hierarchies upon which work has been based.<sup>812</sup> This legitimacy rests upon the positioning of work as a contribution to wider African society, beyond the racialised familial unit or individual. In this sense, work became a moral and nationalist exercise; a means through which the complicated postcolonial legacies of colonialism could be navigated by conspicuous whites. This has striking parallels to many postcolonial African states which sought to position work in a similar light. Marie-Aude Fouéré has shown how Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, and his idea of *Ujamma*, a form of autonomous African socialism, relied upon the morality of work, using slogans such as *Uhuru na kazi; Uhuru na maendeleo* [freedom

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<sup>811</sup> Dr Matauka Lee ZI022.

<sup>812</sup> Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Open Road Media, 2016); Jeremy Krikler, *White Rising: The 1922 Insurrection and Racial Killing in South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Lange, *White, Poor*; Ginsburgh, 'White Workers'.

and work; freedom and development].<sup>813</sup> Similarly in Kenya after independence, John Lonsdale has argued that President Kenyatta emphasised disciplined labour as an ethical, patriotic exercise.<sup>814</sup> Thus, white discourses of contribution and national legitimacy fit within a wider history of postcolonial African politics and the construction of belonging and citizenship.<sup>815</sup>

Mark Benson, the elderly white hunter from Naivasha, defended his personal decision to stay in Kenya by employing the language of national contribution; ‘the white men who stayed on [after independence] are contributing to the wealth and growth and stability of this country.’<sup>816</sup> His affront at feeling that he has to justify his position – not only during our research dialogue but more widely in society – stemmed from a perceived lack of appreciation of his contribution as an employer and tax payer. Becca Coulson voiced similar concerns:

There is always this thing in the back of your mind, “I need a permit to live in a country I was raised in.” My family have contributed so much, but there is always that thing.<sup>817</sup>

Becca explained her lack of a Zambian passport as part of a postcolonial white rationale that one member of a family – most frequently a woman – should keep British citizenship as an ‘insurance policy’ if they need to leave the country quickly with the family.<sup>818</sup> The vulnerability caused by her lack of citizenship linked directly to her emphasis upon her own contribution to the country, along with her family’s.<sup>819</sup> It was

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<sup>813</sup> Marie-Aude Fouéré, ‘Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa, and Political Morality in Contemporary Tanzania’, *African Studies Review*, 57.1 (2014), 1–24.

<sup>814</sup> John Lonsdale, ‘Moral and Political Argument in Kenya’, *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, 2004, 73–95 (pp. 80–85).

<sup>815</sup> Fouéré, ‘Nyerere’, p. 3.

<sup>816</sup> Mark Benson KI043.

<sup>817</sup> Becca Coulson ZI066.

<sup>818</sup> Max J. Andrucki, ‘The Visa Whiteness Machine: Transnational Motility in Post-Apartheid South Africa’, *Ethnicities*, 10.3 (2010), 358–370.

<sup>819</sup> For discussions of citizenship and vulnerability see Nardocchio-Jones, ‘Middlesex’ pp.498-99; Buettner, *Europe after Empire*.

through this contribution that she felt both frustrated by her continued ‘othering’, but yet also felt partially secured. This discourse represented not only a feature of postcolonial politics, but kept a lineage from the colonial era. White settlers’ justifications for land ownership in the colonial period often centred on the idea of ‘developing’ the country. Thus, postcolonial whites claims to ‘contribution’ represent a continuity, albeit one whose urgency has sharpened in the postcolonial era.

Peter Johnston, a retired businessman outside Nyeri, echoed the tensions between coexistent senses of vulnerability and contribution, this time through the nature of his work.

I enjoyed working with the [Kenyan] Government as I felt I was participating and contributing – but it was stressful. As a CEO I had to carry a firearm due to the militant unions. I had politicians pressuring me to employ family members. But it was educative, and I contributed.<sup>820</sup>

Peter’s notion of contribution was connected to a sense of duty and danger; it was the potential peril of his work that signified his dedication to contributing to the nation. He saw himself as especially suited to this employment due to his education and his ease with Africans. Peter’s elite role as a corporate CEO possessed similarities to other contexts in which whites occupied senior positions of management over Africans. White farmer Brendon Lang claimed that ‘in business situations everyone is equal, people are valued on their contribution to the situation’. However, it was clear that the idea of contribution was historically and racially contingent on who was deemed to be contributing more.<sup>821</sup>

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<sup>820</sup> Peter Johnston KI077.

<sup>821</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042.



Mark Benson explained this dynamic whilst speaking about the recent disturbances over land in Laikipia:

Lots of the young [white] guys in Laikipia, good guys, [are] getting shot at by the Samburu and Pokot. But they're breeding high pedigree cattle. They're very good on a farm, they know how to speak to their Africans, knows how to speak to them equally. Well not equally exactly, we know we're not all equal.<sup>822</sup>

For Mark the naturalness of inequality was performed through the paternalistic *bwana* relationship on the white farm, in which young white men demonstrated their role in Kenya through both the production of agricultural produce and their knowledge of *their* Africans.<sup>823</sup> Mark clearly described the racialised hierarchical relationships existing on farms, underpinned by a sense of shared knowledge and respect masking the purportedly 'natural' hierarchy which was being reinforced. Mark's discussion of the contribution of these young white farmers to the nation was through their cattle – a position mirrored by Charles Braithwaite, when he spoke of his sons' farming in Laikipia:

He [son] has something like 900 community cattle on the farm on a commercial basis. He even put 8 of his best bulls into their cattle. Very generous things to do and it is hugely appreciated by the Africans.<sup>824</sup>

Underlying both Mark and Charles' argument is a closely held sense of hierarchy, in which white men are leading homogenised Africans compassionately whilst contributing to the local community.

Thus, these claims to contribution are used to rationalise and justify such continuing hierarchies; a point more explicitly acknowledged by Melwin Nowak in Kitwe.

Whilst I'm here I'm having a good life, despite the decline, and the drop in [living] standards. As a white person one could still live much better than the local population. There has always been that kind of

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<sup>822</sup> Mark Benson KI043.

<sup>823</sup> The use of possessive phrases when whites speak of Africans has a long history dating to early colonisation and most famously captured in Dinesen, *Out of Africa*.

<sup>824</sup> Charles Braithwaite ZI069.

semi-divide, it's not actually proscribed in any way but there is without a doubt a divide between the whites and the blacks. It's not something I feel obliged to apologise for, I was able to take advantage and make the most of it. Also, I think I've been able to make some contribution towards the other [black] side.<sup>825</sup>

Melwin's language reflected the racial inequality in postcolonial Zambia – for which he took no responsibility as he enjoyed the benefits of his whiteness and inherited privilege. However, this was rationalised through both his hard work and ability to capitalise on his advantages; alongside the fact that his 'good life' had contributed toward the African society that surrounded him. The imagined 'island of white' – the home, farm, workplace - was contributing to a surrounding yet distant African society by providing employment, housing, access to water and food.<sup>826</sup> This structure of thought – of privilege and inequality being justified through the discourse of contribution - formed a key part of the adult adoption of the *bwana* position.<sup>827</sup>

The lack of interracial interaction outside the power dynamics of employment has contributed to a distinct white subjectivity; identified as the 'white African syndrome' by Terence Clarke, a white Zambian transport manager in Ndola. He described a white mentality, defined by insularity and superiority, as being evident in the lack of respect shown to Africans.<sup>828</sup> He viewed the performance of the *bwana* role as a self-delusionary tactic that prevented the realisation that 'you are not a big fish and *bwana* doesn't mean anything.'<sup>829</sup> He centred his awareness and critique of this dynamic on the influence of his Irish wife Clare. Although she had been resident in Zambia since the 1980s, Claire had shown Terence that: 'there is a different way to live. But I see it in my nieces and

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<sup>825</sup> Melwin Nowak ZI014.

<sup>826</sup> 'Island of white' is taken from Kennedy, *Islands*.

<sup>827</sup> For ideas of contribution see Benson KI043, Barker KI058, Braithwaite KI069, Johnston KI077, Donaldson KI078. Nowak ZI014, Liddell ZI046, Lang ZI042, Marchant ZI080.

<sup>828</sup> Terence and Clare Clarke ZI057a and b

<sup>829</sup> *Ibid.*

nephews. They think they're big fish in a little pond. If they ever leave Africa, they realise they're a little fish.<sup>830</sup> Terence noted how his younger family members grew into their inflated egos. He lamented the white delusion of superiority and 'specialness' which developed as white children aged and began to fulfil the role of *bwana*, or succumbed to 'white African syndrome' as Terence termed it. Whites growing up and positioning themselves as essential to the African people and networks around them, reflects a postcolonial white desire to feel important, and a need to *be* important within changing national socio-economic situations, as they became increasingly side-lined both by rising African wealth, and the influence of Chinese investment.<sup>831</sup>

Such conceptions of white legitimacy have been constructed in direct relation to the interpersonal relationships of everyday life. Becca Coulson described her logic in staying in rural Zambia amidst pressure from some local politicians:

Here I feel we contribute, in Britain you're one in a million people. I think that's why [grandfather-in-law] did what he did here. Who would we be in England? Here at least we improved lives, we hope.<sup>832</sup>

Becca's grandfather-in-law – a member of the minor aristocracy in Britain - had built up the estate away from the 'line of rail' which defined European settlement in the 1920s at considerable financial cost and logistical difficulty. He had been refused plots along the 'line of rail' designated for European settlement due to his forthright views in support of 'Native Affairs'.<sup>833</sup> Instead, he constructed an English-style estate four-hundred miles from the nearest European settlement, employing a large number of local people and thus fulfilling his desire for a paternalistic, *noblesse oblige* type relationship with the people around him, which would have been increasingly untenable within Britain at

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830 Ibid.

831 Ian Taylor, *China and Africa: Engagement and Compromise* (London: Routledge, 2007).

832 Becca Coulson, ZI066.

833 Rotberg, *Black Heart*.

the time.<sup>834</sup> Becca and her husband have maintained his estate, as well as the kinship networks he established. She spoke of the symbiotic nature of their networks and stressed both the dependency of the local population on their family, but correspondingly how the business and house themselves could not run without the local population's labour. Becca described a form of post-colonial paternalism, which although it was rooted in colonial discourse, departed from it by focusing on the developmentalist notion of contribution, and the notion of co-dependency.<sup>835</sup> Richard and Helen Campbell, farming in central Zambia, noted their 'very deep-seated paternalism, almost *noblesse oblige* really but we do feel we have a real responsibility to them [Zambian workers]'.<sup>836</sup> Within the same conversation the Campbells acknowledged that their small white farm, surrounded by thousands of 'poverty stricken villagers' meant they relied on their workers' goodwill as much as their workers needed their financial support.<sup>837</sup> Many other participants echoed these sentiments of individualised developmentalism, which stressed white contribution to workers' welfare and education, whilst also acknowledging the shared dependency of white employer and black employee.<sup>838</sup>

Britain was the mirror against which Becca constructed her position in Zambia as credible. Nicola Maguire, a small-scale farmer outside Lusaka, also directly referenced Britain when thinking through her decision to stay in Zambia, after her husband's work as a surgeon in the country had finished.

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<sup>834</sup> Kennedy, *Islands*, pp. 191–92; David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>835</sup> For the notion of developmentalism see Joseph Morgan Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert: Agrarian Doctrines of Development and the Legacies of British Colonialism* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007).

<sup>836</sup> Richard and Helen Campbell, ZI045.

<sup>837</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>838</sup> For similar ideas of postcolonial paternalistic relationships see Barker KI058, Walton KI062, Watson KI063, Donaldson KI078. In Zambia, Smiths ZI002, Coogan ZI015, Chandler ZI017, Church ZI019, Maguires ZI038, Campbell ZI045, Liddel ZI046, Timothy Clarke ZI056.

In the UK it's a 'nanny society'. It wasn't like that here. They have rough games at school. It's one of the main reasons for liking it here. We are the nannies for our own group of people, and we enjoy the position.<sup>839</sup>

Nicola drew great satisfaction from her position as matriarch for the networks of Zambian labourers and their families based around the farm. However her use of the term 'nanny' illuminates the depth of paternalism within many postcolonial interracial relationships; the colonial discourse of 'childlike' Africans has remained deep-seated.

This discourse has often been deployed by self-declared 'liberals' as fact, rather than 'racialism'. In 1949 AC Fisher, the prominent white liberal and member of the Capricorn African Society – a multiracial pressure group in southern and eastern Africa - wrote how:

At a discussion on African development - amongst experienced 'native specialists' - it was unanimously concluded that the mental age of the average [African] villager was twelve years, and that the same methods of benevolent compulsion might have to be used in development as were used for school children of a similar age group.<sup>840</sup>

The colonial roots of paternalism were embedded in conceptions of African racial inferiority, but quickly became the means through which African calls for socio-political equality were stifled, while white colonials could justify their actions through aiding African 'development'. This rationale has been particularly pernicious in the contexts of postcolonial Kenya and Zambia. Malcolm Chandler, a tour operator and lodge owner from Livingstone, echoed Fisher's sentiments when he described his interaction with the local community around his lodge on the Zambezi in 2016:

I support a local village. I built their school, clinic, provided a water supply. It's not for corporate responsibility or anything. It is about being a good neighbour and wanting them to advance themselves. I

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<sup>839</sup> Maguires ZI038.

<sup>840</sup> ZNA, HM/80, Correspondence 1936-67 'A priority subject for research' by A.C.Fisher, 18/4/49.

also look after my staff well. I don't want them unionising as I provide all the support they should need.<sup>841</sup>

Malcolm unwittingly echoed the former South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in his claim to 'good neighbourliness', and just as Verwoerd had, he used the language of inter-racial neighbours to further white supremacy.<sup>842</sup> Malcolm's admission that his 'good neighbourliness' extended to his staff because he wanted to avoid collective action betrayed the real reasons for his postcolonial paternalism. He had an avowed belief in his ability to 'advance' Africans through his personal engagement with them, alongside the self-interest evident within this desire for 'advancement'. This served the function of legitimising white privilege – performed through white generosity – whilst also simultaneously providing a modicum of psychological security as a valued contributor to the local people, and cultivating their dependence upon him as a white patron. This function of paternalist patronage helps explain its continued presence in white postcolonial subjectivity. Even as the political structures of white supremacy have collapsed since independence, the psychological tools of colonialism have endured and worked to ease postcolonial angst as whites transitioned into the new environment of postcolonial Africa.<sup>843</sup>

#### *African agency in fictive kinship networks*

Paternalism within fictive kin networks has not been a comfortable one-way flow of white sentiment and capital into African lives. Instead, these interactions were often

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<sup>841</sup> Malcolm Chandler ZI017.

<sup>842</sup> <https://fabryhistory.com/2015/05/11/apartheid-a-policy-of-good-neighborliness/> - accessed on 30/05/19.

<sup>843</sup> For the idea of psychological impact of colonialism see Octave Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990); Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.

profoundly disquieting. Melwin Nowak considered his long relationships with African staff both in his home and within the mining industry.

We can't avoid paternalism, but it's a two-way situation. The local will expect you [to provide] and almost see it as a right he has. There are times when I think "I wish I didn't have them [African staff], didn't have the responsibility, didn't have to look out for their faults and wish I wasn't able to see their faults". There is an element of that. I do try and avoid it.<sup>844</sup>

The sense of duality in the employment of African staff – and particularly domestic staff – evident in Melwin's comment rested upon the tension between the legitimacy and security gained from employing local people, alongside the uncomfortable entanglement of two social worlds such employment represented. The depth of this co-dependency offered a space in which Africans could manipulate postcolonial paternalism and shape it 'from below'.

Keith and Barbara Clarke ran a small financial business from their home in Ndola. They explained how 'we have as many [servants] as we can afford. It makes life easy [...] It just came naturally'.<sup>845</sup> Despite the seemingly instinctive behaviour of employing staff, they went on to consider these relationships in more detail.

It is stressful and a lot of responsibility. I can't say its enjoyable. They become very much dependent on you for things other than their normal, you know salary, every burden in their life financially becomes yours. We've got two garden [staff] and one house, and five people in the office. If they all have a problem in the same month, we get a little impatient, we aren't a financial institution. *But they see us as their mothers and fathers.* There have come points when we have thought about it [getting rid of staff]. It becomes a full-time job in itself having people work for you.<sup>846</sup>

The Clarkes clearly felt that their role as employer went above and beyond what could comfortably be expected of them, and that it strayed into the uncomfortable

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<sup>844</sup> Melwin Nowak ZI014.

<sup>845</sup> Keith and Barbara Clarke ZI059.

<sup>846</sup> Ibid.

territory of fictive kinship ties – notably explained through the language of family. The Clarkes felt their staff to constitute a considerable emotional and financial burden, yet they simultaneously were reliant upon their staff to maintain a large property and certain quality of life. The paradoxes inherent to this position – echoed in the vast majority of research dialogues – was rationalised through a discourse of altruism.<sup>847</sup> Keith Clarke explained:

We're not totally unsympathetic to them [staff]. They do drive us crazy at times, but then that's three people who won't get a job anywhere else because things are tough. It would be very hard to say to them "your job is over" because I would - as a human being - think of the repercussions of that down the line.<sup>848</sup>

Whilst Keith and Barbara worried over the kinship networks in which they found themselves entangled, this concern did not preclude the development of empathy. The language of altruism was used to rationalise luxurious white lifestyles enabled by employing staff, however this was complemented by a sincere belief that white families were making a meaningful contribution to the wider community. This position of uncomfortable co-dependence between African staff and postcolonial whites has seen paternalistic relationships continue beyond independence by morphing into postcolonial systems of fictive kinship and patronage; at once reliant on colonial systems of thought yet shaped by postcolonial conditions of white precarity.

Empathy was often tempered with a level of 'othering' necessary to justify – psychologically – the gulf in material conditions between white employers and black staff. John Strathern refused to discuss his staff housing in much detail; 'I won't show you the [staff] compound. It's not the best, but it's not the worse either. They've got some

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<sup>847</sup> For other examples see in Kenya Mintram KI055, Vaughan KI038, Walker KI057, Walton KI062, Watson KI063. In Zambia, Coogan ZI015, Church ZI019, Rasch ZI033, Dobson ZI034, Liddel ZI046, Timothy Clarke ZI056.

<sup>848</sup> Keith and Barbara Clarke ZI059.



electricity. You should see some of the neighbours.<sup>849</sup> His discomfort with speaking of the topic demonstrated his awareness of, and responsibility for, the disparity in conditions between his farmhouse and his staff compound. This disparity was justified by others in a number of ways. Sharon Mintram, the elderly farmer in Kilifi, explained her staffing contribution.

They get houses but it depends how high up the scale they are. Some get loos and showers but the lower don't, they just get housing. People are better at feeding themselves than they used to be. We used to feed them all in those days [previous decades], because things were cheap.<sup>850</sup>

Sharon justified material disparity through a capitalist logic of the division of labour and the naturalness of a labour hierarchy. Importantly she reiterated the rising costs of living as impacting her ability to contribute to staff 'who are always asking for more'.<sup>851</sup> Thus it was both 'legitimate' capitalist structures and Kenya's wider economic issues which were held responsible for the living conditions of staff.

Brenda Coogan, a retired farmer and funeral director in Kitwe, was even more explicit, and even pointedly cold, in her rationalisation of staff inequality.

I'm happy with the fact that I know my family supports a large number of the local people. But I don't pay for medical bills, we have 'free' hospitals here. Both my maid, and her husband, are HIV positive. She was raped when she was 16 but that doesn't affect me in any way [...] I don't pay very well but they do get accommodation.<sup>852</sup>

Brenda was keen to emphasise her role in the surrounding community in Kitwe but drew a clear line where support for her staff ended. She did not provide emotional support for her vulnerable staff, did not increase wages or provide medical support – despite her staff members' existing medical conditions. Brenda was an exceptionally blunt

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<sup>849</sup> John Strathern ZI041b.

<sup>850</sup> Sharon Mintram KI005.

<sup>851</sup> Ibid.

<sup>852</sup> Brenda Coogan ZI014.

example of a wider trend of white emotional distancing from unavoidably intimate relationships with staff which had the potential to prompt existential angst over white privilege. Thus, these relationships had to be defined by an element of cognitive dissonance; they were at once intimate yet distant. African individuals who rhetorically ‘became part of the family’ were also living in material conditions which no white employer would accept for themselves but nonetheless needed to justify for their staff.<sup>853</sup> This disparity had to be explained through rationalisations about African difference and through a relational understanding of the comparative benefits of ‘working for a *mzungu*’ in contrast to being out in the wider world.<sup>854</sup> This ‘arch-rationalism’ was seen as part of a mature and realistic adult worldview, who ‘knew’ the reality of living and working in Africa, something which transient white migrants and foreign researchers could not. It was this cognitive balancing act that allowed white employers to gain comfort from relationships which were inherently misbalanced and potentially disquieting.

Using Scott’s notion of subaltern resistance, we can read against the grain of research dialogues to understand aspects of African resistance, explained through the interpersonal relationships so central to the construction of white adults’ subjectivity.<sup>855</sup> Mark Benson discussed his relationship with his night-watchmen and what he perceived as their benefit from working for him.

I’ve got two watchmen here. I don’t really need two, but it gives someone a job. As soon as it’s dark they fall asleep. One is losing eyesight and I paid for his cataract operation, he’s absolutely delighted. He’s got a prostate problem now and he has to have it operated on ... I’ve just paid for this. They like that because they know a *mzungu* will look after them. You treat them, in a way, like part of the family.<sup>856</sup>

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<sup>853</sup> For idea of becoming part of the family see Benson KI043, Nowak ZI015, Coulson ZI066.

<sup>854</sup> Mark Benson KI043.

<sup>855</sup> Scott, *Resistance*.

<sup>856</sup> Mark Benson KI043.

Whilst Mark was stressing his generous position as a white employer, offering medical support and unnecessary jobs, the agency of his staff was clear. They had negotiated an arrangement whereby they were paid to sleep, and received financial and medical support from their employer.<sup>857</sup> Whilst Mark felt his position in Kenya to be cemented through this relationship, and others, his watchmen were also reaping the benefits of Mark's postcolonial angst. The Clarkes offered a similar indication of their gardeners' agency.

They [gardeners] can just be silly. The gardeners will do something that they know for months and months, and all of a sudden, they'll chop a tree down for no reason. It's like Kevin always says, "the worm turns, and they do something." They can't tell you why they did it. We had previous to that, a time [when] they were stealing; anything and everything. We've got lovely fruit trees out in the back, we never saw any fruit, but you wouldn't believe the amount now... they haven't taken any for a week so obviously they don't want it. <sup>858</sup>

The Clarkes tried to discount the gardeners' actions as symptomatic of African irrationality, but their actions could indicate resistance to poorly paid, infuriating jobs. This interpretation is further supported by the gardeners' theft of fruit and tools from the garden: they take what they can from a hierarchical and challenging relationship to improve their material conditions. Importantly, they do so with an awareness that the relationship upon which their employment has been founded is one in which their white employers feel duty-bound to be 'sympathetic' – as the Clarkes themselves said.

The ability of African staff to manipulate white postcolonial angst was also hinted at by Sharon Mintram:

It's [relationship with staff] getting more stressful now as they're always asking for advances because they don't seem to be getting

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<sup>857</sup> Although being a watchman could be a dangerous job, in this particular context the Bensons had not experienced any serious crime and were in a rural location.

<sup>858</sup> Keith and Barbara Clarke ZI059.

enough. Now they've got these telephones they spend all their time on the telephone!<sup>859</sup>

Sharon indicated that a change had recently been wrought by the growth of technology amongst staff – they openly used their phones in front of their employer, whilst also asking for money to be put toward the devices in order to enhance communication around the house and farm. This formed part of a wider pattern of gradually shifting white relationships with staff, as greater education and access to technology weakened paternalistic dynamics. Benjamin Liddell reflected on the last fifty years on his farm in Mkushi:

I give far more responsibility now than I would have in the past. Previously they [Africans] weren't capable of dealing with the responsibility. I was constantly checking work and setting it out. But now *I* have to ask people what they're doing!<sup>860</sup>

Benjamin's paternalistic grip was evidently waning, as he aged and disengaged from the day-to-day running of the farm. He engaged with a widespread discourse which emphasised the changing dynamic between older white employers and younger African staff.

Francis Church who featured earlier in the chapter was particularly uncomfortable with the 'burden' of his fictive kinship network; 'You have a lot of dependents. It's great but it gets you.'<sup>861</sup> He went on:

Now the children of my staff are well educated. It's a changing dynamic relationship – which is more interactive. They know all your business and you're linked into their business. You want to support them due to the relationship. You can never really get away from it. It's on your neck all the time but the exciting bit is the children who are really well educated, who know things you don't. It's challenging and exciting. I've nurtured these opportunities for these children.<sup>862</sup>

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859 Sharon Mintram KI005.

860 Benjamin Liddell ZI046.

861 Francis Church ZI019.

862 Ibid.

Francis in particular referenced the son of an employee whom he had helped finance through college to learn computer science. The enjoyment and pride he gained from this relationship – explicitly spoken about in terms of a wide family – were palpable. It mitigated his clear discomfort with having a network of people who viewed him as a source of patronage and financial support. Francis’ support of his staff’s children formed part of a white viewpoint – voiced by many in his generation of late-colonial/immediate post-colonial children – in which the ‘colonial residue of inequality’ as he termed it, was gradually retreating in the face of a new wave of young educated Zambians. The new generation of Zambians were viewed as adding a great deal to white businesses, and in doing so, changing entrenched white perceptions of Africans.

As whites have aged, the social landscapes of Kenya and Zambia have also changed. The comfort of the *bwana* position has gradually been eroded, as younger black Kenyans and Zambians have received education and assumed positions in businesses which destabilise previous notions of white superiority. This sense of change and decline in a lofted white position is distinctly related to the process of ageing, due to the changing place of whites within employment, familial and kinship hierarchies. As the world has changed around them, white adults heading towards the latter stages of life have felt their hitherto supposedly stable positions as knowledgeable and generous white employers at the head of fictive kinship networks begin to be destabilised by youthful, well-educated black employees who challenged white claims to experience, knowledge and increasingly access to capital. It is these shifting dynamics in later life to which this chapter now turns.

### ***Old age: mutuality and vulnerability***

Elderly whites in Africa received little legislative or social attention from colonial regimes who were largely concerned with securing the future through children and the family. Elderly whites therefore appear only sporadically within the colonial archive – in

relation to pensions and to the prospect of white destitution after independence.<sup>863</sup> As independence approached in both countries in the early 1960s, the colonial governments and settler welfare societies became concerned by the prospect of vulnerable, elderly whites being left at the mercy of ‘vengeful’ African governments.<sup>864</sup> The evocation of fear as the natural emotional state for an elderly white in postcolonial Africa was evidenced by the correspondingly high proportion of elderly people who left around the time of independence. Brendon Lang recalled a lot of elderly farmers leaving Zambia when he was a boy; in fact, the farm he now lived on was purchased from an elderly couple who left Mazabuka in 1961.<sup>865</sup> Susan Wright, the owner of a large farm just north of Lusaka, echoed Brendon’s views of independence, and was keen to stress that she remembered it distinctly, and ‘there wasn’t a mass exodus. Just the older people left’.<sup>866</sup> The uncertainty of independence for whites made the position of the elderly particularly precarious; especially in Kenya where the high-profile public memory of two old white women being attacked during Mau Mau still resonated. The consensus amongst white groups was that elderly people’s vulnerability, particularly in rural settings, made them suitable candidates for British government-sponsored withdrawal, while the physical and mental resilience of younger whites meant they could ‘gamble’ on what postcolonial life might hold for them.<sup>867</sup>

The conjunction of fear and being elderly continued after the specific moment of independence and was explicitly referenced by some participants, reiterating the notion of Africa being a ‘young’ space for those who were energetic and healthy enough to enjoy

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<sup>863</sup> Jackson, ‘No Country for Old Men’, p. 141.

<sup>864</sup> Correspondence between the author and Professor Richard Waller also see KNA, GH/7/80 Kenya European Welfare Society 1956-62.

<sup>865</sup> Brendon Lang ZI042. Also Richard Campbell ZI045, father left in 1970 when he got old.

<sup>866</sup> Susan Wright ZI025.

<sup>867</sup> KNA, KL/4/6, ‘Old Age Europeans in Kenya’ by W.Urquhart.

its freedoms and protect themselves against its dangers. Sean O'Brien reflected on his long-term plans as a white Kenyan in his fifties:

When you get old someone will climb over the wall and knock you on the head. [Poor] security will get to such an extent that as an older, weaker, feeble white will I be able to stop poor people climbing over the wall as I'm old and geriatric and knocking me on the head? As has happened to some of my older friends on the coast.<sup>868</sup>

Sean tapped into a wider sense of fear of white vulnerability which became a more prescient, lived experience as one aged. His veiled comments about the poor can be read as inferring the 'African poor' as this vulnerability was experienced as a specifically racialised ordeal. He attempted to anecdotally mitigate any notion of racism but including his afterthought that white friends on the coast had already experienced such crime.

Nicola Maguire reflected on the status of one of her friends in her eighties who lived in Lusaka and whose husband had recently died.

Mel was talking of leaving [before her husband died] but now she says no. I don't want her living in that big house by herself. She refuses to lock the gate. She says, "oh the Zambians are so nice". At least George [husband] isn't left sitting on the verandah anymore.<sup>869</sup>

Nicola's inherent distrust of Zambians meant that Mel's sense of comfort with the local community was perceived as dangerous naivety, a position made more understandable when both Nicola and Mel's personal experiences of extreme violence and family loss were taken into consideration.<sup>870</sup> Nicola also hinted at the particular fear that elderly white women faced due to their double vulnerability of being both elderly and female – their vulnerability as older women centring on both perceptions of white

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<sup>868</sup> Sean O'Brien KI040.

<sup>869</sup> Nicola Maguire ZI038.

<sup>870</sup> Ibid.

feebleness in 'dangerous' Africa and the enduring legacies of 'black peril'. Deborah Strathern had similar worries for one of her female neighbours in Mazabuka.

Sometimes when I'm scared when I think of old Penny down there. She doesn't even have a fence around her house. She didn't have bars [on her windows] until much, much later. [There's] Lots of women in Maz [sic] who don't.<sup>871</sup>

In a similar situation to both Nicola and Mel, Deborah had experienced familial loss through violent crime and as a result had fortified her living arrangements. In these examples personal experience of crime had shaped their subjectivities and heightened their sense of fear and vulnerability, both as women and elderly.

#### *Economy of care and dependency*

Whilst personal experience of violent crime has shaped many whites' views of old age, this was by no means universal. Instead, fictive kin relationships have effectively provided vital social networks for people in the later stages of life, either through relationships with caregivers or through friends, who in effect become 'quasi-kin'.<sup>872</sup> In Kenya and Zambia fictive kin relationships between white employers and black staff were reinforced during old age as potential loneliness and isolation increased whilst immediate kin/familial ties often declined due to death and migration. Melwin Nowak expressed his 'concern' with growing old in Zambia but went on to rationalise why he would stay:

If I become really old and dodderly, I'm certain I'd end up with a local Zambian woman to look after me all the time. It [prospect of being old] hasn't hit home hard because we have excellent help.<sup>873</sup>

Melwin's imagined old-age placed a strong emphasis upon the gendered nature of care. Home care work has been defined by Neysmith and Aronson as a form of labour

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<sup>871</sup> Deborah Strathern ZI041a.

<sup>872</sup> Tracy X. Karner, 'Professional Caring: Homecare Workers as Fictive Kin', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 12.1 (1998), 69–82; Rae.

<sup>873</sup> Melwin Nowak ZI015.



which has been historically gendered and racialized.<sup>874</sup> Whilst their arguments were based upon a study of southern Ontario, their theorisation of care work also has resonance for the white populations of postcolonial Kenya and Zambia. Domestic staff's navigation of the racist behaviour and attitudes encountered while caring for increasingly vulnerable and infirm white employers was consistent in both Ontario, and eastern and central Africa.

However, within the specific contexts of Kenya and Zambia the presence of black domestic workers was partially performative; it demonstrated to the wider community that the white employer was duly benefiting from the patron/client networks as they as a prominent, wealthy figure were expected to. These dynamics shaped relationships between elderly whites and black care-givers. Patronage relations were not entirely inverted when whites aged, as the nature of the exchange remained similar – black staff receiving money and security for their labour – and as such elderly whites did not become 'clients'. However the nature of labour did evolve, and became more aligned with notions of mutual care-giving. Whites 'looked after' their workers, while in time, their workers turned to care for them. These relations combined material and emotional dimensions. Brett Shadle has argued that white paternalism in colonial Kenya led to settlers having a genuine sense of care for 'their Africans'.<sup>875</sup> In this instance postcolonial whites described a practice of care in which they were emotionally committed. A more elusive aspect is the question of whether their African carers developed a similar sense of emotional commitment to elderly whites.

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<sup>874</sup> Sheila M. Neysmith and Jane Aronson, 'Working Conditions in Home Care: Negotiating Race and Class Boundaries in Gendered Work', *International Journal of Health Services*, 27.3 (1997), 479–499.

<sup>875</sup> Shadle, *Souls*, pp. 4 and 46.

The interpersonal relationships with African staff that had defined many whites' lives took on a particular intensity later in people's lives as they became increasingly reliant on domestic 'help' and their status in society evolved. This intensity was attributed to a societal respect for the elderly, described by Sharon Mintram:

They're [Africans] very good with old people. I was in town today in a queue, they said "you go ahead, you're an *mzee*". I think it's because people know me around here. I've been here nearly 50 years.<sup>876</sup>

Sharon hit upon two key points. First, the transition from an adult *bwana*/madam complex to becoming an *mzee*, a Ki-Swahili term for elder, and a notion also pertinent in Zambia.<sup>877</sup> Bill Newton, a retired engineer on Leopard's Hill Road in Lusaka, revelled in the fact that issues which affected his younger white compatriots – such as corruption, police harassment, impoliteness- 'don't have any effect on me as I'm an old *mzungu*'.<sup>878</sup> Second, the importance of being resident within a community into old age – even if largely aloof from it – created a sense of shared identity and mutuality which was more difficult to broach when whites were younger. The transition of whites from *bwana* to *mzee* in the eyes of Africans represented the changing dynamics of care and dependency. As whites aged, and as importantly, retired, they became more readily accepted into African systems of care based upon the philosophy of *ubuntu*. In *ubuntu* the group is emphasised over the individual and care for people, particularly the elderly, is central to being a good person.<sup>879</sup> When whites retired and transitioned from the more aloof, authority figure of the *bwana* to a more vulnerable and, in some ways, relatable *mzee* figure, their entrenchment in

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<sup>876</sup> Sharon Mintram KI005.

<sup>877</sup> For similar respect paid to the white elderly see Newton ZI031, Smith ZI002, Coogan ZI014 and Mel Teevan ZI020.

<sup>878</sup> Bill Newton ZI031.

<sup>879</sup> Cattell, 'Ubuntu', p. 37.

African kinship networks could be less fraught, and they could fit more easily into existing social systems in Kenya and Zambia.

The apparent shift of affect toward elderly whites allowed for an multidirectional interracial engagement on a more empathetic level, as domestic staff began to be spoken of as ‘caring for’ their employer, rather than due to the demands of paid employment. Although it must be acknowledged that African voices are absent here, and caring for people does not necessarily equate to caring about them. In *white eyes* the relationships became more explicitly affective and physically intimate due to the level of domestic assistance required. Mark Benson described how ‘if I’m going to be a clapped-out old bugger this is the place to do it’.<sup>880</sup> He went on, ‘I’ve got some nice people who come and work in the house and look after me. They come and get my briefcase from the car’.<sup>881</sup> Mark was eighty-two years old and invoked a nostalgic notion of colonial era domestic service as a form of care now he was elderly. His view of the traditional deference shown in retrieving his briefcase offered him a sense of comfort in his old age, while he acknowledged that his close relationships with his staff meant that they secured material benefits of higher wages, education and medical support.

The notion of a far more mutual interpersonal relationship with staff was reiterated by a number of elderly participants. Geraldine Cleall, an elderly lady in her late eighties living alone on the shores of Lake Naivasha, stressed how she was not at all lonely in her old age as ‘I’m friends with my staff and they are always here’.<sup>882</sup> Geraldine’s invocation of friendship was striking, and resonated with other elderly whites who described Africans they employed – however informally - as friends. The affective change that this could

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<sup>880</sup> Mark Benson KI043.

<sup>881</sup> Ibid.

<sup>882</sup> Geraldine Cleall KI047.

bring about was crucial for those that had committed their life to Kenya and Zambia. The reality for many elderly whites was that they had spent most – if not all – of their life in either country. They had ‘friends’ – both white, and increasingly they claimed, staff; intimate relationships and memories which were entwined with the country, overriding any notion of fear inherent in the vulnerability of old-age. The softening of relationships with staff for elderly whites also illuminates a broader pattern within white life-courses. White children had friendships with Africans in a ‘pre-racial’ state; intimate relations became formalised to be more ‘white’ in adulthood when race was learnt and they became established at the head of racial hierarchies with African dependents; and then in old age white intimate relationships became more African once more as white friendships decrease due to migration or death and Africans become the prominent members of their social landscapes.

The deeply emotive landscape of ageing was coupled with the material reality of being able to afford to pay for a level of care which would be impossible in a Western country, which they would often have no interest in living, and dying in, regardless. Moira Smith, a retired farmer in her mid-80s who had spent her life in the Southern Province of Zambia, reflected that ‘I’ll be making old bones here. This is home. We can arrange for our staff to look after us and stay.’<sup>883</sup> Whilst material comfort played an important role in such considerations, the affective link to people which had been formed and cemented throughout whites’ lives were equally important. Trevor Donaldson, the eighty-six-year-old retired conservationist living outside Nyeri, also considered his plans for the future:

Me at my age there is no way I’m going to move anywhere. Even if I lost this place [his house] I’d go and sit under the thorn tree somewhere. Put up a tent and have one or two of my loyal friends, and

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<sup>883</sup> Moira Smith ZI002b.

live out my last days with the wildlife, and the more savage people. The pastoralists, the Samburu, Maasai, the hunter gatherers rather than the city slickers.<sup>884</sup>

Trevor once more invoked a claim to friendship with Africans in his old age, a claim which sat alongside his colonial paternalism, which was evident in his stereotyping of Kenyan ethnic groups. His problematic views of the simplicity of contemporary Kenyan society and ethnicity did not challenge his commitment to stay in the country which, although exaggerated, demonstrated his deep connection to the region in which he had spent his entire adult life.

The problematic views of Africans held by many elderly whites – rooted in unreconstructed colonial racial discourses – is perhaps not surprising, and certainly not as interesting as the intimate affinities which could shape interracial relationships later in life. Reginald Barker, in his late eighties and living between sheltered accommodation in Nairobi and Nanyuki, recalled a recent interaction with his domestic staff which had affected him deeply:

You get much closer to these people [Africans] than you realise. About two months ago I got a really bad cough. I went to hospital and got better. I normally gave the ‘girls’ a thousand ‘bob’ tip when I leave, but they handed it back, they said “no *bwana*, you help us and we help you”, which I thought... it was just a really touching moment.<sup>885</sup>

The exchange of money – and the break of protocol – helps uncover the intricacies of these relationships. It would have been expected that his staff would have taken the tip he normally gives them – 1000 Kenyan Shillings (approximately £7.60 in May 2017) was not an insignificant amount of money on top of the staff’s normal salary. Their refusal of the money could have been for a number of reasons. His ill-health may have prompted a desire for his staff to make a gesture of support. Equally this exchange could be read as

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<sup>884</sup> Trevor Donaldson KI078.

<sup>885</sup> Reginald Barker KI058.

the staff's asserting their agency within this fictive kinship relationship – their use of the term *bwana* acknowledging their deference whilst simultaneously demonstrating their ability to shape the terms of engagement.

Ruth Deacon, another elderly white resident in the semi-sheltered accommodation around Nanyuki, reflected on her relationship with her driver and housekeeper.

I've had Charles my driver for 34 years. When I first came up here [to Nanyuki] I wanted someone I knew, and he had worked for us as an *askari* [guard] near Kiambu, and he was a very nice young man in those days and has been with me so long. He looks after me like a father or a son [...] And the same thing with my housekeeper, Constance. She has been with me for 10 years, she looks after me. She always says, "have you done your hair today, have you done your nails". I think it's the most amazing thing, they are so loyal. And Charles, I am very fond of Charles. He is a good, clever man [...] really considerate and concerned about my wellbeing. I think it's wonderful.<sup>886</sup>

Whilst Ruth's description of her staff strayed into the paternalistic discourse of kinship, the subject of the discourse had changed. Rather than the white employer being the fictive kin caring for a junior member of the network, it was Charles who cared for Ruth. Similarly, the language with which Ruth's housekeeper addressed her demonstrated the potential for an equality – or even reversed paternalism - rarely seen in younger relationships. Constance spoke to Ruth like a mother caring for her child, ensuring that she is prepared for the day ahead and to make sure she looks 'respectable'. Whilst not quite an inversion of the racial dynamic discovered during white childhood, it reflected a distortion of the supposedly clear racial hierarchies evident throughout white discourse earlier in life; albeit still encased within the contextual parameters of domestic employment.

The distinction between white Kenyans and Zambians' sense of rootedness - conceptualised as stemming from childhood experience – blurred once individuals

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<sup>886</sup> Ruth Deacon KI058.

reached old age. Any dislocation from the country caused during childhood ebbed in the face of decades spent in the country making families and forging relationships. The shared discourse of care and intimacy across Kenyan and Zambian research dialogues with people in later life stages points to the retreat both of postcolonial angst and of overt *bwana* traits later in life. Deidre Walton, a white Kenyan in her eighties outside Nanyuki, who had recounted the trend of not allowing white children to play with Africans, and had sent her children abroad for schooling at an early age, considered the position of elderly whites in Kenya now.

The few Europeans who stayed here [Nanyuki], you know there aren't many left and they're very old, they're quite happy to be here. They don't worry about it [being in Kenya].<sup>887</sup>

The notion of contentedness in old age centred on an acceptance of a life, and death, in Africa and an awareness of the intricate kinship networks which secured their position. The security gained through a lifetime of experience mitigated the potential for old age to be a time of fear and vulnerability. Lynne Segal has argued that 'the older we are the more we encounter the world through complex layerings of identity, attempting to negotiate the shifting present, while grappling with the disconcerting images of the old.'<sup>888</sup> It is the web of identities, relationships and understandings of the world developed over a life course which have enabled elderly whites in Kenya and Zambia to navigate the potential discomforts of the postcolonial present, and ultimately end their lives feeling at 'home' amongst the people and environments of their local contexts.

### ***Conclusion***

Decolonisation in the early 1960s sparked a degree of existential questioning by whites in Kenya and Zambia. Several central questions facing whites during the 1960s

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<sup>887</sup> Deidre Walton KI062.

<sup>888</sup> Segal, *Out of Time*, p. 4.

and 1970s. Should they stay or go? Should they take up citizenship or remain British? Would their families be safe if they stayed? These questions in turn fed a reappraisal of how whites with a colonial heritage would exist under independent African governments. By tracing the life-stages of whites in both countries, the key influences upon white subjectivity can be exposed. The importance of relationships, and their evolution from racially inflected friendships to fictive kinship networks, have been at the heart of white understandings of their place in Kenya and Zambia. Whilst paternalism continued, its rationalisation shifted. The explicit language of the 'civilising mission' and inherent African inferiority which underpinned colonial paternalism was no longer acceptable in a postcolonial nation. In its place rose a postcolonial paternalism which rested upon a language of contribution and co-dependency akin to fictive kinship. These relationships became the rationale to justify both whites' existence and their privilege. Such attempts to foster legitimacy – incomplete and contested as they were - offer an understanding of how subjectivity has been constructed amongst a minority group which was simultaneously privileged yet fragile.

At the heart of white attempts to legitimise their place in Africa is the spectral presence of white African identities. Claims to an explicit African identity by whites have rarely been unmitigated or widely vocalised in Kenya and Zambia. Instead claims are made to the legitimacy of their place within the specific contexts of 'their' country, and more specifically still, to 'their' immediate world. This legitimacy is fundamentally based upon notions of contribution and co-dependence which are inextricably linked to the fictive kinship networks established by whites over their life course. It is through this conceptualisation of relationships that we can understand white identities and claims to belonging in Kenya and Zambia.



## **CONCLUSION: SETTLERS, WHITE AFRICANS AND EXPATRIATES**

When Timothy Clarke argued for the legitimacy of his ‘indigenous’ white Zambian identity at the start of the thesis, he also recognised the fundamental ‘otherness’ of his whiteness and his corresponding retention of what Robert Gildea has termed ‘racially exclusionary British values’.<sup>889</sup> This sense of separation, twinned with a strong conviction that Zambia was home, spoke to the dichotomous nature of many whites’ identities in the years since formal independence. In our interview Timothy pondered the long-term prospects of whites in Zambia, explicitly in contrast to neighbouring Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe, which stood as a sign of white imperilment. ‘You could have a Mugabe [ex-Zimbabwean president] in Zambia tomorrow, I don’t believe it will happen but I’m not confident [enough] to leave everything to my kids here.’<sup>890</sup> This emphasised how a white African identity was conditional, and potentially easily removed. He concluded that if he was forced out of Zambia he would not move to another African country: ‘Zambia is my life. I wouldn’t pick up my bags and go to Uganda. I’d go to New Zealand before that’.<sup>891</sup> Although Timothy stressed his connection to Zambia, the wider continent was not imagined within his construction of ‘home’ due to its apparent instability.

This stood in contrast to Judy Rawlinson’s recollections at the start of Chapter Three, who felt an amorphous sense of belonging to the entire continent. This could be attributed to the fact that Judy was remembering an ‘Africa’ she had left behind, whereas Timothy was speaking of Africa, and Zambia, in the present and his imagined future within it. This sense of proximity to the continent, and therefore a wariness of it, left Timothy claiming a closer affinity to New Zealand, a country in which he had worked

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<sup>889</sup> For the racially exclusive rhetoric of ‘British values’ see Robert Gildea, *Empires of the Mind: The Colonial Past and the Politics of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 217–19.

<sup>890</sup> Timothy Clarke KI056.

<sup>891</sup> Ibid.

previously before being drawn back to Zambia. The lingering connection to the Neo-Europe of New Zealand alludes to the draw of the ‘whiter’ countries of the old Dominions in the Antipodes and North America, as places considered more of a viable home by whites than the broader African continent; an uncomfortable place in the present and a potentially hostile place in the future.<sup>892</sup> Timothy pointedly drew a distinction between Zambia and Africa. Whilst Zambia was ‘his life’, he would go to New Zealand above anywhere in the rest of the continent. He deliberately identified as a white Zambian, not as a white African.

Timothy was an example of a wider trend of ‘white African’ being used, at best, selectively by postcolonial whites in both countries. Instead this thesis has argued that primary loyalties have been expressed to nation states – which paradoxically provide the better context in which to pursue strategies of belonging and legitimacy that connect to ‘Africa’ in a romantic, ethereal ‘white’ sense. This centres the importance of non-verbal expressions of identity. The thesis has shown how white claims to a form of African identity – be it Kenyan, Zambian or *African* – have rarely been made vociferously or publicly due to the potential for denial of their claim by the country’s black majorities and due to the discomfiting association of these identities with Blackness. Instead the expression of these identities can be found in the emotional strategies, linguistic devices, intimate relationships and fictive kinship networks which whites developed to fulfil both the need and desire to claim a place in postcolonial Africa. Correspondingly the retention of colonial mentalities and ‘settler’ identities were rarely verbally expressed but could be unearthed by examining these same facets of the real and imagined worlds which whites

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<sup>892</sup> For Neo-Europe see Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

have occupied; worlds in which relations with Africans and the African environment have been central to white understandings of self.

***The difficulty of being 'white African'***

This analysis of white postcolonial identity has taken place through a combined methodology utilising ethnographic oral history and archival sources which compared the history of decolonisation in two examples of 'failed' settler colonial projects in Africa. This has allowed for a questioning of what a 'settler' might be, both before and after independence and ultimately raised the question to what extent settlers were ever settled? The failed settler colonialism in Kenya and Zambia created a more multi-national sense of colonial whiteness, in which 'settlers' maintained closer links to both countries of origin, and other imagined white spaces such as South Africa and the Antipodes. Rather than drawing comfort and legitimacy from their creation of a 'neo-Europe', as white settlers had historically done in North America and Australasia, whites in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia relied upon a sense of belonging drawn from the wider British world system which validated their tenuous place in colonial Africa and also provided transnational links back to Britain. However, at independence a minority stayed on, seeing themselves as committed to the country in a way which transcended its colonial iteration. This move beyond claims of commitment to a colonial country, and instead to a newly independent *African* nation, pointed toward the emergence of a postcolonial whiteness on the eve of independence.

By weaving together the histories of decolonisation and settler colonialism in Africa with a comparative oral and archival history, this research has managed to construct the intimate social worlds which whites have occupied since 1960. It has been through an understanding of these worlds, garnered through immersive anthropological techniques, that the features of postcolonial white identities in Kenya and Zambia have been

unearthed. The behaviours and mentalities which construct this whiteness have been centred on white minority groups concerns with legitimising their continued presence and privilege in postcolonial environments, in which their whiteness is a conspicuous marker of colonialism and its legacies. Whilst this legitimation has, in part, taken the form of a claim to white African identity, the reality is more complex. The loud proclamations of white African identity espoused by some white South Africans, and celebrated by white nationalists outside the continent, are not easily replicated in Kenya and Zambia due to whites' demographic insignificance.<sup>893</sup> This is reinforced by the complication of being a postcolonial 'white African', as colonial rule established and reinforced racial hierarchies which entwined 'African' with Blackness and both as inferior to whiteness. Thus, it has not been surprising that white African identity has sat uncomfortably, as whites who benefited from racial hierarchies now attempt to reinforce their whiteness, whilst also claiming the legitimacy which an African identity can offer. This position of discomfort has led to the explicit label of 'white African' being avoided by most postcolonial whites in Kenya or Zambia, who lack the coherence and security of the larger populations of whites in South Africa. Instead they lay claim to a multi-faceted identity drawing both from the specificity of Kenya/Zambia, their British or European heritage and their experiences in Africa.

The contested ways in which whites have claimed a place in postcolonial African society has pointed to the tensions between attempts to be separate from the wider African community whilst also being interwoven into African kinship and patronage networks. The central contribution of the thesis to the wider literature on whiteness in

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<sup>893</sup> AfriForum, an Afrikaner rights group, in South Africa are one example of this proclamation of white African identity, often within the discourse of whites as an oppressed ethnic minority, see <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/16/the-last-white-africans/>

Africa and the decolonisation of settler societies is the notion of entangled whiteness, the way in which whiteness was always entangled with the objects against which it defined itself. Indeed, in the contexts of postcolonial Kenya and Zambia such distance was almost impossible to achieve. As a result the thesis has shown the equivocal, uncertain and hesitant nature of whiteness in contexts where whiteness is conspicuously linked to a recent colonial past. This entangled whiteness demonstrates how the notion of reinforced racial difference upon which many whiteness studies are situated needs to be reconceptualised for postcolonial Kenya and Zambia. In these countries whiteness is tentative and relational – being defined by the African contexts in which it is entangled. The use of a comparative study has demonstrated the relational nature of whiteness, as the subjects of this thesis have constructed themselves in direct comparison to the more infamous whites of South Africa and Zimbabwe. Moreover whites in Kenya and Zambia consider themselves in comparison to one another. Their points of similarity – in population size and postcolonial history – serving to reinforce the viability of a comparison which works to justify both white Kenyan and white Zambians sense of themselves as more ‘decolonial’ whites.

By navigating the spaces, senses, linguistics and life stages of postcolonial whites these contradictory patterns of interconnection and separation from Africa and Africans have been illuminated. For example, when spaces have been policed as ‘white’ this has largely been to foster a sense of comfort, in contrast to the often deeply discomfoting spaces of ‘modern’ Africa. Similarly, the white use of certain words taken from African vernaculars has been to emphasise white indigenous knowledge, and therefore legitimacy in the continent, yet these words have simultaneously been used to draw boundaries of affect and limit understanding between whites and black Africans. These contradictions sit alongside the complex ways in which race and identity are constructed and performed through emotive, sensorial language and experience. The senses and memory have not

only been conceptual linchpins within the thesis but have been topics which participants in the research openly and frequently discussed themselves. A central phenomenon within this has been reverie - conceptualised as an escape to non-racialised memories of childhood – which encapsulates how emotions and the senses intersected in provoking states which mitigated postcolonial discomfort for whites and helped naturalise and rationalise their place in Africa.

Each chapter has shown how white identity was constructed and performed in a variety of contexts and through various means. White identities have been constructed against the more ‘colonial’ whites in the south, the indigenous other and in apparent unity with the ‘wilderness’ of Africa. However, identity construction has been more complex than a narrative of the removal of the ‘native’, as Africans have been the conspicuous mirror against which whites have considered themselves.<sup>894</sup> But this does not provide the full picture of the complex, co-dependent relationships which have developed since independence. These interracial relationships can be fraught and unsettling, yet also comforting and validating, as some whites have gained legitimacy from their recognition as fellow compatriots by their black African neighbours. It is these decolonising relationships which work to unsettle the recalcitrant colonial legacy of racialised power dynamics within both countries and can potentially offer ways for whites to construct a more decolonial sense of themselves in postcolonial Africa.

Whites’ strongest claim to an African identity has often been through the ‘tense and tender ties’ which have defined interracial relationships. The fictive kinship networks which whites have been involved in, both formally through employment and informally through patronage, have occasionally been mobilised by whites within a discourse of

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<sup>894</sup> For literature on Zimbabwean whites which highlights the importance of ‘removing the native’ see Hughes, *Whiteness*.

contribution to the nation. However, the thesis has shown that the co-dependence within these relationships moves beyond a mere discursive device, and instead positions whites more firmly within the African context. This develops a key tension surrounding the white need to be, or desire to seem, white African. At various points in the fifty-six years since independence whites have had to position themselves in relation to the African nation. At the height of the civil war in Rhodesia and with the presence of Selous Scouts in Zambia, whites had to express their commitment to the country and its people, just as whites in Laikipia have had to since the eruption of land tensions in 2016. However, these commitments to African countries depended on a myriad of personal and emotive factors, as well as the political need for safety. Affect and materiality combined as this desire and need became entangled. As a result, even with feelings of safety secured, commitment to the country could still be tenuous. Retreat into the white enclaves of sports clubs and farming districts, as well as a reliance upon colonial behaviours and language, limited claims to be part of the nation. More frequently whites positioning of themselves as African, or Kenyan or Zambian, reflects both a need and a desire. They want to be accepted in the country in which they were born or have spent most of their lives, yet they do not want to be entirely integrated into African cultural and social systems which many still consider to be alien. They are also aware that their desire to belong has always been contested, even though it remains politically astute to continue to make these claims to belonging. Ultimately making these claims, even though they may be futile in terms of perceived credibility, creates a political relationship, one in which white claims to a place in the postcolonial nation are at least countenanced.

### ***Settlers or expatriates?***

Just as the 'settler community' during the colonial period was not entirely comprised of 'settlers', those white communities who remained after independence cannot be easily

classified as settler or African, nor British, Kenyan or Zambian. These groupings shared some characteristics with the distinctly postcolonial phenomenon of white expatriatism. However, this categorisation does not quite satisfy. Some members of these white groups made claims of belonging to Kenya or Zambia and occasionally professed commitment to the continent as a whole. There are self-styled ‘white Africans’ but the transition from settler to white African could never be wholesale nor complete. ‘Britishness’, in its most nebulous form, has also been a key part of these identities, as a lingering presence of either nostalgic connection to, and bitter self-definition against, Britain.<sup>895</sup> Whilst some clung to decolonisation as the ‘great betrayal’, others retained a sentimental attachment to the aesthetics of the lost colonial era, lived and performed through tea on the verandah, bells for domestic service and drinks down at the club.<sup>896</sup>

Whilst this thesis offers a recent history of Kenya and Zambia, it is also inescapably a history of Britain and its empire. The fact that Britain remains a reference point for whites in both countries points toward the persistent affective ties between the old metropole and the whites who remember, and continually seek to re-remember, Britain when it was still a global hegemon. This connects with recent studies by Eva Namusoke and Eleanor Newbigin on the role of nostalgia and selective history within the Brexit vote.<sup>897</sup> The ahistorical nostalgia Newbigin identified in Britain can be found amongst white participants in Kenya and Zambia, who lauded Brexit as a chance to ‘keep England for the Englishman [...] all this immigration is diluting the English people too much’.<sup>898</sup>

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<sup>895</sup> Saul Dubow, ‘How British Was the British World? The Case of South Africa’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37.1 (2009), 1–27.

<sup>896</sup> Ian Douglas Smith, *The Great Betrayal: The Memoirs of Ian Douglas Smith* (London: Blake Publishing, 1997).

<sup>897</sup> Eva Namusoke, ‘A Divided Family: Race, the Commonwealth and Brexit’, *The Round Table*, 105.5 (2016), 463–476; Eleanor Newbigin, ‘Brexit, Nostalgia and the Great British Fantasy’, *Open Democracy*, 15 Feb, 2017.

<sup>898</sup> Mark Benson KI043. For other examples see Sharon Mintram KI002, Peter Johnston KI077, the Drakes ZI035 and Malcolm Chandler ZI017.



Concerns with events in the old metropole, despite an inability to vote as foreign nationals or due to extended residency outside the UK, demonstrates the lingering ties of empire, expressed through cultural and racial attachments to an imagined Britain of imperial glory and uncomplicated whiteness.<sup>899</sup>

This thesis has specifically focused upon white ‘stayers’, those who chose to remain in Kenya and Zambia, not only after independence but throughout the decades after. As a result, the voices of those who left either country have been absent. This has resulted in an exclusive history of whites *in* Africa, and the ways in which the tensions between being white and living in Africa have been navigated. A study of the whites who chose to leave Kenya and Zambia in the years after independence would provide a complementary study of decolonisation and illuminate the ways in which whites were not able to balance the tensions of living in postcolonial Africa. Similarly, although Kenya and Zambia represent specific case studies, it has been the peculiarities of their experiences of decolonisation and their demographic dynamics which has allowed for this thesis to make an original contribution to decolonisation histories and the histories of whiteness and settler colonialism in Africa. However, the methodologies and conclusions put forward speak to wider concerns within the study of decolonisation and whiteness, most clearly within Africa but also potentially in other contexts where white minorities have clung on to economic and social privilege. Richard Schroeder’s work on white South Africans in Tanzania points toward the potential benefit of taking the methodology and conclusions of this work into other African contexts with a history of frustrated or piecemeal settler colonialism, which now has resident populations of whites with a colonial heritage.<sup>900</sup> Malawi, with its history of white planters, entanglement in the Central African Federation

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<sup>899</sup> Peter Johnston KI077 directly referenced this.

<sup>900</sup> Schroeder, *After Apartheid*.

and complex interracial relationships would be a natural context in which to develop the arguments put forward here, as Christopher Lee's work on mixed race Malawians has demonstrated.<sup>901</sup>

The potential linkages between 'internationalist' expatriate identities and the often contradictory, multinational self-understandings of whites in postcolonial Africa point to how the construction of both identities were in relation to one another.<sup>902</sup> The methodology developed in this research could usefully be applied to a study of white expatriatism and the growth of developmentalist ideology in Africa in the years after independence, as white expatriates represent the most obvious privileged white minority in comparable contexts to Kenya and Zambia. The entrenchment of white legitimacy through developmental discourse tied together white 'ex-colonials' and white expatriates, even as both worked to define themselves against the other. Studies of developmentalism and expatriatism have tended to focus upon the impact of humanitarianism within Britain or upon the macro-scale politics of humanitarianism internationally.<sup>903</sup> However the potential exists for a concerted analysis of postcolonial humanitarianism and development through interpersonal, social histories which centre racial identity as the prism of analysis. This could use James Ferguson's anthropological work on the

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<sup>901</sup> Clement Ng'ong'ola, 'The State, Settlers, and Indigenes in the Evolution of Land Law and Policy in Colonial Malawi', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 1990, 27–58; Bronia Meg Cross, 'The Historical Geographies of European Childhood in Colonial Africa: Children's Lives in Nyasaland, 1889–1964' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 2018); Christopher J. Lee, *Unreasonable Histories: Nativism, Multiracial Lives, and the Genealogical Imagination in British Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

<sup>902</sup> Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Matthew Hilton, 'Ken Loach and the Save the Children Film: Humanitarianism, Imperialism, and the Changing Role of Charity in Postwar Britain', *The Journal of Modern History*, 87.2 (2015), 357–394.

<sup>903</sup> Emily Baughan, 'The Imperial War Relief Fund and the All British Appeal: Commonwealth, Conflict and Conservatism within the British Humanitarian Movement, 1920–25', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40.5 (2012), 845–861; Emily Baughan and Juliano Fiori, 'Save the Children, the Humanitarian Project, and the Politics of Solidarity: Reviving Dorothy Buxton's Vision', *Disasters*, 39.s2 (2015), s129–s145; Barnett; Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Matthew Hilton, 'International Aid and Development NGOs in Britain and Human Rights since 1945', *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 3.3 (2012), 449–472.

discursive power of developmental bureaucracies to centre subjective interpersonal experience as an optic to understand historical change. This could be specifically used to analyse the relationship between decolonisation, white expatriatism and the growth of ‘developmentalism’ ideology in Africa.<sup>904</sup> The presence of resident white groups as interlocutors with white expatriates’ engagements with postcolonial Africa – due to their shared social and work spaces - provides another interface through which developmentalism was constructed. The tensions between white expatriates’ developmentalist ideology and the presence of colonial ‘remnants’ who claimed their own knowledge of Africa and their own concepts of African development would be a particularly rich vein of future research.<sup>905</sup>

Whilst many white Kenyans and Zambians have explicitly defined themselves against recently arrived white expatriates, others have adopted expatriate discursive techniques. Douglas Mitchell, a white farmer in Njoro whose family had been farming in the Rift Valley since the 1920s, spoke about his own identity as being ‘Kenyan, no question. Kenyan but with a British heritage.’<sup>906</sup> However, he went onto describe the identities he had tried to encourage in his children:

I’ve always encouraged them to look at themselves as citizens of the world. I’ve told them from the age of three, you’re Kenyan, but you’re also Australian and British. We span most of the world. Culturally we’re Anglo-Saxon but there is no one country that we really need to feel that we have to support, for no other reason than it, being ‘your’ country.<sup>907</sup>

Douglas’ children were no longer living in Kenya, oscillating between Britain, Australia and Kenya as they completed their university studies. Notably Douglas himself

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<sup>904</sup> James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: ‘Development’, Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>905</sup> Reginald Barker KI058.

<sup>906</sup> Douglas Mitchell KI080.

<sup>907</sup> Ibid and Sofia Mudenda KI030.

did not see his own identity in internationalist terms, viewing himself as more rooted in Kenya due to his ownership of land. Although he envisaged that his son would take over the farm, he admitted that in fifteen years' time there was a 50/50 chance that they could still live the comfortable life he does now. He intended to mentor his son in the management of the farm, through the hybrid methods of African kinship and British 'values' which he viewed as essential to keeping control of the land. His uncertainty over the future of the farm was inextricably linked to the future country his children would settle in. His children were becoming more like expatriates as their connections to the land were weakened by the prospect of an unstable future in Africa. Instead of centring his children in Kenya, Douglas prized the mobility which enabled his children to become citizens of the world, a mobility borne of their wealth and whiteness. It is the colonial history of both countries which intersected mobility, privilege and whiteness, and which draws 'settlers', white Kenyans/Zambians and white expatriates into the same productive field of analysis.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### ***Primary sources***

#### **Oral history interviews**

#### **Terminology**

The categories of gender and race used below are informed by the self-identifications of participants rather than my categorisation. The term 'coloured' is used as participants used the term themselves, both to identify themselves and their community. The use of the term is informed by the history of the term in southern Africa as opposed to its use in the United States.

'Female/Male couple' has been used to denote a male and female couple who were only interviewed together.

#### **Kenya**

| <b><u>Reference</u></b> | <b><u>Location</u></b> | <b><u>Pseudonym</u></b> | <b><u>Self-identified gender</u></b> | <b><u>Self-identified race</u></b> |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| KI001                   | Diani                  | Toby Waite              | Male                                 | White                              |
| KI002                   | Kilifi                 | Owen Broadley           | Male                                 | White                              |
| KI003                   | Kilifi                 | Gladys Powers           | Female                               | White                              |
| KI004                   | Kilifi                 | Derek Turner            | Male                                 | White                              |
| KI005                   | Kilifi                 | Sharon Mintram          | Female                               | White                              |
| KI006                   | Lamu                   | Vince MacGregor         | Male                                 | White                              |

|       |            |                               |                    |       |
|-------|------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| KI007 | Malindi    | Nicole Webb                   | Female             | White |
| KI008 | Malindi    | Frankie and Elijah Bernadetti | Female/Male couple | White |
| KI009 | Malindi    | Margaret Ashton               | Female             | White |
| KI010 | Malindi    | Michael Clack                 | Male               | White |
| KI011 | Mombasa    | Tim Cousins                   | Male               | White |
| KI012 | Mtwapa     | Jacob Woods                   | Male               | White |
| KI013 | Mtwapa     | Anne Woods                    | Female             | White |
| KI014 | Watamu Bay | Greg Woods                    | Male               | White |
| KI015 | Watamu Bay | Roy and Andrea Cullen         | Female/Male couple | White |
| KI016 | Watamu Bay | Ruth Broadley                 | Female             | White |
| KI017 | Watamu Bay | Andrew Runciman               | Male               | White |
| KI018 | Laikipia   | June Grout                    | Female             | White |
| KI019 | Laikipia   | Lloyd Jenkins                 | Male               | White |
| KI020 | Laikipia   | Jimmy Hunt                    | Male               | White |
| KI021 | Laikipia   | Dougal MacKenzie              | Male               | White |
| KI022 | Laikipia   | Liz Watkins                   | Female             | White |
| KI023 | Laikipia   | Tony William                  | Male               | White |
| KI024 | Laikipia   | Felicia Hutchings             | Female             | White |

|        |               |                    |        |            |
|--------|---------------|--------------------|--------|------------|
| KI025  | Laikipia      | Claudia Ballantyne | Female | White      |
| KI026  | Laikipia      | Dougie Hughes      | Male   | Mixed race |
| KI027  | Laikipia      | Barney Porter      | Male   | White      |
| KI028  | Laikipia      | Sam Jennings       | Male   | White      |
| KI029  | Nairobi       | Professor Wainana  | Male   | Black      |
| KI030  | Nairobi       | Adam Higgs         | Male   | White      |
| KI031  | Nairobi       | Duncan McSweeney   | Male   | White      |
| KI032  | Nairobi       | n/a                | Male   | Mixed race |
| KI033  | Nairobi       | Leslie Mayo        | Male   | White      |
| KI034  | Nairobi       | Nathan Gold        | Male   | White      |
| KI035  | Nairobi       | Saul Horne         | Male   | White      |
| KI036  | Nairobi/Karen | Naomi Andrews      | Female | White      |
| KI037  | Nairobi/Karen | Edward Fisher      | Male   | White      |
| KI038  | Nairobi/Karen | Paul Vaughan       | Male   | White      |
| KI039  | Nairobi/Karen | Derren Broadley    | Male   | White      |
| KI040  | Nairobi/Karen | Sean O'brien       | Male   | White      |
| KI041a | Nairobi/Karen | Bill Kent          | Male   | White      |
| KI041b | Nairobi/Karen | Gordon Kerridge    | Male   | White      |

|        |                |                                 |                    |       |
|--------|----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| KI042  | Nairobi/Limuru | Agnes Walker                    | Female             | White |
| KI043  | Naivasha       | Mark Benson                     | Male               | White |
| KI044  | Naivasha       | Ruben Foster                    | Male               | White |
| KI045  | Naivasha       | Myles Lawson                    | Male               | White |
| KI046  | Naivasha       | Victor Lawson                   | Male               | White |
| KI047  | Naivasha       | Geraldine Cleall                | Female             | White |
| KI048  | Naivasha       | Mike and Sandra Botha           | Female/Male couple | White |
| KI049a | Naivasha       | Dominic Whitfield               | Male               | White |
| KI049b | Naivasha       | Gerry Burns                     | Female             | White |
| KI050  | Nakuru         | Joseph Fox                      | Male               | White |
| KI051  | Nakuru         | Oliver Thatcher                 | Male               | White |
| KI052  | Nakuru         | Lance Courtenay                 | Female/Male couple | White |
| KI053  | Nakuru         | Phoebe Cleall                   | Female             | White |
| KI054  | Nanyuki        | Joss Hayden                     | Male               | White |
| KI055  | Nanyuki        | Debbie Wood                     | Female             | White |
| KI056  | Nanyuki        | Jennifer Mutuku                 | Female             | Black |
| KI057  | Nanyuki        | Dom Walker                      | Male               | White |
| KI058  | Nanyuki        | Reginald Barker and Ruth Deacon | Female/Male couple | White |



|       |           |                     |        |       |
|-------|-----------|---------------------|--------|-------|
| KI059 | Nanyuki   | Mary Kamau          | Female | Black |
| KI060 | Nanyuki   | John Kariuki        | Male   | Black |
| KI061 | Nanyuki   | Niall Madden        | Male   | White |
| KI062 | Nanyuki   | Deidre Walton       | Female | White |
| KI063 | Nanyuki   | Camilla Watson      | Female | White |
| KI064 | Burgeret  | Jocelyn Smith       | Female | White |
| KI065 | Timau     | Damian Lester       | Male   | White |
| KI066 | Timau     | Thomas Jones        | Male   | White |
| KI067 | Timau     | Isla Macdonald      | Female | White |
| KI068 | Timau     | George MacDonald    | Male   | White |
| KI069 | Timau     | Charles Braithwaite | Male   | White |
| KI070 | Naro Moru | Roger Challenor     | Male   | White |
| KI071 | Ndaragwa  | Florence Mwangi     | Female | Black |
| KI072 | Ndaragwa  | Jacob Kariuki       | Male   | Black |
| KI073 | Ndaragwa  | Boniface Maina      | Male   | Black |
| KI074 | Ndaragwa  | Moses Otieno        | Male   | Black |
| KI075 | Njoro     | Jim Waller          | Male   | White |
| KI076 | Njoro     | Terry Waller        | Male   | White |

|        |        |                  |        |       |
|--------|--------|------------------|--------|-------|
| KI077  | Nyeri  | Peter Johnston   | Male   | White |
| KI078  | Nyeri  | Trevor Donaldson | Male   | White |
| KI079  | Nyeri  | Matthew Njoroge  | Male   | Black |
| KI080  | Rongai | Douglas Mitchell | Male   | White |
| KI081  | Rongai | Anne Forbes      | Female | White |
| KI082a | Rongai | Graeme Coetzee   | Male   | White |
| KI082b | Rongai | Lucy Coetzee     | Female | White |
| KI083  | Rongai | Pete Foster      | Male   | White |
| KI084  | Rongai | Barley Hogg      | Male   | White |
| KI085  | Voi    | David Walker     | Male   | White |
| KI086  | UK     | Kathy Cartwright | Female | White |

**Zambia**

| <b><u>Reference</u></b> | <b><u>Location</u></b> | <b><u>Pseudonym</u></b>  | <b><u>Self-identified gender</u></b> | <b><u>Self-identified race</u></b> |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ZI001                   | Chisamba               | Marjory Squire           | Female                               | White                              |
| ZI002a                  | Choma                  | Duncan Smith             | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI002b                  | Choma                  | Moira Smith              | Female                               | White                              |
| ZI003                   | Choma                  | Miriam and Douglas Chona | Female/Male couple                   | Black                              |
| ZI004                   | Choma                  | Clive James              | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI005                   | Choma                  | Leyton Moran             | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI006                   | Choma                  | Duncan Mutenda           | Male                                 | Black                              |
| ZI007                   | NW Zambia              | James Barton             | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI008                   | Kabwe                  | Mike and Clare Webster   | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI009                   | Kabwe                  | Tony Percival            | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI010                   | Kabwe                  | Greg Simmonds            | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI011                   | NW Zambia              | Dave Parker              | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI012                   | Kitwe                  | Matthew Barton           | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI013                   | Kitwe                  | N/a                      | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI014                   | Kitwe                  | Melvin Nowak             | Male                                 | White                              |
| ZI015                   | Kitwe                  | Brenda Coogan            | Female                               | White                              |

|       |             |                             |                    |       |
|-------|-------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| ZI016 | Lusaka      | David McShane               | Male               | White |
| ZI017 | Livingstone | Malcolm Chandler            | Male               | White |
| ZI018 | Lusaka      | N/a                         | Male               | White |
| ZI019 | Lusaka      | Francis Church              | Male               | White |
| ZI020 | Lusaka      | Mel and Roger Teevan        | Female/Male couple | White |
| ZI021 | Lusaka      | Craig Botha                 | Male               | White |
| ZI022 | Lusaka      | Dr Matauka Lee              | Female             | Black |
| ZI023 | Lusaka      | Tony Williams               | Male               | White |
| ZI024 | Lusaka      | Vince Fish                  | Male               | White |
| ZI025 | Lusaka      | Susan Wright                | Female             | White |
| ZI026 | Lusaka      | Caroline Jacobs             | Female             | White |
| ZI027 | Lusaka      | Reg Turner and Mel Turnbull | Female/Male couple | White |
| ZI028 | Lusaka      | Peter Barak                 | Male               | White |
| ZI029 | Lusaka      | N/a                         | Female             | White |
| ZI030 | Lusaka      | Sofia Mudenda               | Female             | Black |
| ZI031 | Lusaka      | Bill Newton                 | Male               | White |
| ZI032 | Lusaka      | Robert Harris               | Male               | White |
| ZI033 | Lusaka      | June Rasch                  | Female             | White |

|        |          |                            |  |       |
|--------|----------|----------------------------|--|-------|
| ZI034  | Lusaka   | Terence Dobson             | Male   | White |
| ZI035a | Lusaka   | Charles Drake              | Male   | White |
| ZI035b | Lusaka   | Sheila Drake               | Female                                       | White |
| ZI036  | Lusaka   | Ben Barton                 | Male   | White |
| ZI037  | Lusaka   | Frank Ranger               | Male   | White |
| ZI038a | Lusaka   | Nicola Maguire             | Female                                       | White |
| ZI038b | Lusaka   | Donald Maguire             | Male   | White |
| ZI039  | Lusaka   | Terry Marks                | Male   | White |
| ZI040  | Mazabuka | Mary Jones                 | Female                                       | White |
| ZI041a | Mazabuka | Deborah Strathern          | Female                                       | White |
| ZI041b | Mazabuka | John Strathern             | Male   | White |
| ZI042  | Mazabuka | Brendon Lang               | Male   | White |
| ZI043  | Mkushi   | The Cosgroves              | Group interview with three men and two women | White |
| ZI044a | Mkushi   | Claire Webber              | Female                                       | White |
| ZIo44b | Mkushi   | Derek Webber               | Male   | White |
| ZI045  | Mkushi   | Richard and Helen Campbell | Female/Male couple                           | White |
| ZI046  | Mkushi   | Rose and Benjamin Liddell  | Female/Male couple                           | White |
| ZI047  | Mkushi   | Peter Mubanga              | Male   | Black |

|        |           |                                   |                                 |             |
|--------|-----------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| ZI048  | Monze     | Betty, Doris, Eleanor and Dorothy | Group interview with four women | Black       |
| ZI049  | NW Zambia | Lydia Jenkins                     | Female                          | Coloured    |
| ZI050  | Ndola     | Boniface Musonda                  | Male                            | Black       |
| ZI051  | Ndola     | Joyce Campbell                    | Female                          | White       |
| ZI052  | Ndola     | Faith Mwale                       | Female                          | Black       |
| ZI053  | Ndola     | Constance Chola                   | Female                          | Black       |
| ZI054  | Ndola     | Beryl Daniels                     | Female                          | Coloured    |
| ZI055  | Ndola     | Roger Kemp                        | Male                            | White       |
| ZI056  | Ndola     | Timothy Clarke                    | Male                            | White       |
| ZI057a | Ndola     | Terence Clarke                    | Male                            | White       |
| ZI057b | Ndola     | Clare Clarke                      | Female                          | White       |
| ZI058  | Ndola     | Simon Harris                      | Male                            | White       |
| ZI059  | Ndola     | Keith Clarke                      | Male                            | White       |
| ZI059b | Ndola     | Barbara Clarke                    | Female                          | White       |
| ZI060a | Ndola     | Simon Cummins                     | Male                            | Coloured    |
| ZI060b | Ndola     | Dorothy Cummins                   | Female                          | Coloured    |
| ZI061  | Ndola     | Elijah Sampa                      | Male                            | Black       |
| ZI062  | Ndola     | Asha Kumar                        | Male                            | South Asian |

|        |             |                                |                    |             |
|--------|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| ZI063  | Ndola       | Terry Clarke                   | Male               | White       |
| ZI064a | Ndola       | Victoria Head                  | Female             | Coloured    |
| ZI064b | Ndola       | Clement Head                   | Male               | Coloured    |
| ZI065  | Ndola       | Vikram Mehta                   | Male               | South Asian |
| ZI066  | Muchinga    | Becca Coulson                  | Female             | White       |
| ZI067  | NW Zambia   | Ian Brown                      | Male               | White       |
| ZI068  | Kitwe       | William Paine                  | Male               | White       |
| ZI069  | Livingstone | Henry Pattinson                | Male               | White       |
| ZI070  | Mkushi      | Paul Beer                      | Male               | White       |
| ZI071  | Mkushi      | Dan Ferguson                   | Male               | White       |
| ZI072  | Mkushi      | Declan and Emily Kimball-Evans | Female/Male couple | White       |
| ZI073  | Mkushi      | Liam Wade                      | Male               | White       |
| ZI074  | Serenje     | Joe Cleall                     | Male               | White       |
| ZI075  | Serenje     | Dorothy Cleall                 | Female             | White       |
| ZI076  | Australia   | Claudia Day                    | Female             | White       |
| ZI077  | Australia   | Isabel Jenkins                 | Female             | White       |
| ZI078  | USA         | Roy Sykes                      | Male               | White       |
| ZI079  | Chisamba    | Peter Squire                   | Male               | White       |

|       |          |                   |        |       |
|-------|----------|-------------------|--------|-------|
| ZI080 | Muchinga | Harry Marchant    | Male   | White |
| ZI081 | Lusaka   | Dalitso           | Male   | Black |
| ZI082 | UK       | Cassandra Bramley | Female | White |



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Figure 1: For the defined area of the White Highlands and Uganda Railway see

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Figure 3: taken from Northern Rhodesia/Zambia Facebook group on 30/01/2019. The

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Figure 4: provided courtesy of Pembroke School Archive.

Figure 5: taken from a post on Northern Rhodesia/Zambia Facebook group in March 2017. The URL is

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/nrzofnr/permalink/10154245716651817/>, (accessed on 22/5/19).

Figure 6 - from Livingstone Museum Archive, uncatalogued.

Figure 7 - from the private collection of James Barton ZI007.

Figure 8 - from the private collection of James Barton ZI007.

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