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**WHAT HAPPENS TO WHITENESS UPON MIGRATION?
AN EXAMINATION OF THE DUAL TRANSNATIONALISM OF WHITE
ZIMBABWEAN EMIGRANTS**

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Kent
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of dual transnationalism and diasporism among white Zimbabweans, arguing that they are dual transnationals following their – or their families’ – migration to Zimbabwe and their own subsequent emigration elsewhere. Whiteness both complicates and facilitates their movement, and their whiteness, in turn, is affected by their dual transnationalism. This thesis examines these interactions, ultimately examining what happens to whiteness upon migration. ‘Whiteness’ in this thesis is conceptualised as the interplay between power, privilege and identity, whose production and reproduction is historical, contextual, multi-layered and perpetually shifting. The thesis challenges the notion of whiteness as invisible, showing how migration experiences redefine power, privilege and identity to create relativity within whiteness. For white Zimbabwean emigrants, this leads to a subjective visibility of whiteness. The analysis demonstrates how colonial and post-colonial power structures shape individuals’ conceptualisations of their white identity as Euro-centric. Upon emigration from Zimbabwe, those same power structures provoke experiences that position individuals on the periphery of whiteness. This leads to a reconceptualisation of individual identities and the notion of ‘home’ so that white Zimbabweans re-conceptualise themselves as Afro-centric and embrace their hybridity. Thus, the thesis contributes to an understanding of positions of duality, specifically, white Zimbabwean experiences of dual diasporism and dual transnationalism. It draws on a translocational lens on intersectionality; transnationalism, intersectionality and whiteness literature. The research draws on 23 narrative and in-depth interviews with white Zimbabwean emigrants.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1. Introduction

While the migration and transnationalism of Zimbabweans is a well-studied area, there is less research on white Zimbabweans (although see Uushikala 2008; Primorac 2010; Law 2016; Zembe 2018; Rasch 2018). Much of the research on white Zimbabweans has been as a part of studies that have had black Zimbabwean migration experiences as their primary focus (see Crush *et al.* 2012; Papasilekas 2017). Few studies have focused entirely on white Zimbabweans. Indeed, when I set out to conduct this research, I intended to focus my study on migration for development, looking into the role of Zimbabwean diaspora organisations in the UK as agents of development. The UK was a natural location for this study, with a large number of Zimbabweans living there due to historical ties with UK, having migrated in several phases of migration over a lengthy period of time (Pasura 2010). In the early stages of my research, I conducted a mapping and timeline of diaspora organisations to trace their development. I attended events and spoke with members of the different diaspora organisations, both as a Zimbabwean myself, as well as a researcher. I soon learned that many of these diaspora organisations were organised along ethnic (Shona and Ndebele) lines.

As I continued meeting and speaking with representatives of diaspora organisations, I could not help but notice the absence of white Zimbabweans. While the ethnic divide between the Shonas and the Ndebeles, strongly present in Zimbabwe (Mangiza and Mazambani 2021; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012) had, it seemed, been exported to the UK and had an impact on the ways in which the diaspora was organised, white Zimbabweans were seldom mentioned in these discussions. Black Zimbabweans did not quite regard them as part of the diaspora. I

began to learn that white Zimbabweans were, for the most part, absent from the events of the black Zimbabwean diaspora.

There were some events in which white Zimbabweans took part but these were few. I became curious and began looking for white Zimbabwean spaces. I began asking questions about their migration experiences, if they considered themselves as a diaspora, whether their experiences as migrants in the UK were different from those of black Zimbabweans and if so, why and to what extent? I wondered about their identification and how they identified themselves. By the end of the first year of my PhD, I had changed the focus of my study to work towards understanding the migration experiences of white Zimbabweans. It was already clear to me that they occupied a position that was midway between that of black Zimbabweans and of white Britons. While white, they were not fully of the UK. I wondered what might explain this puzzle.

In my research, I discovered that white Zimbabweans occupy a transnational social space that is shaped both by historical and more recent migration. I argue that they can be conceptualised as a dual diaspora and as dual transnationals. They can be conceptualised as, first, an imperial diaspora while living in Zimbabwe (Cohen 1997), given the colonial history of Zimbabwe, through which Europeans migrated to Zimbabwe as settlers. Second, I argue that white Zimbabweans become transnationals upon emigration from Zimbabwe and, to a more limited extent, diasporas for a second time. With this dual migration, they become dual transnationals and dual diasporas.

This thesis argues that upon emigration, white Zimbabweans become dual transnationals whose whiteness both conditions and is conditioned by their dual transnationalism. Whiteness

facilitates the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans in some ways and complicates it in others. In turn, their dual transnationalism also structures whiteness by creating conditions which bring white Zimbabweans to distance themselves from whiteness, to see it where it had been invisible to them, and to see themselves as a separate ethnic group from other whites. Being white positions white Zimbabweans at the top of the widely perceived global hierarchy of peoples, brought about by colonialism, in which those who are racialised as white are at the top and are all assumed to be from the West (Quijano 2000). At the same time, this whiteness intersects with other individual constructs which are positioned lower on the same hierarchy, including nationality (Zimbabwean nationality), gender and sexuality. To complicate it further, these constructs have different meanings in different places. As such, when they intersect with each other, the social position in which an individual finds oneself differs depending on the place.

Thus, white Zimbabweans experience differential privilege in their transnationalism, both before emigration, during emigration and upon settlement. Through my examination of this complex and multi-layered duality of white Zimbabwean emigrants, I also argue that they fall at the intersection of dual transnationals, dual diasporas and co-ethnic return migrants. This too is conditioned by whiteness, whose power structures facilitate the experience and denial of certain privileges based on the possession or non-possession of constructs that are important to whiteness. The co-ethnic return migrant status, for example, is associated with European citizenship, which comes with certain privileges for a white Zimbabwean who may feel excluded in the ancestral home, simultaneously exhibiting characteristics of a member of the diaspora, while living a transnational life.

Key concepts

There are four key elements that underpin my research and which influence the analytical framework that I use for the thesis. The first is the colonisation of Zimbabwe, which is a manifestation of white supremacy and was the basis of the contextual whiteness in Zimbabwe and its related power structures. The second is the component of being on the move – through migration and transnational experience. The third element is that of the individual experiences during these migration journeys, which are personal, and emerge from the intersections of individual constructs. The fourth is the racialised transnational space in which this migration occurs. This racialised transnational space is also strongly linked to the history of colonialism, as well as, in turn, conditioning migration, transnationalism and individual experiences.

These key elements are present throughout, and I bring them to bear on my research question by drawing on intersectionality and applying Anthias' (2008) translocational lens to that analysis. Both of these concepts are elaborated upon in more detail in later chapters, but I introduce them here to facilitate an early understanding of how I apply them in this thesis.

In this thesis, I bring these concepts together, applying them as interconnected, rather than as separate. I thus build on them in an analysis of white Zimbabwean transnationals in a way that has not been done before. Together, these concepts help us to understand the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabwean emigrants and how it is conditioned by whiteness.

Transnationalism

I draw on the understanding of transnationalism as “a broad category referring to a range of practices and institutions linking migrants, people, and organisations in their homelands or elsewhere in a diaspora” (Vertovec 2009, 13). Transnational activities take place recurrently

across national borders and require a significant commitment of time by participants (Portes 1999). These activities may be across many spheres, including socio-economic, political, cultural, and religious spheres (Bauböck and Faist 2010; Klingenberg *et al.* 2021).

Transnationalism is, as used in this thesis, based on the understanding that migration is multi-directional and that migrants maintain multiple identities that transcend the boundaries of nation states (Kivistö 2001). As such, transnationalism goes beyond previous dualities of homeland and host country, immigrant and non-immigrant.

In the case of white Zimbabweans, I identify their starting point as diasporas or transnationals, or both, while still in Zimbabwe, their homeland. This initial diasporic or transnational existence is due to historical migration, demonstrating that transnationalism happens even before actual migration and, furthermore, that homelands and host countries are blurred categories. One key aspect of transnationalism is that of simultaneity. Through transnationalism, individuals can occupy several social positions and places at the same time. They can be privileged in one location and marginalised in another, but because they engage with several locations at the same time, these social positions apply concurrently. A translocational lens is therefore a useful tool in the analysis of the simultaneous and shifting social positions in transnationalism.

Translocality/ The translocational lens

A translocational lens (Anthias 2001; 2008; 2013) enables us to examine transnational spaces and locate these framings of the different social positions (e.g., marginalisation and privilege) in terms of structures on the one hand (broader economic and political frameworks) and processes on the other (broader social relations including discourses and representations) (Anthias 2018). In translocality, *social locations* are not physical locations, but are rather the

placing of individuals. In other words, they are the result of how the structures and processes of a particular locale have made meaning of the intersecting characteristics of an individual within the temporal dimension. As such, the intersections of individual constructs result in different social locations or social positionalities depending on the context. The translocational lens is a framework that enables us to enter the transnational space and examine the structures and processes that facilitate these different social positionalities and their shifts. In this thesis, as I am arguing that the structures and processes in these transnational spaces are racialised, the translocational lens helps me to demonstrate that racialisation, which is practiced as whiteness, conditions transnationalism.

Whiteness

For the conceptualisation of the complex concept of whiteness in this thesis, I draw strongly from Pilossof and Boersema (2017), who write about Zimbabwe and conceptualise whiteness as the interplay of power, privilege and identity, consisting of white racialised ideologies and practices, with material and social ramifications (Pilossof 2014; Pilossof and Boersema 2017). I build on this conceptualisation through demonstrating the shifts in the interplay of power, privilege and identity that occurred in Zimbabwe post-independence and the resulting whiteness that develops as part of a mutual re-construction of whiteness and blackness post-independence. Pilossof and Boersema emphasise three elements as part of this conceptualisation of whiteness in Zimbabwe, which I discuss in Chapter Two. This conceptualisation of whiteness takes into account the specific historical perspective and social context of Zimbabwe. It also enables an analysis of whiteness while people emigrate and navigate different geographical and social spaces. As such, drawing on Pilossof and Boersema's conceptualisation of whiteness for this research helps me to position and analyse

whiteness using the translocational lens, which I will engage with here briefly and expand on in Chapter Three.

In my understanding of whiteness, I also draw on Owen (2007)'s functional properties of whiteness, which are based on a unification of the theorisation of whiteness rather than a fragmentation. Owen aims to capture the socio-historical roots of whiteness which bind it together, despite the contextual realities which shape the specific whiteness of different contexts. Functionality, as it applies to the functional properties of whiteness, refers to the practical ways in which whiteness produces and reproduces itself to create a racialised social order. As my thesis looks at transnationalism within this racialised social order, Owen (2007) provides a useful guide to map the very practical ways in which whiteness both facilitates and complicates transnationalism.

This facilitation and complication of whiteness, in turn, produces differential whiteness. Privilege is not absolute; while the white skin colour confers advantages, the extent of the privilege depends on other factors that intersect with race, such as class, gender, accent and nationality. Therefore, the intersections of these axes of inequality and difference produce differential privileged outcomes (Van Riemsdijk 2010; Rzepnikowska 2019). The translocational lens operationalises intersectionality in a useful way to my research. Through the translocational lens, I demonstrate that the extent of white privilege depends on how these individual constructs intersect and that the significance of these intersections also depends on both context and time.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is thus crucial to my argument, and I apply intersectionality at two levels: at a macro level – the level of the group – and at a micro level – the level of the individual. At the level of the ‘group’, I argue that white Zimbabweans occupy an intersectional space between being white, but not European, African, but not black. This has several implications for the dual transnational experience of individual white Zimbabweans, specifically in becoming part of the greater Zimbabwean diaspora. I reflect on this in Chapter Six. This intersectional space is also represented by the dilemma white Zimbabweans face before they emigrate from Zimbabwe, in not quite feeling or being regarded as Africans or Zimbabweans, but not quite being or being regarded as European anymore either (Coetzee and Bethlehem 1990). The understanding of intersectionality at this level is important in ensuring that intersectionality goes beyond elements such as gender, race, class etc. It also raises broader issues of social organisation, representation, systematic forms of subordination and oppression. The transnational lens is relevant for doing this.

The second level of intersectionality that applies to this research is the individual level, which looks at the intersections of individual characteristics, including race, gender, sexuality, socio-economic status. Applying the transnational lens to intersectionality, I examine the relative social positionalities of white Zimbabwean emigrants as an outcome of intersectionality.

In the following sections of this chapter, I contextualise my research by providing background on Zimbabwean whiteness as a starting point. I do this through a review of previous studies which I build on to demonstrate the relevance of my own research and its contributions to literature before presenting an outline of the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Background of the study and previous research

1.2.1 Positioning whites within the multi-ethnic context of Zimbabwe

The multi-tribal lands that would become Rhodesia were colonised in the late 19th century by Britain through Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company. Rhodesia's government, after initial colonisation, was characterised by a forceful white elite whose aim was to further the interests of whites, politically, economically and socially, based on the presumption of racial superiority (Mandaza 1986). The Rhodesian government produced a society in which most of the black population was impoverished, next to a weak black middle class and a group of wage earners (ibid). Carefully crafted laws were put in place to ensure the advancement of the interests of white settlers and the suppression of the blacks (Mamvura *et al.* 2017). In Chapter Two, I discuss some of these to show the entrenchment of whiteness and the social, legal, political and economic structures of pre-independence Zimbabwe, former Rhodesia. I also highlight that these laws, which were meant to racially segregate blacks from whites, were also part of the mutual construction of blackness and whiteness, as they worked to reinforce the idea of blackness as the undesirable opposite of whiteness (du Bois 1903; Essed and Trienekens 2008; Loftsdóttir 2013; Cretton 2018).

Rhodesia received significant support from countries such as Britain, South Africa and the United States (Mandaza 1986). At the Unilateral Declaration for Independence in 1965, Ian Smith's government drifted from its supporters, mainly Britain, by declaring independence. The move to declare independence from Britain as the colonial master and moving to an independent Rhodesian government was characterised by changes in colonial race relations, moving through stages of conquest, labour exploitation, parallel development and increasing white control of the black population in the face of mounting opposition (Kinloch 1975;

1978). Related to this, empirical data in my thesis shows the role of macro-level powers in drawing the boundaries of whiteness, in this case, by limiting white privilege, through limiting the ease of travel of those who were on a Rhodesian passport. In Chapter Five, I draw on Harpaz (2019) to discuss strategic citizenship as part of whiteness and as a facilitator of transnationalism.

After independence in 1980, the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe exposed different sentiments about identity among white Zimbabweans, with some remaining in Zimbabwe and others leaving. Those who could not accept living under a black ruled Zimbabwe (referred to as “Rhodies”) tended to emigrate to countries such as Britain, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa (Pasura 2012), which at the time was still under apartheid rule. Some of those who remained in Zimbabwe accepted to be Zimbabwean, while others continued to consider themselves Rhodesian and kept themselves socially separate from the black society (*ibid*). The white minority was a small, powerful elite which, for the most part, remained socially separate from the majority, suggesting that even those who saw themselves as Zimbabwean were still socially separate from the black majority (Muzondidya 2009). This aspect of social separation is reflected on in my thesis through the lens of whiteness and nature. In Chapter Two, I draw on Braun (2003) to highlight that nature was imagined by whites in opposition to society, playing a critical role in the construction of whiteness. As such, the journey into nature was a journey away from the ‘other’, which in the case of Zimbabwe was a black society. I apply this lens to understand the diasporic experiences of white Zimbabweans in Chapters Five and Six. There I highlight that white Zimbabweans exhibit characteristics of a diaspora, represented by the glorification of the homeland, through the glorification of nature in Zimbabwe. I argue that this represents the conditioning by whiteness of the diaspora experiences of white Zimbabweans.

Blackness, on the other hand, has been articulated and represented in several ways post-independence, including the celebrations of freedom which reflect the violence of colonialism. In 2000, the Zimbabwean government implemented a land redistribution program which saw white farmers stripped of their land in violent attacks. This triggered another phase of white Zimbabwean emigration from Zimbabwe, as well as blacks, who left as a result of the sharp economic decline that followed. However, these expressions of blackness and naming of whiteness as wealthy and propertied as a result of colonialism, can be seen as a process of re-constructing blackness post-colonialism and, as a result, mutually reconstructing whiteness in Zimbabwe. In Chapter Two, I engage with this to discuss the constructions of blackness and how they were shaped by what Fanon (1967) calls the colonial condition. I do this to bring out key highlights of whiteness in Zimbabwe in order to provide background against which the pre-emigration transnationalism of white Zimbabwe in Chapter Five takes place.

1.2.2 White Transnationalism while living in Zimbabwe

The persistence of white economic and social privilege of whites in Zimbabwe after the loss of political power and of some legislative power means that whiteness was sourced from a greater outside source, which was the Western world. Steyn (2005) highlights that white South Africans, for a long time, lived in South Africa as though they were a diaspora whose real home was in Europe. In some ways, the transnationalism of white Zimbabweans can also be seen as a way of holding onto white privilege, a way of assuming that home is where the majority of white people are, a way of remaining connected to the greater privileged white world. I reflect on this in Chapter Two and come back to it in Chapter Seven. In Chapter

Seven, I show how dual transnationalism, after being conditioned by whiteness, also conditions whiteness in turn. This is through the earlier mentioned acts of refusing whiteness, recognising white Zimbabweans as a separate ethnicity rather than as part of a large homogenous white community.

Post-emigration, transnationalism is in some cases instrumentalised to escape unfavourable social positionality. For instance, it is used to move away from class scrutiny by repositioning oneself as an exotic white African through, for example, dress code. Intersectionality and the transnational lens are useful in analysing transnationalism here. Drawing on the work of Mirza (2013), I argue that where the skin colour of white intersects with other embodiments such as gender, accent or dress code, the resulting social positionality is still that of privilege. This is not the case when the same intersections happen with racialised people, for instance, Muslim women wearing a headscarf.

Throughout the thesis, I reflect on the structural properties of whiteness (Owen 2007) which I discuss in detail in Chapter Two. Related to the structural properties of whiteness is the proposition that whiteness can be acquired and that proximity to whiteness places individuals in advantageous social locations (Bouchard 2020). As such, characteristics that are close to whiteness are a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977; 1991). According to Bourdieu (1977), symbolic capital refers to resources that present themselves as worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation. Individual ‘practices’ orient towards maximisation of their material or symbolic benefit as they attempt to derive advantages in social situation.

I bring in the notion of symbolic capital in Chapter Two to reflect on language policy in Zimbabwe. We see the concept of symbolic capital in Zimbabwe’s struggle for recognition

and acceptance into the global world by adopting English as the official language. In Chapter Six, I reflect on the complexity, and racialised nature, of language in Zimbabwe to demonstrate how white Zimbabweans use transnationalism to make claims of belonging to Zimbabwe based on knowledge of Zimbabwean local languages. I highlight, based on my empirical findings, that symbolic capital can only be gained with a high level of English language proficiency, yet it can be gained with a far lower level with respect to non-dominant languages such as Shona and Ndebele. As such, white Zimbabweans are able to draw on these languages to claim belongingness based on basic knowledge of a few words. This too is a way in which whiteness facilitates dual transnationalism.

1.3 Key gaps in current literature and research focus

Most academic work focuses on less privileged migrants, usually those leaving poorer regions for more affluent ones. Even research on skilled migrants generally focuses on flows to richer regions. As such, migrants who are migrating from richer regions to poorer ones, or migrants who are privileged by race, class or citizenship are largely absent from mainstream research (Kunz 2016; Jaskulowski and Pawlak 2020; de Haas 2021). My research contributes to filling this gap.

Studies on Zimbabwean diasporas, including McGregor (2007), focus on issues such as the marginalisation of Zimbabweans in the UK due to lack of documentation; venturing into entrepreneurship to escape abject spaces (Mbiba 2011); and the shift in gender dynamics and how it affects marriages within the diaspora (Pasura 2011). Most of these perspectives are based on research with black Zimbabweans. Similarly, issues to do with lack of documentation in the UK are mostly considered from the perspective of black Zimbabweans.

Bloch (2008) is one exception, also including white Zimbabweans, but the focus is nonetheless on black Zimbabweans.

Zimbabwean diaspora studies have also looked at diaspora politics. Musoro, Madziva and Magaisa (2010) look at the re-engagement politics of the Zimbabwean government with the diaspora. They assess the fusion vs. fission tension between diaspora organisations, where donors and Governments call for an umbrella organisation that speaks for the whole diaspora. They discuss the failed attempts at creating such an umbrella organisation due to fragmentation and sometimes tensions between ethnic groups (Shonas and Ndebeles). Work on the exploration of white Zimbabweans' diasporic experiences includes that of Law (2016) who explores the belongingness and identification of white Zimbabwean women in relation to Zimbabwe and Rhodesia. Zembe (2018) also reflects on racial and ethnic divisions among Zimbabweans in the UK, taking a closer look at white Zimbabweans and how they organise themselves as a separate community from blacks.

Concepts such as transnationalism and identification differ between the two racial groups as well as between the black majority and the minority Zimbabwean populations (Zembe 2018; Ndlovu 2010). Transnationalism, for instance, mostly applies to black Zimbabweans at the point of settlement abroad. For white Zimbabweans, on the other hand, transnationalism may already characterise their way of living prior to migration from Zimbabwe, due to their historical heritage linking them to Europe (the first stage of dual transnationalism) as has been alluded to earlier in this chapter. Yet, even within that space, the degree of transnationalism may differ. Some families arrived in Zimbabwe as early as the 1820s, and while individuals may acknowledge their ancestral origins, they feel strongly Zimbabwean and are less actively transnational. Others may have been Zimbabwean for fifty years but

have British origins with which they still actively identify. When such individuals resettle in the UK, the privileges awarded to them by the UK may be different from those awarded to ‘ordinary immigrants’ with no traceable historical attachment to the country, particularly because some of these white Zimbabweans have British passports. Thus they are treated as co-ethnic return migrants with privileges that accompany their migration journey and settlement in the host country. Others without this high-value citizenship (Harpaz 2019) do not have access to these privileges.

A common theme that emerges from previous studies of the Zimbabwean diaspora is that of the dynamism of transnational and diasporic life. Within this dynamism, people are constructing, reconstructing and deconstructing themselves and most of these studies have been trying to understand how this process works for individuals. Yet it is not understood how the self-construction of white Zimbabweans fits within this sphere, or how that construction is affected by all the other moving parts within the sphere.

In addition, when white Zimbabweans are mentioned in diaspora studies, the complexity brought about by issues such as privilege and the possible loss of it upon migration is not well explored. What is also not well examined is the complexity in moving to a country where individuals become members of a majority ethnicity from a country where they have been in a minority – and yet may still feel unexpectedly foreign. This is exacerbated by the possibility that they may also be reaching out to fellow Zimbabweans, via diasporic or transnational organisations, many of whom will be black, and finding that they are relating in ways that may be different from how they were related to back in Zimbabwe.

This thesis, within the discipline of Political Science, contributes to literature on migrants who are privileged by race, class and citizenship, in particular literature on transnationalism, intersectionality and whiteness. Through the key concepts on which it draws, notably applying the transnational lens to intersectionality in examining the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans and the role of whiteness, it brings out the complexity of privileged migrants whose privilege intersects with other elements such as nationality and having emigrated from a poor region that is ranked low on the widely perceived global hierarchy of peoples. The concepts of transnationalism and intersectionality, which I apply as my framework in this thesis, are usually used to analyse what might be called the more ‘typical migrants’ who are usually migrants of colour and less privileged. Here, I apply these concepts in the analysis of white, privileged migrants, contributing to the literature through my discussion of dual transnationalism and the role of whiteness in facilitating and complicating that transnationalism.

1.3.1 Research argument and questions

As noted above, this thesis argues that, upon emigration from Zimbabwe, white Zimbabweans become what I am calling dual transnationals and, to a limited extent, dual diasporas. The thesis argues that this duality is conditioned by whiteness and that in turn, this duality also conditions whiteness. The thesis therefore aims to uncover key ways in which whiteness both facilitates and complicates the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans. To do this, I draw on the transnational lens on intersectionality (Anthias 2008; 2018) and key concepts of whiteness and transnationalism which form my analytical framework. This research does not aim to be representative of all white Zimbabweans, but rather it reveals heretofore unexplored elements of whiteness and transnationalism.

The research questions are based on a qualitative methodological framework. The study is a transnational one, based on 23 narrative and semi-structured interviews lasting between one and two hours each, with participants in Zimbabwe, the UK, Australia, South Africa and Spain. Some interviews were carried out in person, and others virtually through Skype, WhatsApp or telephone. See Chapter Four for a further discussion of methodology.

While interviews are the main source of the primary data, other data material such as field notes from observations made at events, informal conversations with participants at relevant events and the writings of the participants, such as their blogs and personal websites (six of the 23 participants maintained blogs or other websites), are complementary material that has contributed to the reflections in this thesis. My argument in this thesis unfolds through the following research questions:

- How do white Zimbabweans experience white privilege in Zimbabwe and what are the characterising elements of their whiteness before they emigrate from Zimbabwe?
- In what ways do white Zimbabweans negotiate aspects of migration and how do they perceive and maintain their identity as Zimbabweans?
- What boundaries and liberties does race afford for white Zimbabweans in their lives as migrants and what other elements determine those boundaries and liberties?

1.4 Thesis outline

In this introductory Chapter, I have introduced the study's background and its rationale and made reference to relevant points brought up in literature which I will examine in further depth below. **Chapter Two** begins with an historical background on whiteness in Britain, the

former colonial master, and highlights the different investments made in whiteness to entrench it as a global organising principle. I highlight how whiteness was translated to Zimbabwe through colonialism, arguing that this process entrenched it into the power structures in Zimbabwe in a way that made whites in Zimbabwe socially, politically and economically privileged. I demonstrate how the entrenchment of whiteness through power structures meant that blackness and whiteness were mutually constructed, with blackness as the opposite of whiteness. I discuss the post-independence whiteness, including representations of blackness. I argue that there was a mutual re-construction of blackness and whiteness in Zimbabwe post-independence. I conclude that, over time, whiteness in Zimbabwe became whiteness specific to the Zimbabwean context, and one that has been repositioned from the centre even while it persists.

In **Chapter Three**, I lay out my analytical framework which is Anthias' (2002; 2008; 2012; 2018) translocal frame on intersectionality. The frame gives, importance to the broader social context and to temporality. It thinks of social locations as social spaces defined by boundaries on the one hand and hierarchies on the other hand. It recognises the importance of the context, the situated nature of claims and attributions and their production in complex and shifting locales and the contradictory processes at play (Anthias 2012, 108). On intersectionality, I argue that its resultant social positioning happens at two levels, at the 'group' level, as determined by macro-level power structures which play a role in white Zimbabweans being positioned as co-ethnic return migrants, transnationals or diasporas, and at the micro level, which relates to how an individual may be racialised, gendered and classed. To reflect on the power perspective, I argue that whiteness limits the extent to which intersectionality shifts social positioning. I also clarify the relationship between transnationalism and translocality, highlighting that transnationalism examines the social

networks of migrants and attends to the simultaneity of different social positionality being occupied by the same person at the same time within a transnational space. I highlight that translocality or a translocational lens enables us to enter the transnational space and examine the social structures and social processes that produce the framings of the different social positionality, for instance privilege and marginalisation. I engage with the notion of assimilation, demonstrating that existing power structures influence the extent to which transnationals can claim belongingness and assimilate, and the role of social organisation and representation. This sets a basis for me to later analyse the perceptions of assimilation of white Zimbabweans in certain places. I do understand that assimilation is a contested term but use it in a classic sense meaning both integration into a society and acceptance by that society (Gordon 1964; 2015). I also provide theoretical background on diaspora as it relates to this research, bringing up the element of dualism among white Zimbabweans. I highlight that the over-emphasis of diasporism based on ancestry contributes to feelings of non-belongingness among white Zimbabweans when they migrate to European countries. This also provides me with a framework to later analyse the diasporic characteristics of white Zimbabweans, when I later argue that they are at the intersection of transnationals, diasporas and co-ethnic return migrants.

Chapter Four outlines the methodology of my research as a qualitative approach which derives from political science methodology and is influenced by an interpretivist paradigm. I discuss the narrative and semi-structured interview approach to my data collection and the thematic analysis I do for the data analysis. I also reflect on my positionality as a researcher and discuss the ethical considerations in the research.

Chapter Five is my first empirical chapter, and here I discuss the pre-emigration transnationalism experiences of white Zimbabweans. I engage with the pre-emigration everyday privilege and whiteness of white Zimbabweans, and transnational social fields. I demonstrate that the transnational social field plays a role in facilitating transnationalism and the mobility of white Zimbabweans. I also draw on the so-called notion of accidental migration, discussing that concept in Chapter Five, to show the spontaneity of the migration of white Zimbabweans, arguing that this is facilitated by privilege. I identify three main elements which lay the foundation for later experiences in the post-emigration phase, namely, whiteness citizenship based on heritage; belongingness upon co-ethnic return migration and diaspora and transnationalism with a country that no longer exists politically and socially. In this chapter, I demonstrate the privilege of white Zimbabweans while living in Zimbabwe and the relationship between privilege and the limited perspective that the location of whiteness provides to the white subjects in question. I argue that macro-level power structures determine the boundaries of whiteness and that whiteness, in turn, conditions transnationalism. Likewise, I argue that whiteness imposes a hierarchisation of peoples which superiorises those of white skin colour as belonging to the ‘West’ (Quijano 2000). This hierarchisation grants a Western identity to white Zimbabweans in a way that creates the conditions for feelings of non-belongingness upon migrating to Europe. I argue that even where the context positions individuals favourably, differential whiteness can lead to individuals feeling excluded due to comparing their experiences to a particular kind of whiteness. I build on this to point out that whiteness, upon migration, may exist in a diminished version compared to pre-emigration whiteness. These arguments also build on my overall argument that, upon migration, white Zimbabweans become dual transnationals and members of a dual diaspora – an existence which is facilitated by issues of belonging and non-belonging, as well as by shifting social positionalities and perceptions within the

symbolic boundary of whiteness and differential whiteness. By examining what life was like for participants in Zimbabwe, I set an empirical baseline that later helps me to understand how their lives changed after migration, which is the focus of **Chapter Six**.

In this chapter, I build on the elements identified in Chapter Five, namely, whiteness citizenship based on heritage; co-ethnic return migration and diaspora and transnationalism with a country that no longer exists as such. I argue that post-emigration transnationalism is used as a way of coping with foreignness and navigating undesirable social positions imposed on individuals. I highlight the elements of differential or relative whiteness, demonstrating the ways in which the duality of white Zimbabweans interplays with their post-emigration experiences to result in a reconceptualisation of the homeland. Thus, I argue that while some white Zimbabweans arrive in the UK as co-ethnic return migrants, they later re-conceptualise Zimbabwe as the real home so that the place of ‘return’ is reversed as they begin dreaming of returning to Zimbabwe. I also argue that the intersection between dualism and whiteness introduces another layer of complexity to white Zimbabweans becoming a diaspora, or more specifically, becoming a part of the greater Zimbabwean diaspora.

I come full circle in **Chapter Seven**, where I engage with the explicit interpretations of whiteness of white Zimbabweans. I draw on Owen (2007)’s properties of whiteness to identify the properties of whiteness that emerge from this research, building on these understandings of whiteness. I demonstrate that upon migration, whiteness becomes visible to white Zimbabwean emigrants in several ways, including the visibility of the privilege made accessible by whiteness citizenship, the visibility of whiteness in the homeland which had not been noticed before, the visibility of the weight of the white skin colour and the realisation of the differences between the white Zimbabwean culture and other white cultures, so that

whites are no longer seen as homogenous. I also demonstrate the limited worldview as a result of the social positioning of whiteness which emerges as another property of whiteness in this research. On this point, I argue that there is a limited understanding of the historical discrimination of blacks in the homeland, suggesting that this lack of common understanding of history makes it challenging for white Zimbabweans to become part of the African diaspora more generally, and the Zimbabwean diaspora more specifically. I also bring forward the suggestion that writings of white Zimbabweans as transnational activity can challenge colonial narratives of Africa and Zimbabwe as they advance narratives to becoming more specific to place (Zimbabwe) and written about from the perspective of 'home' rather than 'the bush'. I acknowledge that these writings are from the perspective of their social location of whiteness, but suggest that dual transnationalism (itself conditioned by whiteness) influences these perspectives and, in fact, shapes whiteness in return. In **Chapter Eight**, I conclude the thesis with final conclusions and recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two: Colonisation and Power Structures

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of two literature review chapters. In this chapter, I explore literature that is key to contextualising my research. To begin with, the chapter broadly discusses whiteness, conceptualising it from the way that it is often practiced in diverse settings. I go deeper into looking at what has been called ‘investments’ made into white identity. The notion of ‘investing’ in whiteness is applied by several scholars (Lipsitz 1995; Leonardo 2002; Knaus 2018) to refer to the deliberate and conscious efforts made to institutionalise whiteness in different contexts. I discuss the subsequent entrenchment of whiteness into society and its role as a global organising principle in social and cultural relations. The functioning of whiteness as a global organising principle means that characteristics of whiteness are institutionalised and organise social and cultural relations in a way that those who possess them are part of the ‘in group’ and those who function outside of them are othered.

Given that whiteness was exported from Britain to its colonies, I then shift the discussion to explore the ways in which whiteness was practiced in Britain. I engage with the ways in which colonisation was practiced in Zimbabwe and explore its role in establishing power structures to uphold and shape whiteness in Zimbabwe. I also bring in key elements of the social structure, these being the lifestyle of white Zimbabweans which, my research shows, was conditioned by economic privilege, language, patriarchy and the relationship to nature. The discussion on colonisation in Zimbabwe also shows the initial status of some white Zimbabweans as members of a diaspora and as transnationals upon settling in Rhodesia from European countries, while, after emigration, they become dual transnationals and dual

diasporas. I demonstrate that the form of whiteness in Zimbabwe changed over time, as a result of the social dynamics that have repositioned it from the centre to the periphery, while still maintaining its weight due to the persistence of colonial global power structures that maintain it as a universal organising principle. In this part of the discussion, I engage with how whiteness influences the aspirations of the black Zimbabwean middle class, and how, by subscribing to elements of whiteness, black Zimbabweans contribute to perpetuating whiteness and shaping the ways in which it manifests in the context of Zimbabwe.

Understanding whiteness in the specific context of Zimbabwe helps to later understand the individual experiences of white Zimbabweans when they emigrate and confront other forms of whiteness away from 'home'. This chapter contributes to the overall argument of the thesis, which is that white Zimbabweans engage in dual transnationalism and that dual transnationalism is facilitated or complicated by different forms of whiteness. In experiencing dual transnationalism, white Zimbabweans sometimes find themselves on the periphery of some forms of whiteness, thus excluded or marginalised in some cases. In other cases, even when they have the opportunity to be included and belong based on certain forms of whiteness, they instead intentionally distance themselves due to their own discomfort. The starting point of this duality, however, is affected by historical factors, including colonialism and its role in positioning white people in Zimbabwe.

2.2 An introduction to whiteness

In this thesis, I am examining the ways in which whiteness not only facilitates but also complicates the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans. Insofar, it is therefore

important to engage with a broad conceptualisation of whiteness, and to take a more specific look at whiteness in the context of Zimbabwe.

In critical whiteness studies, whiteness refers to a position of social dominance. Applebaum (2016) notes that there is consensus among scholars that whiteness is a socially constructed category, which is normalised¹ within a system of privilege. It is a relational concept, constructed through everyday reproductions of social markers and boundaries between different groups (Dominguez 1994; Garner 2009; 2012; Jenkins 2008; Knowles 2003; Lundström 2014; Moore 2013). Whiteness has deep socio-historical roots; it emerged at particular times, in particular places, and for particular reasons. Histories of whiteness are complex, even where they may be intertwined. For example, Lake and Reynolds (2008) provide a transnational history of racially exclusionary legislation and the conception of the ‘white man’s country’ in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lake and Reynolds provide critical and nuanced histories of how the histories of empire fit within the larger project of whiteness. Meanwhile, Howson’s (2019) work, which focuses on the South African wine industry, shows the continuous reproduction of whiteness in South Africa. Whiteness emerged and continues to be practiced through processes of constructing undesirable racial differences of people of colour, simultaneously to constructing whiteness in direct relation to them as their opposite (Levine-Rasky 2016). As an identity, therefore,

¹ The ‘normalisation’ of whiteness is a term that is widely used in cultural studies (Hall 1989), critical whiteness studies (e.g. Moreton-Robinson 2004; McIntosh *et al.* 2019), ethnic and migration studies (Liu and Dervin 2022; to capture the universalising whiteness as an unquestioned norm, which is taken for granted as what is ‘natural’ and becomes the standard against which non-whites are measured. The notion that whiteness is normalised and thus invisible has been challenged by scholars such as Shome (2000), who shows that when whiteness is challenged or threatened, it re-positions itself as something particular and as a challenging and troubled position, just like other ethnic groups. Indeed in the context of Zimbabwe, this has often been shown by how post- the land redistribution programme, whiteness was written about, by white Zimbabweans as a position of victimhood (Harris 2015; Simoes da Silva 2011; Hall 2017). This is a strategy that whiteness adopts to respond to situations of threat (Shome 2000). Nevertheless, in this thesis, I take the normalisation of whiteness as something that is both systemic and ingrained in everyday practices and living.

whiteness only exists in so far as other racialised identities, such as blackness or Asianness exist (Garner 2007). Therefore, it is not a naturally given or pre-social reality but rather a practice and a way of living out identity (Levine-Rasky 2016).

At the same time, Essed and Trienekens (2008) highlight that the emergence of whiteness in relation to conceptions of blackness applies more to whiteness in the United States than in Europe. They argue that within most European countries, notions of whiteness must be understood in relation to other discourses and contexts. Chin *et al.* (2010) and Loftsdóttir (2013) take this argument forward by highlighting that, within the European context, whiteness must be theorised as emerging from particular histories and realities, being entangled with other identifications such as national identity (295). What is understood as ‘white’, or ‘non-white’ therefore differs between societies and needs to be understood in the context of the relevant historical, cultural, or symbolical specifics of a society (Cretton 2018). For example, in the context of Europe, some nationalities (e.g., Iceland) have historically marginalised foreigners who they classify as non-white and less civilised. On the other hand, their own majority ethnicity was not regarded as white in other European countries, even though their own national discourse emphasised their racial superiority (Loftsdóttir 2013).

With respect to Zimbabwe, colonialism is a key contextual factor. The social construction of difference and sameness of racialised categories, and of whiteness therein, are not impartial social processes. Rather, they are embedded in power relations, such that whiteness is not just about skin colour or a group of people (those of white skin colour) but is about the exercise of power, which is often practiced subtly, but always with the effect of construction and exclusion of difference (Levine-Rasky 2016). Levine-Rasky’s conceptualisation of whiteness in terms of how it is practiced is consistent with the conceptualisation of whiteness by

Frankenberg (1993), who framed it as a location of structural advantage, a standpoint from which white people understand themselves in relation to racialised others and a set of cultural practices (1).

Owen (2007), as will be discussed later, draws from, and expands on, this in his articulation, including conceptualising whiteness as a social position which limits the worldview of those who are white. In this chapter, I draw strongly on Owen (2007) who offers a means of explaining the mechanisms by which whiteness operates. Owen's articulation of the functional properties of whiteness brings together the concept of whiteness and its practice and manifestation in society in a way that is useful for the analysis of my findings from Chapter Five.

While whiteness has been usefully conceptualised from the ways in which it is practiced in diverse societies, Owen unifies the theorisation of whiteness as opposed to fragmenting it (McFadden 2011). He argues that, if we are to capture the socio-historical roots of whiteness, a general unified account of whiteness is more useful than one that begins from the contextual differences in its meaning (Owen 2007). This unification, through the articulation of the functional properties of whiteness, makes Owen's framework particularly useful for my thesis. Namely, Owen identifies the key practical ways in which whiteness reproduces a racialised social order. My thesis looks at transnationalism within the context of that racialised order. It aims to understand the practical ways in which it shapes transnationalism. Insofar, drawing on Owen's functional properties of whiteness is a useful guide to help map how whiteness conditions transnationalism.

While whiteness is conceptualised as being about more than skin colour, skin colour does not fall out of analysis. *Being white* represents a socially constructed identity that is usually based on skin colour (Leonardo 2002). Key cultural studies texts such as Richard Dyer's 'White' (1997) aimed to mark those who *are white* as another racialised group, to see them and to name them the way other racialised groups are seen and named. This was in response to those who are white being centred as the human norm, as people who are not racialised but are 'just people'. This represents an identity of neutrality, of human ordinariness (Kincheloe *et al.* 2000) and invisibility within a system of privilege, linked to unquestioned power to position other racialised groups as variations from the 'standard'. It is worth noting that even the perception of being unnamed and unmarked comes from a social position of whiteness. For instance, scholars such as hooks (1990) and Morrison (1992) argue that, for people of colour, whiteness has been neither unnamed nor unmarked.

2.2.1 Whiteness as the interplay of power, privilege and identity

Looking specifically at Zimbabwe, Pilossof and Boersema (2017) come to a conceptualisation of whiteness that is consistent with others within critical whiteness studies. They articulate whiteness in Zimbabwe as being based on three components: power, privilege and identity. Building on broader whiteness studies and authors who have shed light on various aspects of white society and culture in Zimbabwe (Selby 2006; Hughes 2010; Law 2012; Fisher 2010; Hammar 2012), their conceptualisation of whiteness as the interplay between power, privilege and identity, consisting of white racialised ideologies and practices, with material and social ramifications (Pilossof 2014; Pilossof and Boersema 2017) is useful for my research.

Their conceptualisation emphasises three main elements. First, whiteness is not the same as ‘being white’ or as ‘white supremacy’ but is rather always a specific configuration of its three components: power, privilege and identity. Power, privilege and identity are characteristic of whiteness in Zimbabwe, given its colonial history, the power structures that were developed to entrench whiteness, and the resulting inequalities and privilege from those structures.

Second, Pilosoff and Boersema (2017) argue that whiteness can never be a single, unitary phenomenon. At various moments in Zimbabwe's history, the configuration of whiteness differed for different communities. My research builds on this; later in this chapter, I demonstrate that there are differences between whiteness during colonial times and whiteness in the years after independence.

Third, they note that whiteness as a concept cannot simply be transposed across geographical contexts. This implies that it takes different forms in different places according to the history, social structures (broader economic and political institutional frameworks) and processes (broader social relations in all their complexity, including discourses and representations in those places). Here, Anthias' transnational lens is also useful (2012).

In this thesis, I apply Anthias' transnational lens to understand the social structures and processes within the transnational space of white Zimbabweans as they move. I will elaborate on the transnational lens in Chapter Three. I advance my argument that whiteness conditions transnationalism through the examination of these transnational spaces which exist within a racialised social order. Pilossof and Boersema's conceptualisation of whiteness in Zimbabwe takes into account the specific historical perspective and social context of Zimbabwe. It also enables an analysis of whiteness while people are on the move across

different geographical and social spaces. As such, drawing on Pilossof and Boersema's conceptualisation of whiteness for this research helps me to position and analyse whiteness using the translocational lens.

Pilossof and Boersema (2017) challenge the ideas in dominant studies in the United States, where whiteness is often framed as unmarked and invisible (Dyer 1997). It is seen as an advantage for whites that is rarely recognised and addressed. By contrast, in the African context, whiteness is often hyper-visible (Steyn 2007). Therefore, the question here may be: invisible to whom?

While white privilege may be hypervisible to blacks, it may be that even in the context of Africa, in this case Zimbabwe, it is invisible to whites who take it for granted, since it is embedded in social and other structures. In this way, the functional properties of whiteness (Owen 2007), which are the everyday ways in which whiteness works to produce white supremacy, are interlinked. This means that, for instance, the functional property of whiteness as a social location from which whites have a limited, racialised perspective of the world, may have the effect of making white privilege invisible to whites (another functional property). The findings of my research, particularly in Chapter Seven, build on this.

Pilossof and Boersema's (2017) tripartite conceptualisation is particularly useful to draw on when looking at whiteness through an intersectionality lens, as I do in my thesis. Taken individually, power, privilege and identity mean something different in every society, in terms of definition, form and extent. Thus, the ways in which power, privilege and identity interact with each other is different in every context, producing forms of whiteness that are specific to their particular situation. This interaction is key, particularly with respect

to the component of my argument concerning differential whiteness. As a site of privilege, whiteness is not absolute, but rather crosscut by a range of other axes of both relative advantage and subordination (Frankenberg 1993, 76). These do not erase or render irrelevant race privilege, but rather, modify it (*ibid*). These ‘other axes’ can, I argue, be usefully analysed through an intersectionality lens, while at the same time paying careful attention to the contextual role of power. Anthias (2012), with whom I will engage closely in Chapter Three, uses the concept of translocations to map the resulting outcomes of the interaction of these axes of relative advantage and subordination. These can be, for instance, the interaction between race, gender, sexuality, and social class, which feature strongly in my thesis.

In the conceptualisation of translocations, Anthias (2012) sees it as a combination of social position (as an outcome of these intersections) and social positioning (as a set of practices, actions, meanings, therefore as a process that results in social positions), and considers the complex interplay of a range of locations and dislocations in relation to gender, ethnicity, nationality, class and racialisation (108). Social positionalities in this thesis are therefore applied as an outcome of intersectionality, and this comes across in how white Zimbabweans occupy contradictory locations, where they are privileged in some instances and relatively less privileged in others, depending on what the intersection of gender, sexuality, class and other characteristics means in a particular place or moment.

Within the matrix of intersecting hierarchies, the specific location (which is constantly shifting), reflects the multi-faceted nature of several power structures (Lundstrom 2014). Therefore, Pilosof and Boersema’s conceptualisation of whiteness as the interplay of power, privilege and identity, enables me, in this thesis, to demonstrate the relationship between whiteness, transnationalism and intersectionality, which are the main pillars of my argument.

For the examination of whiteness in this thesis, I pay attention to the post-colonial/feminist studies approach, which embraces the ‘politics of location’ as an important aspect in social positionality. Such an approach, which looks at the axes of social power, including how colonial/postcolonial power dynamics (e.g. whiteness, patriarchy) intersect with certain social or historical contexts (e.g. colonisation in the context of Zimbabwe) avoids the tendency to generalise across diverse contexts, and/or emphasising a particular dimension of social oppression (Brah 1996; Shome 1999).

In this next section, I discuss the socio-historic roots of whiteness by drawing on Owen’s (2007) functional properties of whiteness and applying that approach to literature on the history of whiteness in Britain, in particular the export of whiteness through colonialism, and the power structures that entrenched it. This analysis gives crucial background for the specific context of Zimbabwe and the manifestation of whiteness in that context.

2.3 Investments in the global white identity

2.3.1. The functional properties of whiteness

Further to defining whiteness and building on the conceptualisation of whiteness as a practice, Owen (2007)’s comprehensive literature review leads to a consolidation of seven functional properties of whiteness which characterise how whiteness operates or functions as a socio-historical phenomenon that reproduces white supremacy. While whiteness can be investigated on different sites to understand the different types of whiteness and its different positionings, as my research does through its translocalational positionality lens (Anthias 2012), there must still be an overall understanding of whiteness (Owen 2007). Below I

introduce Owen's functional properties of whiteness, which I engage with further throughout this chapter to demonstrate that whiteness is the basis upon which the norms of social and cultural relations are formed and institutionalised, thus establishing it as a global organising principle. This ties into the ways in which whiteness has been normalised, such that it is the yardstick by which others are measured, by which structures are created and maintained and it is a cognitive framework which has been universalised. I also engage with these functional properties in my analysis in Chapters Six and Seven, where I discuss how white Zimbabweans engage with whiteness.

Consistent with Frankenberg (1993; 2020), Owen (2007) identifies the first two functional properties of whiteness as follows: first, "whiteness defines a particular racialised perspective or standpoint that shapes the white subject's understanding of both self and the social world" (205) and the second, that whiteness defines a specifically racialised social location of structural advantage.

On the first structural property, Owen explains that "whiteness situates persons that are racialised as being white in a social location that provides a particular and limited perspective of the world" (205). In my study, this is demonstrated in what comes across as a disconnect between how important pillars of colonisation such as racial segregation, racial discrimination and structurally determined white privilege were institutionalised, and the way these same elements were perceived by white Zimbabweans. Specifically, my findings will show that some white Zimbabweans did not always perceive these elements, even while growing up in a system that was characterised by them. Yet, the claim not to notice racial differences is also associated with whiteness. It is a colour blindness that serves to maintain the status quo of racial inequality (Todd and Abrams 2011; O'Brien and Korgen 2007).

On the structural advantage of whiteness, Owen, like Frankenberg, highlights that the social position of whiteness is “not merely a location of difference, but it is above all a location of economic, political, social and cultural advantage relative to those locations defined by non-whiteness” (205). This is consistent with some of the vivid articulations of whiteness made by McIntosh (1988) and Vargas (1997). McIntosh (1988) gives a definition highlighting the ordinariness of the economic advantages of whiteness, stating, “I came to see whiteness as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in everyday, but about which I was meant to remain oblivious” (1). Similarly, Vargas (1997) defines it as “having entry to structures and institutions that mete out important economic opportunities, having access to neighbourhoods, jobs, credit, and tax benefits that are by and large off limits or available in limited fashion to minorities, it means being presumed competent, intelligent and hardworking, it means not being discriminated against daily by anyone ranging from a restaurant attendant to a car salesperson” (1527). This is consistent with the economic dynamics in Zimbabwe and South Africa, where the wealth of white people is overwhelmingly structurally determined. In the specific case of South Africa, apartheid took the ideas of white supremacy and integrated them into the legal system, structurally building them into the economic and social fabric. That meant that those who were racialised as white had a different, and prioritised, legal status than those not racialised as white (Berry 2018).

A third property is that whiteness is normalised. What is associated with whiteness becomes defined as natural, ‘normal’ or mainstream. This contributes to its invisibility in the dominant cultural consciousness. This has been the case for white Zimbabweans. They have always been a numerical minority, therefore the ‘naturalness’, ‘normalcy’ and mainstreaming of whiteness is based on affiliation with the greater outside source. Some of the observations

that have been put forward on the perpetuation of whiteness as the norm are that “white power secured its dominance by seeming not to be anything in particular” (Dyer 1988, 44). From this unmarked category, difference is constructed, while “whiteness never has to speak its name” (44), nor must it acknowledge its role as an organising principle in all aspects of society. As part of this normalisation, whiteness is centralised as good and desirable, influencing perceptions of what is right or wrong, good or bad, and placing white ways and values as principal norms to which others have to ascribe to in order to become legitimised by the dominant culture (Earick 2018; Traynham 2020).

The fourth functional property is the invisibility of whiteness to whites, while being highly visible to people of colour. The idea of whiteness being invisible presupposes the perspective of whiteness. Whiteness is largely invisible to whites and visible to non-whites because of their social locations. This is suggested by the long history of African American analyses of whiteness such as those by W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes, James Baldwin, Richard Wright and Toni Morrison, among others. This differential visibility for different racialised groups is significant and reflects the social and cultural dominance and hegemony of whiteness. In Chapter Seven, this thesis engages with the viewpoint on visibility. There I suggest that upon migration the experience of encountering different types of whiteness makes the phenomenon visible to the participants in this research.

The fifth functional property is on the embodiment of whiteness. Several scholars have highlighted that whiteness is not the same as having a light skin colour (Duffield 2006; Pilosof and Boersema 2017). Blaser (2008) reflects on this ‘beyond skin colour’ notion from the context of South Africa in a way that shows its complexity. In the first place, Blaser (2008) reflects on whiteness as “perceptual, contingent and situational” (82), often linked to

how those who are racialised as white speak (including accents), how they dress, and what attitudes they hold. Secondly, he reflects on whiteness as being far more about how white South Africans present themselves publicly and are seen, how they engage with aspects of power and privilege and how they interact with other members of the society. As such, white identities are situational and relational. While Blaser's perspective is from that of the individual level, it is important to understand how this translates to the structural level. It is worth mentioning here that in both instances which led to Blaser's conclusions, the assumptions that blacks make about white individuals are based on their white skin colour, their manners, accents, and ways of engagement with power. Owen's (2017) articulation helps us to understand how whiteness plays out at a structural level by emphasising that while whiteness must be distinguished from skin colour, it is nevertheless embodied. It is grounded in the interests, needs and values of those racialised as white, so it is founded on the ascribed racial identity of being white.

Whiteness is therefore a deeply ingrained way of being in the world. It shapes actions, social practices, and dispositions, and thus constitutes a part of the competence or practical knowledge that individuals possess. This implies that even those who are not white in skin colour may gain competence in whiteness, which is accumulated as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977; 1991). This influences other functional properties; in other words, it influences other ways in which whiteness is produced and reproduced to create a racialised social system. In this case, this happens through perpetuating whiteness, standardising it and institutionalising it as a structuring or organising principle. I engage with this in Chapter Six by drawing on studies of how English as a dominant language in higher education (Pham and Tran 2015; Park and Bae 2009; Brooks and Waters 2015) requires individuals from the Global South to embody Western comportment to earn symbolic capital and claim

belongingness. On the other hand, the threshold for whites to claim belongingness based on non-dominant languages such as Zimbabwean native languages, is much lower.

A sixth functional property of whiteness is that its borders are continuously being redefined (Owen 2007). As such, analyses of whiteness' functioning must always be grounded in specific contexts of manifestation. This links to the experiences of 'contested whites', who find themselves at the margins of whiteness, between categories of racial dominance and racial marginalisation (Vargas 2014) and moving back and forth between these social locations. In this thesis, intersectionality is a useful framework to understand the intertwining of elements that produce contested whiteness, while the translocational lens that I apply brings out the notion of shifting social locations/positionalities, which, as previously indicated, are in this thesis taken as an outcome of intersectionality.

Finally, a seventh functional property, according to Owen, is that of violence. Here Owen argues that "whiteness cannot be understood apart from the violence that it begets or apart from the violence that produced and continues to produce and perpetuate it. Not only does whiteness have its origins in the physical and psychic violence of the colonisation, enslavement, genocide and exploitation of peoples of colour around the world, but also it maintains the system of white supremacy in part by means of actual and potential violence"(205-206). Violence can be understood both as physical violence and as symbolic violence.

Having outlined Owen's very useful discussion of the functional properties of whiteness, I will now discuss the historical practices of and investments in whiteness through colonisation; how whiteness manifested; how it was translated in the colonies, in particular

Zimbabwe, and how it developed there after colonisation formally ended. Throughout this discussion, I draw on these functional properties of whiteness to explore the Zimbabwean case in more depth.

2.3.2 Whiteness and class in British society: Granting whiteness to all Europeans as an investment in global white identity

“Dear me! I had no conception that the lower classes had such white skins.”

George Curzon, in the 19th century, on seeing English soldiers bathing in a river (Nicholson 1934, 47-48).

The works of Bonnett (1998) and Ignatiev (1994) demonstrate that indeed at its origins, whiteness was not about skin colour. However, its construction as a mode for exclusion meant that skin colour became central when a focus on skin colour would make those with white skin more powerful. Further, they demonstrate the shifting borders of whiteness, such that who is non-white can change, depending on many factors, including the situational condition of who is or needs to be non-white at any given point.

During the peak time of colonialism, the nineteenth century, whiteness was a status in Britain, not a skin colour. Bonnett (1998) argues that in the nineteenth century, white skin was not necessarily an indication of whiteness in Britain. Rather, whiteness in Britain was reserved for the upper class, with the working class excluded from its formation, as the quotation of George Curzon above indicates. Whiteness was also, at the time, strongly contextual – that all Britons were white was a notion applied outside of Britain for the sake of colonialism, but not necessarily within Britain itself. The approach was that the status of whiteness was made available to Europeans in the colonies in order to mark whiteness as a

phenotype or representation of civilisation. However, it was denied to those who were deemed unfit of whiteness within Europe itself. Thus, the British working class was ‘white’ in colonial settings but not in the British internal social hierarchy (*ibid*).

Bonnet (1998) points out that it was as early as the sixteenth century that the exchange between the colonial settler societies fed into Europe’s racial and class discourse and vice versa. While the racial categories of ‘white’ and ‘European’ were first defined in Europe, they were strongly articulated outside of Europe largely in order to structure colonial and settler societies in South and Central America legally and economically in the sixteenth century and in North America in the seventeenth century (*ibid*). This entrenchment of whiteness within the power structures creates systematic privilege on the basis of white identity. It also continues to be the basis of the three principles of power, privilege and identity that characterise whiteness in colonial societies, specifically in the context of Zimbabwe.

Ignatiev’s well-known work (1994) refers to “How the Irish became white”, or how they shifted from being marginalised to being in power. Ignatiev demonstrates how the Irish, who emigrated to America in the 18th and 19th centuries, were fleeing a caste system in which they were positioned at the bottom. In Ireland, their living conditions had been characterised by extreme poverty, segregation and religious suppression, among other forms of violence. As such, upon arrival in North America, the Irish identified more with the enslaved people in America, who were in that context, the ones at the bottom. Early on in their arrival in America, the Irish occupied a position at the bottom of the power structure. However, in this new system, skin colour was an important factor in social position, and thus the Irish were able to draw on their white skin colour to navigate the labour market, housing market and

judiciary and become part of the oppressor class. This journey was only possible because of their white skin colour – the white skin enabled the transition to whiteness.

Understanding whiteness as the interplay of power, privilege and identity, we see that whiteness as power is practiced through its entrenchment in power structures, such as the legal system, so that certain privileges within that system are linked to whiteness. In the case of the Irish in America, this included their right to be tried by a jury of their peers; to elect and be elected; to have no legal restrictions placed upon their choice of where to live (although there were clearly economic limitations). These rights become privileges, as they were withheld from others on the basis of skin colour. Ignatiev's work is key to understanding that whiteness is about this interplay of power, privilege and identity, and not about white skin colour alone.

This same interplay characterised whiteness in several other colonial societies, including Rhodesia. Ascriptions of whiteness translated directly into socio-economic status (Bonnett 1998), something that resonates with the former Rhodesia and to some extent, present-day Zimbabwe, and continues to shape the socio-economic dynamics in both Zimbabwe and South Africa. Whiteness is therefore a location of economic, political, social and cultural advantage (privilege) relative to those locations defined by non-whiteness (Owen 2007). Here we see how this location of advantage was historically developed and entrenched in social structures. Factors such as the right to live wherever one can afford could not be taken for granted by those in social locations that were determined by non-whiteness, and whose economic status was also affected by related factors. Later in this section, when I discuss colonial land legislation and Rhodesian government efforts to maintain the white population

through economic appeasement, it becomes even clearer that this privilege was established at a structural level.

At the same time, a part of white privilege is the luxury to not perceive the structural entrenchment of whiteness. This speaks to the functional property of whiteness as a social location that limits the worldview of those who are racialised as white (Owen 2007), and of whiteness being invisible to them (Dyer 1997; Kincheloe *et al.* 2000).

This is consistent with the findings of my research as will be discussed in Chapter Seven. There, I explore the idea that the perspective of white privilege as structural is lacking among white Zimbabweans. A clear finding in my research was that white Zimbabweans widely attributed the success of their farms, particularly during the pre-independence period, to their hard work and commitment, overlooking the fact that the then-government provided subsidies and made it government policy to ensure the morale and success of white settlers on the farms. Every Rhodesian farmer was supported by an intricate network of state and corporate packages that were designed to support their productivity (Gwekwerere *et al.* 2018). Economic success was therefore also conditioned by whiteness.

2.3.3 The mutual construction of whiteness and blackness racial segregation

In the previous section, I have discussed whiteness broadly, looking into its history and ways of manifestation. I will shortly move on to discussing colonisation in more detail in order to take the discussion to the contextual reality of Zimbabwe. However, central to the discussion of Zimbabwe is the key point that whiteness is practiced through processes of mutual construction with other racial identities such as blackness (Levine-Rasky 2016; Garner 2007).

In Altman (2006)'s words "blackness is the background against which whiteness appears" (50).

In this discussion, I take forward the point mentioned earlier that the mutual construction of whiteness with other racialised identities is contextual (Essed and Trienekens 2008; Loftsdòttir 2013; Cretton 2018). It is therefore important to briefly discuss some of the conscious and deliberate efforts that were made in this mutual construction, specifically, racial segregation. This is important for this research because that continued to affect the identities of future generations of whites in terms of how they see themselves as Zimbabweans and how they see others.

Furthermore, I will discuss later in this section, drawing on W.E.B. du Bois's (1903) concept of double consciousness, among others, that this mutual construction, which constructs blackness as the opposite of whiteness, resulted in the creation in black Zimbabweans of what might be seen as an inferiority complex. This inferiority complex, which came from the imposition of whiteness as the yardstick by which to measure humanness, can be seen as contributing to black Zimbabwean aspirations to whiteness and the perpetuation of whiteness in Zimbabwe.

The imagined superiority of whites and the imagined inferiority of blacks were mutually constructed and formed the basis for racial segregation, which was enforced through laws, and in turn structurally embedded those perceptions, allowing them to be further perpetuated. Racial segregation, and the mutual construction of whiteness and blackness, permeated all aspects of life in the colonial project, informed by narratives such as whites being inherently intelligent, therefore blacks being unintelligent and subordinate; whites having high standards

of hygiene and therefore blacks being dirty and unfit to conduct commercial activities that demanded high standards of hygiene; white women being pure and therefore blacks being impure and ‘unworthy’ of sexual relations with whites in general and white women in particular. I discuss these in more detail as the discussion progresses below.

By the early nineteenth century, the discourse on racial whiteness within Britain was being influenced from the outside, by references to the colonial and settler societies and Europe’s role in the world (Bonnett 1998). Fryer (1984) notes that at this point, colonial influence and racial science were creatively woven into the depiction of whiteness and the white European’s superiority. Here we see the mutual construction of blackness as the opposite of whiteness through the clear co-depiction of non-whites as their opposite, going as far as depicting blacks as a different species. Following this racial science, Charles White’s 1795 passionate depiction of white superiority shows this:

“being most removed from the brute creation, may, on that account be considered as the most beautiful of the human race. No one will doubt his superiority in intellectual powers; and I believe it will be found that his capacity is naturally superior also to that of every other man...” (Fryer 1984 168-9)

The work of enlightenment philosophers from the eighteenth century until well into the twentieth century also advanced ideas about white supremacy, from Kant stating that humanity exists in its most perfected form in the white race, and ranking talent according to skin pigmentation through declaring that the yellow Indians have a lesser amount of talent than the whites, while blacks are even lower; to Hegel suggesting that Africans are without history and are barbarous.

Not only did these enlightenment philosophers stereotype non-Europeans to advance white supremacy, but they also framed their declarations as reason, so that to contest these claims

of supremacy was to contest reason (Scruggs 2018). White superiority was therefore a core belief among those who settled in the colonies. Colonial Zimbabwe (known as Southern Rhodesia until 1965, thereafter Rhodesia until independence in 1980) was established in 1890 under Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC). Cecil John Rhodes firmly believed in the superiority of whites, particularly white men, and the duty of the Anglo-Saxons to civilise the “darker” corners of the world (Mlambo 2019). This view was shared by the settlers who occupied colonial Zimbabwe and they used it to justify their treatment of the native black population, whom they patronised and treated as children needing their guidance, protection, and civilisation (1). This was carried over to the structural level, such that the policies which were implemented by the settlers in politics, constitution making, governance, education, economy, land and labour policies, social relations or residential policy, were based on the myth of racial superiority and the commitment to promote white interests at the expense of the native blacks. The entire colonial project was therefore characterised by racial segregation at every level (*ibid*).

Scruggs (2018) argues that the internalisation of whiteness as reason, at least in the context of the United States after the abolition of slavery, led to the establishment of institutions that set out to preserve racial purity. Scruggs sees this as an effect of the abolition of slavery as destabilising white identities. Bonnett (1998), on the other hand, argues that religiosity and purity were pre-modern notions of white identities that came before colonialism and were carried over into colonialism, suggesting that resorting to racial purity and enacting racial purity laws in the context of the United States was a tactic that drew from an existing notion. In the context of Britain, religiosity and purity were linked with the leisured and sheltered life of aristocrats who had pale skin. This paleness as a symbol of pure whiteness was to be maintained and protected from blemish.

Young (1995) provides examples of the extraordinary depth and breadth of investment in white identity including the prohibitions and moral panics around inter-racial sex. These prohibitions and panics are traceable to the history of the colonies, where mixed race children were themselves illegal; in South Africa, for instance, this persisted until the end of apartheid, as depicted by Trevor Noah in his 2016 novel, ‘Born a crime’. The Immorality Act of 1927 in apartheid South Africa for example prohibited inter-racial sexual relations, making them punishable by imprisonment of up to five years, while in Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia), it was the 1903 Immorality Suppression Act (Grant 1972, 4). This criminalised relations between a black man and a white woman (Mamvura *et al.* 2017). I suggest here that the fact that this did not apply to a white man and a black woman points to the type of patriarchy that was applied in the colonies. It also demonstrates colonial stereotypes of the crude black man, myths of the pure, white female body and the hyper sexualisation of the black female body (Lewis 2011). Stoler (2020) provides an insightful reflection, making the point that the very categories of coloniser and colonised were secured through sexual control. Moreover, gender-specific sexual sanctions and prohibitions not only demarcated positions of power, but also prescribed the personal and public boundaries of race (42).

Racial segregation was also applied to commercial activities. In the agricultural sector, Rhodesia took measures to ensure that the quality of its dairy products could be competitive on the international market. During that time, the general perception among settlers and government officials that African milk producers were too unhygienic to produce clean milk and cream for commercial purposes led to blacks being eliminated from the trade through the White Agricultural Policy (Hove and Swart 2019). The Rhodesian government imposed

standards for hygiene, such that traditional African ways of milk production were dismissed as dirty and unsuitable.

Racial segregation was therefore a key aspect of colonialism and articulated as a policy of separate development which ensured that Africans and Europeans lived separately. There were European urban spaces and there were areas reserved for Africans, which were called black townships (Mamvura *et al.* 2017). In terms of how whiteness is lived, therefore, it is no wonder that the functional property of whiteness as a social location that limits the perspective of the white individual (Owen 2007) is evident in my research findings, as will be discussed later in Chapter Six. Namely, not only were whites in a different social location in terms of perspective, access, etc. as I will argue later, but they were also in a different physical social location; they were separated from those who were mutually constructed as inferior and undesirable. In Chapter Six, I will also argue that in their dual transnationalism, white Zimbabweans' transnational ways of belonging, which are external actions of transnationalism, are sometimes expressed through assumptions of blackness that reflect a limited view of it. Thus, while in Zimbabwe, life was segregated and lived among white-only spaces, with most holding onto their Eurocentrism, while when abroad, aspects of 'blackness' or 'Africanness' are expressed in different ways to show belongingness to 'there', when 'here' (abroad) does not feel like home.

Other investments in white identity as described by Young (1995) include the demands racial whiteness made upon the nature of war as highlighted by Bonnett (1998). Young quotes Theodor Waitz's claim of 1859 that "All wars of extermination, whenever the lower species are in the way of the white man [whites], are not only excusable, but fully justifiable" (7). The depth and breadth of these investments are also reflective of violence as a functional property

of whiteness, such that whiteness cannot be understood without understanding the violence that accompanies it to maintain or perpetuate it (Owen 2007). This violence of course goes beyond war, in that the entire colonial project, with unjust laws and punishments related to those laws, as discussed above, and again below, is an act of violence.

2.4 Colonisation

In this section, I discuss colonisation as it played out in Zimbabwe and the power structures that were set up to entrench whiteness. I focus on three main elements of these power structures, specifically, the economic structure, the social structure, and management of nature. I then discuss how these changed after independence as I shift to exploring the new form of whiteness that developed in Zimbabwe post-independence.

Colonial power structures shaped how white Zimbabweans (and Rhodesians) lived in Zimbabwe, identified themselves and were identified by others, and how they defined their relationship with Zimbabwe. This would later affect their experience of whiteness upon emigration from Zimbabwe. This background is crucial for understanding the historical starting point of white Zimbabweans – whether as settlers or as descendants of settlers, therefore as diasporas and transnationals in Zimbabwe, due to their ancestral origins.

Colonial Zimbabwe, then Rhodesia, was characterised by a forceful white elite who held the strong belief of racial superiority, and aimed to maximise their political, economic, and social interests. Economically, colonisation produced three main clusters of black natives: a weak black middle class; a group of wage earners and a poor black population (Mandaza 1986). This resulted from carefully crafted laws and policies which systematically under-developed

and disadvantaged the black natives, while systematically benefitting the white settlers (Mamvura *et al.* 2017).

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 allocated the most fertile farming land to whites. It divided the country's 96 million acres of land into 49 million acres for the white settlers (who made up about 22% of the population at the time) and 29 million acres for black natives (78% of the population) (Mandaza 1986). The remainder was either unassigned to any racial group or was designated game reserve or forestry (558). Settlers came to regard the Act as the cornerstone of their society (Machingaidze (1991). As Premier Coghlan, who was Southern Rhodesia's first head of government after it became a self-governing colony of the British Empire, told the all-settler Legislative Assembly in 1927:

"...this is essentially a country where the white man has come and desires to stay, and he can only be certain of doing so if he has certain portions of the country made his exclusively" (Southern Rhodesia, Debates in the Legislative Assembly, 5/5/27, Col 99 Salisbury, 1928 cited in Machingaidze 1991, 558).

The segregationist policies of the colonial government were based on the principle of ensuring that the development of black natives did not interfere with the whites, socially, economically or politically (Mamvura *et al.* 2017).

In 1934, a new labour law prohibited black natives in Rhodesia from entering skilled trades and professions, as well as from living in 'white areas', which included all towns and cities (Owomoyela 2002). The economic impact of this law forced black natives into low-paid labour on white farms, in mines and factories. Coupled with 'hut taxes' that had to be paid in cash, as opposed to any other form of traditional payment or exchange, this resulted in "a new form of wage slavery that fundamentally disrupted the traditional economy" (Belk 2000, n.p.). Southern Rhodesia (present day Zimbabwe) received significant support from countries

such as the UK, South Africa, and the United States (Mandaza 1986). Such support legitimised colonisation and its actions motivated by white supremacy, and gives an indication of the scope of what I refer to in this thesis as the greater source of whiteness.

It is important at this point to mention that while colonisation was a whiteness project, even within that project, the boundaries of whiteness were not static. Those in power (in this case, Britain), were able to shift them when it became necessary. This aligns with Owen's sixth functional property of whiteness that frames its borders as continuously redefined (Owen 2007). As a self-governed British colony, Rhodesia had what can be called full access to whiteness through support from Britain. And yet, attempts to break out of the British empire to become an independent state, through a Unilateral Declaration for Independence, created political tensions to which Britain responded by using its power to limit Rhodesia's access to whiteness. For this thesis, this is important in that it demonstrates how the social positions of whites can shift, depending on what their whiteness intersects with and what the outcome, or social position, of those intersections are. This outcome or social position is influenced by the boundaries that have been set up on whiteness through power. Below I provide a short background on how this developed in Rhodesia during colonisation.

In 1965, Ian Smith, then Prime Minister of Rhodesia, declared independence from Britain, in what was called the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), moving away from Rhodesia's traditional supporters. Ian Smith's action had both domestic and international implications. On the international front, the UK Government deemed the UDI to be inadmissible and illegal, thus it moved to institute measures that were intended to undermine and eventually sabotage the UDI. With the support of the United Nations Security Council, sanctions were imposed on Rhodesia with the intention of weakening Smith's government.

Sanctions came in three phases. The first two phases were economic sanctions denying Rhodesia access to capital markets and prohibiting UN member states from importing Rhodesian commodities. The third phase of sanctions, imposed by the UN Security Council in 1968, isolated Rhodesia completely, prohibiting all imports and exports from Rhodesia (except for medical, educational, or humanitarian purposes). Restrictions were made on air travel and shipping; no one could travel on a Rhodesian passport and emigration to Rhodesia was prohibited where possible (McKinnel 1969). These sanctions had the effect of limiting white privilege for those who were Rhodesian. I discuss this further in my findings in Chapter Five.

2.4.1 The economic structure: Land, legislation and economic power

Whiteness, as has already been highlighted, is a social location of economic, political, social and cultural advantage, or privilege, relative to those locations defined by non-whiteness (Owen 2007). These social locations are embedded in power structures, and it is therefore necessary to look into how colonisation structurally awarded these privileges to the whites in Rhodesia and, later, Zimbabwe. The economic privilege of white Zimbabweans thus stems directly from concrete structural decisions and actions which had the intention of strengthening the privilege of white Zimbabweans.

Central to the colonisation history of Zimbabwe is the question of land, insofar as it explains the starting point of inequality based on the unequal distribution of the means of production. The question of land is characterised by ninety years of land policies in Rhodesia (colonial Zimbabwe), which were designed to further the interests of a small number of white farmers (Palmer 1990). The land policies placed the means of production, hence a significant section

of the economy, in the hands of white settlers, which played an important role in the distribution of wealth in Rhodesia and later Zimbabwe, largely along racial lines.

The settlers enacted laws which allocated them the richest and most fertile land in the central part of the country (Palmer 1990). White farmers were systematically assisted by the government over the years through an extensive communication and marketing infrastructure, accompanied by massive state subsidies and loans. The success of white farmers was therefore a structurally-facilitated process. Blacks, on the other hand, were allocated land which used to be called ‘native reserves’. Particularly after the Second World War, hundreds of thousands of blacks were evicted from land designated for white settlement. They were moved to the ‘native reserves’, which were unfit for farming.

The result of this historical process was that by the time of independence, in 1980, the black reserves were overcrowded, and population densities were over three times greater in these black reserves than in the white areas (Palmer 1990). By the 1990s, 4500 white farmers owned 40% of the country’s land, while eight million blacks shared 42% of the land (Hughes 2006). This racial division of land was highly visible, clearly unsustainable and was an important step towards future decades of structural inequality. In this structure, a minority white population enjoyed proprietorship of economically viable land and the production value chain as opposed to an alienated and impoverished black majority. (Palmer 1990; Makuwerere Dube 2021).

It was hoped that at Zimbabwean independence, Britain would tackle the land issue by offering to buy out white farmers who were reluctant to continue living in Zimbabwe after independence, as they had done in other colonies, for example, Kenya. The British

Government recognised the political need for land reform and, to some extent, its own responsibility for purchasing land and compensating white farmers who wanted to leave after independence. This recognition was brought about by the fact that most landowners, both individuals and companies, in Rhodesia were of British origin (Palmer 1990).

In 1979, at the Lancaster House negotiations for Zimbabwe's independence, there had been a recent change of Government in Britain. As such, the expected outcome of the negotiations, which was similar to those in Kenya, that the British government would buy out white farmers, was taken off the table (*ibid*). In its place, Britain offered a compromise under which, in return for Zimbabwe guaranteeing existing property rights, Britain would finance half the costs for a land redistribution programme. Land would only be bought by the government from white farmers who were willing to sell, and the government was to pay for this land at full market price and in foreign currency (Palmer 1990).

Some white farmers would later over-invest on their land in an attempt to make it unaffordable for government, as a tactic to discourage the government from negotiating on buying their properties (Hughes 2006). Hughes recasts this over-investment as a way in which white farmers conceived of land ownership as part of their belongingness to Zimbabwe. This practice of over-investment also speaks to how the whiteness constructed nature in settler societies as untamed and not conserved until their arrival. I will engage with the aspect of nature and whiteness more fully later in this section.

Upon accepting the conditions of the Lancaster House Agreement, the independent state of Zimbabwe was a disappointment to the aspirations of the blacks. During the UDI, the state had used legislative, political, and economic means to further the interests of commercial

farmers to the detriment of the black natives. Aspirations of the black majority at independence were to address this injustice. Yet, post-independence, the conditions of the Lancaster House Agreement reduced the new black-ruled state to a mediator between two agrarian classes. On the one side were the white farmers, who demanded continuity, and on the other were the black natives, who expected change (Mumbengegwi 1980; Onslow 2017).

In consequence, property rights remained in place to protect the interests of the white farmers. While the black farmers may have felt that their expectations were not met after independence, the problem, at least for the first decades after independence, was that the white farmers' privilege was ingrained within the legal system. While white colonisation was over in the legal sense, the inequality established during the colonial period persisted. Furthermore, while the black majority had gained political power, economic power still rested in the hands of the white minority by virtue of their status as the major land holders.

Whiteness, therefore, not only structured land ownership in Rhodesia, but continued to do so later in independent Zimbabwe, being ingrained in the legal and economic structure. Bringing whiteness back into focus, the interplay between privilege, power and identity could be regarded to have begun the process of taking a post-independence and 'post-colonial' form at this stage. This involved splitting power into the political and the economic. Black Zimbabweans had won political power, but the colonists were still able to wield economic power in the former colony. This economic **power** would continue to maintain economic **privilege** based on the **identity** of being white; and navigating this identity would become complex.

2.4.2 The social structure

White settlers led a comfortable lifestyle, which was structurally determined. Brownell (2008) highlights that the population dynamics of Rhodesia were such that the white population was always a significant minority. This was a phenomenon which was seen as problematic by the colonial administration for the sustainability of white rule. Rhodesia therefore had an interest in increasing white population numbers, and constantly battled with the immigration-emigration of white settlers. Rhodesian state propaganda emphasised material benefits of Rhodesia's way of life, creating an implied contract with new immigrants based on the promise of a comfortable lifestyle and material gain in return for settlement. Decline in material standards provoked departure and, given the state's anxiety about the white population size, there was an interest in maintaining white privilege. Brownell provides an example of the Rhodesian government sending out letters to white Rhodesians who were planning to emigrate from Rhodesia, asking them if there was anything the government could do to change their minds, and choose to remain in Rhodesia. It was therefore important to the white-ruled state to maintain the comfort of the white population, as well as to grow that white population, in order to be sustainable.

Accounts of the lifestyle of white farmers demonstrate the ways in which farming as an activity, and the economic wealth associated with it, shaped social relations in Rhodesia and in post-colonial Zimbabwe. In the pre- and post-independence period, farming families also depended on the farm for entertainment. Isolation due to large distances led to the organisation of social activities around school events, recreational activities, regional agricultural shows and white-only country clubs. Other activities were enjoyed on the farm, for example, hunting, fishing and horse riding (Hughes 2011; Pilosof and Boersema 2017; Suzuki 2017).

White Zimbabweans who lived on farms had a very close relationship with nature, as I will discuss later in my findings. For many white Zimbabweans, e.g. white farmers, individuals involved in conservation projects, etc. nature was their route to establishing their lives in Zimbabwe. Pre-independence, the relationship between whites and nature did not necessarily include a relationship with the black others with whom that nature was shared. Post-independence, this relationship with nature became a form of retreat from social and political involvement in a black-governed country. The retreat to nature as an expression of whiteness is not exclusive to Zimbabwe and has been examined in other contexts as well, such as Canada and the United States upon the arrival of Europeans. There too, whiteness was strongly aligned to projects and encounters with nature (Suzuki 2017). I will explore the connection between whiteness and nature in the broader context of colonialism later in this chapter as it is crucial to understanding the whiteness of whites who began as settlers as in Zimbabwe.

Within this setting, the social position of the black natives as the ‘workforce’ facilitated the lifestyle of whites. Domestic workers often worked long days and weekends and relied on the farmers for their basic needs. Farming memoirs note how the farmstead served as a place of constant visits from workers who needed assistance with health issues, financial issues, family concerns, etc. (Buckle 2002; Beattie 2008). The white farmers therefore took on a paternalistic role, where they were responsible for providing for their black workforce; this was also widely seen as ‘civilising’ their black workforce.

Of course, the white ‘community’ was heterogeneous, and the lifestyle of white farmers was quite different from that of urbanites. These differences were also bound to influence factors

such as the level of interaction with other whites and with blacks. Certain historical events changed the economic structure and had important impacts on the social positions of white Zimbabweans. For instance, the land redistribution programme of the 2000s, which was a government-led programme to take farms from white farmers, affected those who lived and relied on farms more directly than it affected urban whites.

For urbanites, while their geographical location in the cities allowed for more interaction within the white community, racial segregation persisted. Whites lived in exclusive suburbs in urban areas, with good housing, gardens, and social amenities (Godwin and Hancock 1993). Meanwhile, blacks had restricted access to housing, recreational and sports facilities, and medical care. Belk (2000) vividly highlights that “the small percent of the population that was white, lived in white suburbs, patronised white clubs, ate at white restaurants, stayed at white hotels, were educated at largely white schools and universities, and enjoyed white sports such as cricket, rugby, golf, tennis, and lawn bowling” (n.p). Blacks were allowed at these white-only places as labour. Cheap black labour provided whites with security guards in their homes, gardeners, cooks, housekeepers, maids, and drivers. Belk continues: “They travelled to exclusive resorts and enjoyed sites that few blacks ever saw, including the Victoria Falls, Great Zimbabwe, Lake Kariba, and game parks” (n.p). Despite being only four percent of the population, whites enjoyed sixty percent of the income. Only a very small number of middle-class blacks could afford luxuries like televisions or cars. In 1977, average wages for whites in Zimbabwe were more than ten times higher than average black wages (Weiss and Gordimer 1994).

Notwithstanding its limitations, this white lifestyle became, for the black middle class, a model of the materiality and domestic assistance to which they aspired (Fisher 2010), even post-independence.

Language as an indication of social hierarchy post-independence

Beyond the lifestyle of whites in Zimbabwe, other elements to do with social relations give an indication of the social structure. Language in the context of colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe gives an indication of hierarchy in the social order. My findings in Chapter Six will demonstrate that white Zimbabwean emigrants use local Zimbabwean languages (Shona and Ndebele) as part of their claim to belongingness to Zimbabwe. There I argue that this claim is based on a low threshold to be achieved in terms of their proficiency in those languages. This, I argue, is a contrast to the high level of English required in order to claim belongingness or any kind of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977; 1991). However, to contextualise this reflection, it is important to provide background at this point on the global dominance of the English language, and the implications for Zimbabwe and for white Zimbabweans, even before emigration.

The ways in which language is used reflect, in turn, the ways in which whiteness developed after independence – two in particular can be identified which are important for this research. The first is the position of the English language in a widely perceived global hierarchy of languages (Phillipson 2001). The English language remains at the apex of the global hierarchy and its use facilitates participation in the global economy (Hungwe 2007). The Zimbabwean education system adapted to this reality in its post-independence education system by making English the main language of instruction. This policy, and the position of

English at the apex of the global hierarchy, have implications for whiteness as it is experienced in Zimbabwe and the social position of white Zimbabweans when they emigrate. The second element is language as it is used within the context of Zimbabwe, specifically, the kinds of words and names that were used during colonisation. This includes the maintenance of those words in post-independence Zimbabwe and reflecting on what that maintenance suggests about social relations.

On the first element, a *strong command of the English language*, including the right accent (often determined by its closeness to either British or American accents) is something to which many middle-class Zimbabweans aspire. This desire is not only a question of social status but is also instrumental. The official language of Zimbabwe is English, suggesting that English proficiency is not merely an individual or even societal preference, but is one that is, to some extent, a holdover from colonialism. Insofar, the use of English is structured by whiteness.

This means that such a decision as establishing English as the official language, while taken at the national level in the context of Zimbabwe, is in response to the global reality (in which the country is a participant), which is dominated by English. To demonstrate the scale of this dominance, Phillipson (2001) reflects on the widespread assumption, particularly in development aid, that English is a panacea, where ‘language’ refers exclusively to English and ‘teachers’ are teachers of English. The rendering invisible of other relevant languages, Phillipson argues, is a re-run of colonial and post-colonial language in education policy. Much investment has been made in terms of infrastructure and ideology to construct English as central to globalisation and being the universal medium (27).

As far as education policy goes therefore, in the case of Zimbabwe, the goal of colonial administrations was to limit the exposure of blacks to an education that provided them with access to economic and political wellbeing. Yet, blacks aspired to an education that provided the widest possible opportunities for participation in the emerging economy (Hungwe 2007). To do this in a global economy that had been shaped by British imperialism and thus dominated by the use of the English language, Zimbabwe saw it in its best interest to adopt a diglossic relationship with English, a functional specialisation between languages (*ibid*). This means that English became the language used for higher functions such as education, government and media, while native languages were used in the home and in other personal interactions.

Even when the education policy was reviewed to provide the option of primary children being taught in their mother languages, stakeholders, including the parents of the children, opposed this decision, despite evidence that learning in the mother language has uncontested benefits (Ndamba 2017). Barriers to implementation of a mother tongue education policy in former colonial countries in Africa are the socio-economic power and international status of the English language (Kamwangamalu 2004; Rooy 2009). Preference for the English language is, in such contexts, taken as a pragmatic decision, which Li (2002) also finds in the case of Hong-Kong's parents' preference for English as the medium of communication in education. Many black Africans feel and indeed experience that there is an entire world of knowledge, skills, jobs, power, and influence which would be closed to them if they could only speak an indigenous language and specifically, if they could not speak the English language (Moodley 2000; Hunter 2015).

The low threshold for proficiency in local languages to claim belongingness to Zimbabwe as opposed to the high threshold required to access the benefits associated with the English language is a demonstration of how whiteness creates hierarchies within systems with the elements most closely associated with whiteness deemed to be higher on the pyramid of importance. In this case, social position is conditioned by the proximity to whiteness (Bouchard 2020). Here, the notion of proximity to whiteness makes room to analyse how, beyond the English language itself, factors such as accent become important for the social positioning of white Zimbabweans in my research.

The second way in which language was and is used as part of the colonial social structure in Zimbabwe is the use of certain words. Names or words that white masters used to call their workers were simply re-used by some of the black elite vis-à-vis their own workers, suggesting that some elements of the black middle class simply stepped into the shoes of the whites and saw themselves as the new masters. The use of the word '*garden boy*' to refer to the domestic male workers who worked in the gardens of white households demonstrated the paternalism of the white masters (Alexander 2004; Shutt 2007). Similarly, female domestic workers were called '*house girls*'. While this was demeaning, it became so common that some black employers also refer to their domestic workers as '*garden boy*' or '*house girl*', signifying an emulation of the behaviour of former white masters.

On the part of black domestic workers, the white master was referred to as '*murungu*', a Shona term for 'white person' (*mlungu* or *khiwa* in Ndebele) which was used as a synonym for 'white boss'. Post-independence, many domestic workers still refer to their black employers as '*murungu*' or '*khiwa*'. Successful black people are also often called '*murungu/khiwa*' by members of their communities. Among young people, the term

‘coconut’ is common in describing middle class young people with western tastes, a derogatory term meaning black on the outside and white on the inside. Recipients of this term often perceive it as elevating even though in fact it is derogatory. This tendency – to use such terms toward fellow individuals of colour as a way of expressing contempt for the behaviours of those who have adopted whiteness values and beliefs at the expense of their own cultural values – is also present in other contexts, among other racialised groups, for example in the US, where similar words are used for those who are perceived as, and criticised for, being ‘white on the inside’ and another racialised colour on the outside (Traynham 2020). This too is an indication of a social structure that continues to be structured by whiteness and in which social status, even among blacks, is scaled by proximity to whiteness.

White Patriarchy and paternalism

Two other important factors that were key in the colonial social structure were patriarchy and paternalism. These emerge in my findings in different forms. Patriarchy manifests in the form of placing white women at the margins of whiteness, so that they experience diminished whiteness. Paternalism emerges in the form of white Zimbabweans’ limited understanding of the experiences of the blacks who were around them in Zimbabwe, particularly domestic workers, and assumptions made about them, which can be interpreted as paternalistic.

The social structure created by colonisation awarded primary power to men, with white men at the apex of social privilege, political leadership, household leadership, property control and moral authority and so forth. As this research applies an intersectionality lens in order to understand the different positions of individuals on the spectrum of whiteness, it finds that some of the reasons for emigration for white women include being relatively disadvantaged in their communities as a result of patriarchy. It is necessary therefore to look into the

colonial structure to understand how patriarchy was ingrained in the social structure in order to later understand how it positioned white women on the margins of whiteness.

In the political sphere, reference to whites often meant white men, as the patriarchy was such that white men were seen as the ones who made laws and governed, with women as their subordinates (Moreton-Robinson 2009). On the white-operated commercial farms in colonial Rhodesia and after independence in 1980, a particular type of administration shaped public life. By the 1950s, farm workers fell under a different administration system than other workers, which culminated in the 1979 Masters and Servants Act. This was a state-sanctioned authority of the white farmer and his family and was a form of ‘domestic government’ (Rutherford 2004). Most public actions at work and on the farm required permission from the farm owner or his senior male black worker, the farm manager. Failure to obtain permission resulted in individual or collective punishment. While the frequency of punishment varied from farm to farm, this domestic government was marked by widespread fear of going against the farmer, as this risked some kind of punishment, whether it was corporal punishment, withholding of wages or other benefits; or losing employment and thereby losing residence at the farm. The paternalistic element of this is that white farmers regarded the employment of black natives in wage labour as a way to civilise and modernise them by shaping their conduct and their minds. Domestic government was marked by patriarchal values of domestic respectability, including limiting the role of women to disempowered subjects (Rutherford 2004).

The labour provided by blacks allowed for this patriarchy to thrive and was productive of white identity, while at the same time, keeping the blacks separate from their white masters. The presence of domestic workers freed up the time of fathers as heads of the households and

primary breadwinners to enjoy leisure activities during weekends. It also freed up time for mothers to bring children to school and to other activities. At the same time, in spite of this apparent proximity, the perceptions of white superiority (arguably on both sides) did not create space to engage with these black workers beyond the paternalistic divide. More than 20 years after independence, at the time of Alexander's (2004) research among white Zimbabweans, rural white Zimbabweans continued to hold paternalistic views of black Zimbabweans. Alexander highlights the persistence of perceptions of superiority, and a limited understanding of black values and lifestyles, often referring to them as 'traditional'.

2.4.3 Whiteness and nature

On the issue of connectedness to the land, my findings indeed show that the attachment to the land among white Zimbabweans who grew up on the farms persists among those who emigrated from Zimbabwe. My interviewees refer explicitly to experiences in the 'bush'. However, my argument on the role of emigration in the conceptualisation of home (Tsuda 2013) as I will develop it in Chapter Six, becomes important here.

Upon the emigration of white Zimbabweans to elsewhere, the argument of dual transnationalism and double diaspora, which I develop in my research, expands on how the sense of belonging of white Zimbabweans has changed as a result of migration. The relationship that white Zimbabweans had with nature can be seen as a representation of whiteness, expressed through colonial assumptions of their role in taming and conserving nature (Braun 2003), thereby seeing themselves as a diaspora in relation to the land of their ancestors. They had also perceived investment on land (mostly on farms) as a warrant for belonging (Hughes 2006). The dual transnationalism and double diaspora of my interviewees shows shifts in this colonial-type of relationship with nature. Their attachment to the 'bush'

and to the country more generally, in spite of whiteness and privilege, represents a nostalgia that is typical of diasporic nostalgia for a glorified homeland. This is opposed to the fantastical settler view of the beckoning of the ‘addictive African wilderness’, as expressed in white Zimbabwean literature like *Cry of the Fish Eagle* by Peter Rimmer (1993).

At the same time, the historical relationship between whiteness and nature also informs the way in which white Zimbabweans engaged with nature while living in Zimbabwe, as well as the relevance of the emergence of love for nature. The latter emerged as a clear theme in this research.

After independence, some whites left the country in fear of a black-ruled government, typically emigrating to countries such as South Africa, which was then under the apartheid regime, but also to Britain, Australia and New Zealand (Pasura 2010). The whites who stayed legitimised their allegiance to the new Zimbabwe in different ways. The rural whites, who were part of the farming community, represented themselves as vital to the national economy and committed to the new national project (Pilosof 2012). While white farmers represented themselves as a group that would make economic contributions to the new country; they also disengaged from societal affairs and politics, turning towards nature or the bush as an expression of their Africanness (Hughes 2006; Chennells 2007; Muzondidya 2009).

On the one hand, there is a historical background to this, based on the colonial idea of Africa as a wild bush and the role of whites in discovering and taming it. This is demonstrated by the disregard of African names and the imposition of European names on African places and landforms (Gwekwerere *et al.* 2018), including the tendency to name them after European ‘discoverers’, implying that they had not been discovered until the arrival of Europeans. On

the other hand, this retreat could be seen as a combination of this historical view of Africa and a propagation of the role that whites had been ‘assigned’ by Mugabe’s government at independence.

In terms of the historical relationship with the bush, this is conceptualised more broadly as nature imagined in opposition to the social, playing a critical role in the construction of whiteness (Braun 2003). This can be understood through other contexts as well, for example the American context. There, the racialisation of the wilderness at the time of European migration to America was such that ‘wilderness’ became wilderness through the violent and systematic removal of indigenous peoples from their land (Sandilands 2005). The practice of colonial settlement (domestication) can be said to be a primarily white endeavour (159). In this endeavour, nature came to represent a space in which whites could escape to reaffirm their whiteness. For Braun (2003) therefore, the journey into nature was as much a journey away from something else – with that something else being race (197).

In its relationship with nature therefore, whiteness can be conceived of as a dynamic mode of subjectivity, practiced through the movement away from otherness into an imagined nature that is thought to precede history (*ibid*). Nature is thus engaged with as something that was undiscovered, untamed or unprotected prior to the arrival of whites in those spaces. This brings us to an understanding of whiteness as mutually constructed by nature and difference which helps to think of the historicity of nature in broad social terms and how race and nature are tied together (Braun and Castree 1998; 2001).

Applying this concept to the context of Zimbabwe, Tagwireyi and de Kock (2015) argue that white Zimbabwean narratives have long espoused the bush as a place of belonging for Zimbabwean whites. It emanates from the image of Africa as wilderness and empty space,

labelled by the term ‘bush’. This bush is an empty and yet wild space which is depicted as mysterious, until whites tame it, humanise it, demystify it (4), and even protect it, thus turning it into productive farmland. The farm is then seen as a place of belonging for the white man (indeed the property owners were male as per the patriarchal system), with little concern for what happens beyond the border of the farm (Tagwireyi and de Kock 2015). The environmental practices and infrastructural investments made on the land in the form of physical constructions etc. were seen as insurance against not belonging. These infrastructural investments and contributions were meant to solidify whites’ legitimacy on the land (*ibid*) and create a sense of deserving the land. In the wake of the creation of Zimbabwe from Rhodesia, belongingness, particularly for the rural-based whites, meant belonging to that piece of land. In addition to assuring whites of their place in Zimbabwe, Mugabe recognised them as being responsible for feeding the nation and fighting poverty through their agricultural practices. Commitment to the land was therefore seen by whites as commitment to Zimbabwe. The environmental practices on the farm in white Zimbabwean literature, as investigated by Tagwireyi and de Kock (2015), were made to suggest creativity and commitment to the land by the whites, without which the farm would remain an unproductive bush.

Previous studies, including those of Pilossof (2012) and Hughes (2006), highlight that the attachment to land by rural whites who were either Rhodesians or whites who stayed after independence to become Zimbabweans still had the colonial whiteness imprint on it. Further, those who criticise Hughes (2006) refer to Zimbabwean whites as Euro-Africans, suggesting that these whites were seen and perhaps saw themselves still as a European diaspora (Hammar 2012; Wylie 2012; Hartnack 2013). This criticism also touches on the –notion of retreating to the bush that Hughes (2006) puts forward, arguing that the anthropologists who

conducted whiteness studies in Zimbabwe were often unfair to the white community. Hammar (2012) argues that Hughes in particular focuses on Rhodesia-minded whites and has allowed some whites, especially those who have ‘identified consciously and especially closely with nature’, to represent all ‘Euro-Africans’, strategically erasing those ‘whites who would complicate his portrait with greater historical, spatial and social diversity’ (2012, 17). Pilossof and Boersema (2017) point to the fact that a population of white Zimbabweans were, and continue to be, urban-based and capture the different mindsets between farmers and urbanites. Pilossof’s (2012)’s analysis is that accounts written by white Zimbabwean farmers after the land grabbing program in the early 2000s reiterate their identification with the country, their sense of belonging and their sense of loss at forced displacement (Godwin 2007; Fuller 2003; Buckle 2002). A common emerging theme, at least from these books, is seen as that of an attachment that was based on the land and the lifestyle that these farmers had in a system of privilege rather than on social interactions with the black majority; it was a love for the land, but not for the others with whom they shared the land (*ibid*). While, as argued by Hammar (2012), this is not a representation of all whites, it remains that some white farmers felt this way. Arguably, the points made by Hughes (2006) and his critics, including Hammar (2012), Wylie (2012) and Hartnack (2013), focus the argument on the geographical settings of the white Zimbabweans in question.

My research, however, goes further to engage with the common theme of the structurally determined social segregation of whites from the black majority, which limits the perspective of those subjects. Thus, the socio-historically determined positionality of white Zimbabweans, i.e. economic dominance, social privilege, colonial hangover perceptions of racial superiority (conscious or unconscious), transnationalism and diaspora which are resultant from settler ancestry, imposed segregation from the black majority regardless of

whether whites were rural- or urban-based. This segregation transcends the spatial and social diversity of individuals and is expressed in different ways, of which the strong identification with nature, instead of with people, is only a part. What is central is a segregation of experiences, worldviews, values and access. All these emerge in my findings, which show that while some whites indeed shared spaces with non-whites, their experiences of those spaces were from a privileged point of view, and this privilege was structurally and socio-historically determined.

2.4.4 The myth of the ‘white community’ and heterogeneity among Zimbabwean whites

For political reasons, the colonial project portrayed white Zimbabweans as ‘a community’, with resulting implications of homogeneity. To some extent, the narrative and myth of white superiority bound white settlers together, yet even then, the inevitable heterogeneity still surfaced. This heterogeneity surfaces in my research findings as well, and the awareness of it is important in the understanding of the more complex layer of whiteness, particularly when it is considered in terms of economic wealth. Heterogeneity also sheds light on the deep-rootedness of whiteness, in that in spite of differences between Zimbabwean whites, in spite of the refusal of privilege by some and its acceptance by others, it remains that whiteness is experienced in spite of individual choice to accept it or not.

As such, white Zimbabweans, even those who resisted white privilege, still experienced it. Finally, when it comes to the elements of difference between white Zimbabweans or the points of fracture or disunity, my findings here also support those found in other studies of diaspora groups. For instance, research on black Zimbabweans in the UK shows that, upon migration, people often import their homeland differences into the destination country

(Pasura 2008), and are fractured and fragmented along racial and ethnic lines. With the class history of Britain also playing a role, it is not surprising, then, that some of the class distinctions, to name just one factor among many others, continue to influence the white ‘community’ in Zimbabwe, reflecting considerable heterogeneity in a community that has historically been depicted as homogeneous.

Pilossof and Boersema (2017) bring out important points of Zimbabwean whites’ heterogeneity, highlighting that there was a difference in the integration process between white farmers and urban whites, with the latter integrating better into the new dispensation. By the early 2000s, two main changes occurred. Firstly, the distance between urbanites and white farmers increased, erasing the myth of a ‘white community’. Interviews with two white Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe highlighted the phenomenon that, while colonisation managed to shelter white Zimbabweans as a community united contingently by the purpose of racial segregation, the idea of the white community has always been a myth. Reference by a white Zimbabwean in my research (Stan) to ‘wheeler dealers’ suggests a distinction between the professionals and non-professionals; between social classes and arguably between the urbanites and the farmers. In the same conversation, there was an unfavourable discussion about how the interviewee never interacts with the Rhodesians and a second conversation with a different respondent also involved referral to Rhodesians as the ‘whenwe’s’ who are stuck in the past. While these particular points shed light on the issue of heterogeneity within the white community, they indirectly shed light on privilege, in that it is experienced by all whites, in spite of their ‘internal’ divisions as a ‘community’.

As white farmers continued to thrive after independence, they became more and more associated with white power and privilege, as there was never a wealthy landowning black

class alongside white farmers to share their success (Godwin and Hancock 1993). On this account, Godwin and Hancock (1993), like Fisher (2010) seem to consider privilege as a relative status. The difference, however, in this case is that white farmers at this point seemed more immune to Zimbabwe's deteriorating economic climate than the white urbanites. While white Zimbabweans in general did well economically, a considerable proportion of the urban white community felt that their financial security was eroding as the country gradually went into economic decline (Godwin and Hancock 1993).

During the chaotic land reform programme of the early 2000s, which involved the governmental transfer of white-owned farms to blacks, there was little evidence of sympathy from white urbanites towards white farmers. White urbanites felt that white farmers' continued retention of their power, settler identity and colonial attitudes was the source of their problem. White urbanites also pointed out that white farmers had accumulated a great deal of wealth and were likely to remain comfortable even after the land evictions. Throughout this process, white urbanites managed to separate themselves from the white farmers (Pilossof and Boersema 2017).

Building on Pilossof and Boersema (2017), I highlight here that the conscious distancing by the urbanites highlights the difference between whiteness and white people. "Whiteness" is a racial discourse, whereas the category "white people" represents a socially constructed identity, usually based on skin colour' (Leonardo 2002, 31). In this case, while the white urbanites distanced themselves from whiteness, these urbanites were still just as privileged as the white farmers. This once again reinforces Owen's (2007) suggestion that whiteness cannot be refused because of its systemic roots, which run deeper than an individual choice to distance oneself from it. Furthermore, understanding whiteness as a structuring property is

important in putting into perspective the idea that whiteness cannot always be consciously perceived because of its infiltration and structuring of all other spheres of social existence (Owen 2007; Harris 2019).

As far as the white farmers and the white urbanites are concerned, during the land redistribution program, two issues came to light. Firstly, the heterogeneity within the white community in terms of economic wealth broke up the ‘white community’ into groups with differing degrees of wealth. Secondly, even when the white urbanites separate themselves from whiteness, they continue to experience privilege. I explore these issues in more detail below.

2.4.5 Post-independence changes in Zimbabwean white privilege

Mckinnon and Sennet (2017) discuss two main forms of privilege: entitlement privilege and advantage privilege. They speak of advantage privilege as a privilege that is constituted by a group’s differential or exclusive access to actions or activities that confer an advantage to them at the exclusion of other groups. In this case, a group can only enjoy an advantage privilege if other groups do not enjoy the same level of access. The emergence of the black elite shows that in Zimbabwe, whites are no longer the only wealthy demographic group. The economic heterogeneity within the ‘white Zimbabwean community’ makes it possible that some black Zimbabweans are as wealthy as some white Zimbabweans and vice versa.

Furthermore, the social and political landscape has changed, such that it is no longer possible to have places that are explicitly for ‘whites only’ as was the case during the colonial period, even though such places may continue to exist *de facto*. Therefore, I contend that over time,

whites have lost their ‘advantage privilege’ as defined by Mckinnon and Sennet (2017). It is, however, important to note that while the black elite became wealthy, presumably as wealthy as some whites, they did not necessarily experience privilege to the same degree as did wealthy whites. This is important in understanding the whiteness behind white privilege, to the extent that acquiring or achieving material equity does not result in the acquisition of white privilege when the racial identity of being *white* does not apply.

Entitlement privilege is defined by Mckinnon and Sennet (2017) as a property that every group ought to have, but that only particular groups enjoy. Entitlement privilege can be applied to the land issue in the case of Zimbabwean society, both before and after the Lancaster House Agreement. However, over time and given the land redistribution project of the early 2000s, some white Zimbabweans, particularly the farmers, lost their entitlement advantage. This presents a situation where the ways in which whiteness is generally theorised becomes inapplicable, at least in the context of Zimbabwe. Steyn (2005) for example sees whiteness as an ideologically supported social positionality that has accrued to people of European descent as a consequence of the economic and political advantage gained during and after European colonial expansion. This understanding remains applicable for whiteness as a global phenomenon and a structuring property that seeps into all aspects of social life (Owen 2007). However, where whiteness would have been central in Rhodesia during colonisation and immediately afterwards, over time this position has shifted in Zimbabwe, as whites have lost political advantage and exclusive economic advantage. An additional factor is that they have always been a minority in terms of population size.

In spite of the loss of these privileges, and in the case of white urbanites distancing themselves from whiteness, at least from the brand of whiteness that white farmers

represented, we see that the urbanites were still as privileged as the white farmers. I suggest that this privilege was based on a different kind of whiteness, different from the colonial whiteness and the early postcolonial period whiteness. To understand what kind of whiteness this was, one needs to move beyond the material conditions of inequality, in this case economic advantage, and begin to question positions and discourses of privilege (Dei 1996). One needs to look beyond white Zimbabweans as the recipients of privilege, but also look at the social structures and processes (Anthias 2014) that facilitate the awarding of that privilege.

2.5 Looking beyond material conditions of inequality and privilege

In understanding some of the most important social dynamics that facilitate white privilege in Zimbabwe and therefore shape Zimbabwean post-colonial whiteness, in this section I focus on the role played by blacks in shaping whiteness in Zimbabwe.

Having conceptualised whiteness and how it was entrenched in Zimbabwe through colonisation, this chapter argues that whiteness manifests differently in different contexts. Having discussed the mutual construction of whiteness and blackness, I take this point further by arguing that the self-construction of blackness after independence facilitated a re-construction of whiteness. Here I focus on the aspirations of black Zimbabweans, demonstrating that they were influenced by a search for the elusive status of whiteness, and that this contributed to shaping post-colonial whiteness in Zimbabwe. For this thesis, the understanding of Zimbabwe's post-colonial whiteness provides further insight into the context from which white Zimbabwean emigrants come.

2.5.1 Shaping whiteness in post-independence Zimbabwe: How black aspirations shaped Zimbabwean post-independence whiteness

Given the mutual construction of blackness and whiteness, it is important to understand how blacks constructed blackness after independence and how, in so doing, whiteness was mutually constructed. Such an understanding provides an indication of what post-independence whiteness in Zimbabwe looks like, which enables me to demonstrate later how Zimbabwean whiteness conditions the transnational experiences of white Zimbabweans.

Constructing blackness: Post-independence representations of blackness in Zimbabwe

After independence, blacks articulated their blackness in different ways. Independence Day celebrations are one, and these focus on the atrocities of colonisation and the blood that was shed by blacks to attain their independence. The land grabbing programme was another, accompanied by a narrative that named and shamed whiteness. Both these and many other ways of articulating blackness forced whites in Zimbabwe to see themselves through the eyes of blacks and, therefore, to face their whiteness and in some ways to re-construct it through finding “new narratives to explain who they are, what they are doing in Africa, and what their relationship is to the indigenous people and to the continent” (Steyn 2005, 122). At the same time, blacks’ perspectives were tainted by the colonial condition (Fanon 1967). An interesting way to examine how this manifested is through the aspirations of blacks.

Consumption patterns of black elite Zimbabweans show that there are extremes between the rich and the poor, with black elites using the former colonists as referents, next to American and British lifestyles as seen on television (Belk 2000). Belk (2000) vividly states that

“They occupy former colonist homes and neighbourhoods. They obtained their education and educated their children in former colonist schools or in some cases in the UK or elsewhere in Africa (especially in more developed South Africa). British sports have become a pastime. They emulate former colonists in dress code, language and holiday habits and consumption of alcoholic beverages, relegating alcoholic drinks previously consumed by blacks to the lower classes.” (13).

The emulation of white consumption patterns, particularly through conspicuous consumption, has been understood in the contexts of other former colonies, for example, in South Africa, as a result of relative deprivation (Chipp *et al.* 2011), thus making the link with seeking greater socio-economic status and material resources in response to previous deprivation. This viewpoint is slightly different from the findings of Belk (2000) in Zimbabwe, which demonstrate that these strong aspirations are linked to mimicking the behaviour of former colonists. Both these viewpoints are encompassed by the combination of the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu and Fanon, as Ayling (2015) shows in the analysis of distinction strategies employed by Nigerian black elites to advance their class positioning. Here, much as in the Zimbabwean context, Nigerian parents opt for UK-based private boarding schools with the aim of bestowing upon their children ‘attributes of excellence’ (Bourdieu 1984, 66) through exposure to white British lifestyles (Ayling 2015).

The concept of distinction is crucial in the formation and maintenance of elite status (Boyd 1973; Cookson and Persell 1985; Bourdieu 1984; 1990; 1996; Ayling 2015). The “attributes of excellence” (Bourdieu 1984, 66) must accompany the economic wealth of elites so that they are distinguishable through, for example, accent and lifestyle, all of which are forms of cultural and symbolic capital in Bourdieu’s frame (Ayling 2015). However, Bourdieu’s analysis does not integrate the element of race, and thus does not consider that the forms of cultural and symbolic capital with the greatest “exchange rates” (Kenway and Koh 2013, 279), may be found in other societies beyond the society in question (Ayling 2015) as is the

case in predominantly black societies such as Zimbabwe and Nigeria. In the consideration of race, the capitals with the higher exchange rates are tied to the global hierarchy of peoples created by the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world system. This system comprises class, sexual, gender, spiritual, linguistic, geographical, and racial hierarchies (Grosfoguel 2009; Grosfoguel *et al.* 2015). On this hierarchy of peoples, those who are racialised as white are at the apex. In the Zimbabwean context, therefore, it is unsurprising that the referents for the Zimbabwean black middle class are the former white colonists.

While the black elite use former colonists as referents, they do not see the white people who remained in Zimbabwe the same way (Belk 2000). In the early years after independence, the lifestyle of white Zimbabweans was something to which the black middle class aspired (Fisher 2010). While the observations are conflicting to the extent that Fisher (2010) suggests an aspiration to the lifestyle of white Zimbabweans in the country and Belk (2000) emphasises that the aspiration was particularly to be like the colonists, and not the white Zimbabweans who remained, there are two factors that remain in common. The first is that there is an aspiration at all to emulate a certain kind of whiteness. The second is that the whiteness aspired to, based on Fisher and Belk's descriptions, seems to be the same one to which the colonists subscribed.

The idea of a lack of subscription to the whiteness of the white Zimbabweans who remained in Zimbabwe after independence supports the earlier suggestion that whiteness in Zimbabwe changed over time. It also suggests that apart from the role played by whites to defend their privilege (Hughes 2006; Alexander 2004; Suzuki 2017), there is another role played by other non-white actors of society, in this case, blacks, in perpetuating a particular kind of whiteness. There is a maintenance of inequality through a small black middle class whose

tastes emulate those of the colonists. These means of distinction limit entry into the group in order to protect its social positioning (Ayling 2015). Their lifestyle comprises the same power inequalities with domestic workers, shopping at designated shopping centres, living in certain suburbs, sending their children to private schools, etc (Fisher 2010). Thus the aspirations of the black middle class present no change in discourse and no change to the power structures of whiteness, only a change in who those power structures serve. This is conceptualised by Fanon (1967) as the colonial condition, which has led to the gentrification of black peoples' psyche (119).

Colonialism's construction of the colonised, that is, the blacks as the 'other' and the opposite of whiteness, also constructs blackness as a void until it is defined by whiteness. This results in blacks internalising the hegemonic discourse of white superiority and seeing themselves as inferior, and as such, trying to escape blackness (Fanon 1967). This need to escape blackness is not only subjective, but also comes from the fact that whiteness is entrenched in structures and has been set up as an organising principle of all social and cultural relations (Owen 2007; Bouchard 2020). For blacks therefore, the options that are open for their advancement or progress in life, are self-denial and the necessity to achieve proximity to whiteness which comes at the cost of making blackness invisible. (Fanon 1967, 116-119; Bouchard 2020). Blacks therefore find themselves having to appropriate white culture in order to survive in a white world (Akom 2008; Traynham 2020). Their self-consciousness is always through their own eyes but also through the eyes of whites, judging themselves by the yardstick of whiteness. This 'double consciousness' as W.E.B. du Bois (1903) coins it, is necessary for blacks, (in du Bois's discussion, African Americans in particular), to navigate and survive a society that is dominated by whiteness and white supremacy (ibid).

In everyday life and work, this translates to intentional efforts to hide blackness in order to be acceptable (Rajan-Rankin 2018). This is demonstrated in the case of the voice and accent training that Indian call centre agents undergo in order to be able to adopt a ‘neutral’ English accent that hides their Indian accent and be acceptable to Western clients. While addressing school teachers in 1963, James Baldwin reflected on the impact of double consciousness on African American children. He argued that black children educated in America risk being schizophrenic due to the emphasis on the greatness of the nation of which they are part, but without being represented as contributors to that greatness. On the contrary, they are represented as unquestioning and subordinate slaves. This construction of blackness as an absence is consistent with what Fanon highlights as the worth of the colonised being defined by the coloniser.

Baldwin approached the question of the material condition of black people in the United States from an activist point of view. He noted that, were he in the shoes of teachers of black children, he would address this schizophrenia by teaching children that the material conditions that whiteness has imposed on them are criminal and, further, teach them to question the narratives that have been created about their identities and which position them as the opposite of whiteness. Fanon discusses another way in which those who are racialised as non-whites navigate whiteness and white supremacy - through a kind of assimilation. This may be more applicable to white majority contexts, but in the context of white minority post-colonial contexts such as Zimbabwe, could be a kind of escaping blackness, in Fanon’s term. This is done through adopting ways of whiteness, whether consciously or unconsciously (Traynham 2020), through tactics such as distinction and the acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital which bring people as close as possible to whiteness, as has been discussed above.

The aspirations of the Zimbabwean black middle class can therefore be seen as a representation of this phenomenon, a desire to step into the former colonists' shoes and walk in them as a symbol of success and worth. This not only perpetuates whiteness, but the phenomenon intersects with other contextual factors such as post-independence socio-economic and political dynamics, to shape the particular whiteness of a specific context, in this case, that of post-independence Zimbabwe.

Re-constructing whiteness: New understandings of whiteness post-independence

Having examined the history of whiteness, the power structures set up by colonialism and the post-independence representations of blackness in Zimbabwe, it becomes clear that in terms of power, privilege and identity, Zimbabwean whiteness was displaced from the centre. This happened through shifts in different types of power, shifts in representations that were tied to the identity of both blacks and whites, and shifts in the privilege associated with both of these.

In terms of power, we see a loss of political power. We see the persistence of economic power imposed from the external power structures of whiteness, thus from the UK through the Lancaster House Agreement demanding no interference with former white settlers' land which was taken from the black natives. We also see a shift in laws, thus in legal power and a maintenance of symbolic and social power drawn from western values and others' aspiration to them due to what Fanon describes as the colonial condition.

Later on, after the farm invasions in 2000, we see a loss of this imposed economic power, which, in turn, results in a decline in social privilege. In terms of privilege, we see the

persistence of privilege based on remnants of economic dominance and easier access to the global space because of the embodiment of whiteness elements, which I will discuss more in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. The element of privilege is also accompanied by the shift in social privilege after 2000 due to a change in the discourse in Zimbabwe, or rather, an introduction of a discourse that names whiteness and shames it, where it was visible but not defined in public discourse.

In terms of identity, we see a shift from colonial whiteness to post-independence whiteness which non-whites perpetuate in some ways and join to the extent possible. There is also an identity crisis characterised by the choice to either remain Rhodesian or to become Zimbabwean. Again post-2000, this identity is challenged, and questions of belonging become more prominent and there is pressure to demonstrate belongingness beyond investing in property. These shifts mean that whiteness in Zimbabwe inevitably became re-defined and displaced from the centre. Yet, through all of this, whiteness as a global organising principle/structuring property hangs over the discourse like a constant cloud to ensure that whiteness, while re-defined, is not eliminated.

White urbanites in Zimbabwe criticised white farmers for what they saw as the latter's continued efforts to define whiteness based on the colonial narrative (Pilosof and Boersema 2017). White urbanites saw this as undermining their efforts of looking for a new narrative to define themselves and their position in and relationship with Zimbabwe (Steyn 2005), in spite of their own white privilege (which they defended). After hundreds of years of living in Africa, it is almost inevitable that Zimbabwean whiteness has been redefined (*ibid*). Yet several studies, (Alexander 2004; Fisher 2010; Gwekwerere *et al.* 2018) found that there was a certain kind of resistance from some Zimbabwean whites to integrate or to mentally

emigrate into Zimbabwe from Rhodesia, and unsurprisingly so. Whites have a lot to lose by letting go of whiteness. It would mean acknowledging unearned privileges and giving them up (Leonardo 2002). In cases where this hesitation applied, particularly on white farms, the land invasions of 2000 undermined the carefully constructed world of separation, forcing white farmers who wished to remain on their land not only to ‘cohabit’ with black farm invaders, but to interact with them in ways that threatened the whites’ established social values, particularly separation from blacks (Kalaora 2011).

Whether one refers to a forced kind of repositioning or a voluntary revision of the whiteness narrative, it remains that there has been a repositioning of whiteness in Zimbabwe over time. This sets Zimbabwean whiteness apart from whiteness in the centres, which is the basis from which whiteness is commonly theorised (Steyn 2005). Therefore, while some black Zimbabweans aspire to the elusive status of whiteness, it is possible that some white Zimbabweans also aspire to a redefined kind of whiteness.

In the case of the black elites, Belk’s (2000) research suggests that they aspire to something in between a colonial kind of whiteness and a whiteness that is part of mainstream Western culture and is regarded as internationalism. In the case of white Zimbabweans, anthropology scholars (Alexander 2004; Pilosof 2009; Hughes 2006) conclude that there is a tendency to want to hold onto white privilege. Yet at the same time, given the political and social climate after the land grabbing programme, there is a desire to belong. After having in some ways resisted integration and opting for privilege (Tagwirei and De Kock 2015), the desire to belong can in some ways be seen as an after-thought, reacting to the loss of the previous carefully constructed life as a separate community.

Alexander (2004) gives the title ‘Orphans of the Empire’ to her book as well as to white Zimbabweans. Based on her ethnographic work, she concludes that Zimbabwean whites are ‘orphans of the empire’ for expecting the country to represent Western values and systems, which they hold in high esteem. This view also fits with Cohen’s (2008) characteristics of an imperial diaspora. Alexander’s interviewees, more than 20 years after independence, ranged from younger white Zimbabweans who felt very much Zimbabwean, understood the history well and felt integrated, to older Zimbabweans, who seemed stuck somewhere on the border between Rhodesia and Zimbabwe and to those who claimed to be part of the ‘new’ dispensation, but used what Steyn (2005) refers to as ‘white talk’ which involves ‘them and us’ kind of language.

At the same time, in Africa more broadly, there is an increased contestation of whiteness, accompanied by efforts of economic redress and post-colonial ideals. These come in the form of discourses on land ownership and structural inequality which put pressure on the hypervisible manifestations of white privilege (van Zyl-Hermann and Boersema 2017). The post-1980 Zimbabwe includes commemorations such as Heroes Day, which remind whites of the colonial injustices perpetrated by their ancestors against blacks. However, this narrative is more pronounced after the 2000 discourse on whiteness was articulated. Where whiteness had been visible but unarticulated, the discourse of farm invasions articulated whiteness as propertied, rich, a representation of inequality and a memory of the harms of colonialism (Misi 2016). Coming back to the mutual construction of whiteness and blackness, the discourse that emerged during the land invasion period can be seen as a progressing construction of blackness as independent, as claiming back its land, as righting the wrongs of the past. Through this construction of blackness, there is a reverse process of mutually re-constructing whiteness as its opposite. Thus whites are confronted with a discourse of anti-

white signs, and are forced to simultaneously see themselves through the contemptuous eyes of blacks (Tagwirei and de Kock 2015) and their own weakening white position, in a reverse kind of double consciousness.

Therefore, after 2000, many white Zimbabweans became legally disqualified from belonging as Zimbabwean citizens and yet could not identify themselves as European and/or British because they knew no other country than Zimbabwe. White Zimbabweans face a feeling of duality, such as the conflict of having to give up British passports when dual nationality was banned in Zimbabwe (Misi 2016). They face a sense of ambivalence, the feeling of having two conflicting identities and not being able to reconcile them (*ibid*). They are, as Coetzee and Bethlehem (1990) say, “no longer European, not yet African” (708). This spells out an identity crisis on the part of white Zimbabweans and alludes to the notion of duality, leading to their existence as a double diaspora (Misi 2016).

My analysis in this thesis expands on this duality and follows it into transnationalism to discover dual transnationalism. I draw on Tsuda (2013) to understand the ways in which, upon emigration, white Zimbabwean emigrants re-conceptualise their natal homeland (Zimbabwe) as home. Therefore, while Misi’s research reveals the ambivalence in white Zimbabweans and difficulty in reconciling their two identities, my research contends that among those who emigrated from Zimbabwe, there is a certain degree of clarity about their identity. Thus, I argue that there is a shift from the identity crisis of being “no longer European but not yet African”, to a dual transnationalism and double diasporism that, while it is also characterised by duality and indeed ambivalence, it is not quite an identity crisis. Rather, it has the clarity that positions them on a different intersection, of being African but not black, white but not European.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have engaged with some of the key conceptualisations of whiteness in Critical Whiteness Studies and demonstrated how they apply to my thesis through discussing them in the context of Zimbabwe. I have discussed the entrenchment of whiteness into the power structures of Zimbabwe through the colonial system and discussed the social dimension of colonisation and its power structures. I have highlighted the mutual construction of whiteness and blackness, which blackness constructed as the opposite of whiteness.

In the context of colonisation, this mutual construction happened not only as narratives but as legislation that practically segregated blacks and whites, thereby creating conditions for economic and social privilege for whites. I have taken this discussion further in understanding the development of whiteness in Zimbabwe post-independence, drawing from concepts of distinction (Boyd 1973; Cookson and Persell 1985; Bourdieu 1984; 1990; 1996; Ayling 2015), double consciousness (W.E.B. du Bois 1903) and the colonial condition (Fanon 1967) to understand the position of black Zimbabweans in perpetuating whiteness through their own aspirations and lifestyles as they use the former white colonists as referents. I highlight that while this perpetuates whiteness and shapes it to a Zimbabwean form of whiteness, when Zimbabwean blacks construct their own identity, they also mutually re-construct whiteness in Zimbabwe. This in a way creates a type of double consciousness for white Zimbabweans, who also begin to see themselves through the eyes of blacks after independence as their own whiteness is moved from the centre to the periphery in that particular context.

I have engaged with some key elements of how whiteness manifests at the social level through discussions on lifestyle which is conditioned by economic privilege, the role of the English language, patriarchy and nature as an expression of whiteness. All these elements will be crucial in understanding the experiences of white Zimbabwean emigrants.

Throughout the chapter, I demonstrate that whiteness as a structuring property continues to affect the way in which whiteness is conceptualised in Zimbabwe, in spite of its repositioning and in spite of the post-colonial changes that have occurred in Zimbabwe. Whiteness, however, positions individuals differently within its symbolic border, because it is not absolute, but is crosscut by other axes of advantage and disadvantage. These do not erase privilege but rather, modify it and make it differential. As this thesis looks into how this differential whiteness conditions the experiences of white Zimbabwean emigrants, intersectionality becomes a useful analytical tool for this examination. In the next chapter, I apply a translocational lens (Anthias 2008) on intersectionality, transnationalism and diaspora. The translocational lens enables this thesis to analyse positions and outcomes that result from the intersections of different social structures and processes (e.g., race, gender, class), while attending to the broader social context and to temporality. Applying it to intersectionality, transnationalism and diaspora will help the thesis to grasp the complexities of social identities and the differential and shifting privilege of white Zimbabwean emigrants.

Chapter Three: The Translocational lens: Transnationalism, Intersectionality and Diaspora

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explored literature relating to whiteness, and began to demonstrate that, for white Zimbabweans, whiteness is a status which has changed relative to time and to location. As I will demonstrate in succeeding chapters using empirical data from my research, other aspects of their identity and positionality change as well.

White Zimbabweans do not only exist in a shifting status of whiteness, but also shift between transnationalism, diaspora and to a limited extent, co-ethnic return migration. It is therefore at the juxtaposition of these three concepts that this thesis engages with the experience of white Zimbabweans. Both Anthias' translocational lens and intersectionality are useful in helping us understand this juxtaposition more clearly.

In this chapter, I engage with the concepts of transnationalism and intersectionality in depth. I discuss the translocational lens and how it is applied to my research, as a lens operationalising intersectionality to make it a useful tool to analyse the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans. It is through the translocational lens and the use of intersectionality that I can demonstrate how whiteness conditions transnationalism in ways that result in positions of both privilege and subordination. A key feature of the translocational lens is its focus on social structures (broader economic and political institutional frameworks) and processes (broader social relations in all their complexity, including discourses and representations) (Anthias 2012). These, as I have demonstrated in Chapter Two, are

structured by whiteness. Applying this framework here therefore is an appropriate analytical tool for examining the role of whiteness in the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans.

3.1.1 Linking the concepts of whiteness, intersectionality, transnationalism and diaspora

It is important at this point to clarify how these different concepts relate to each other in the context of this thesis, how they relate to the earlier discussion on whiteness, and why I bring them together.

Transnationalism can broadly be defined as a set of sustained, long distance, border crossing connections (Vertovec 2004). In the context of migration, a general perspective of the concept of transnationalism is that it provides an analytic optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of people, goods, information, and symbols triggered by international migration. It enables an analysis of how migrants construct and reconstruct their lives as simultaneously embedded in more than one society (Caglar 2001, 607). Within this simultaneity, there are transnational practices and processes that construct and reconstruct marginalisation and privilege in societal spaces, transversing geographies and temporalities, and it is these practices and processes that intersectional analyses should identify (Ifekwunigwe 1998; 2004; Purkayastha 2012; Weldon 2008; Warner 2008).

The importance of understanding intersectionality, dominance and power across space and time has been stressed by scholars such as Brown (2012), recognising that place and time always matter, particularly in a transnational world (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003; Anthias 2012; Brown 2012). To attend to dynamics related to ‘place’, the flexibility of the concept of intersectionality enables the analysis of concepts such as class, gender and

ethnicity as they are defined according to locally constructed norms and understandings (Bastia 2014). To attend to ‘time’ as an equally important factor, scholars such as Bastia (2014) have rooted their studies in an historical analysis of social relations of power, which are embedded in a colonial legacy. In such a case, intersectionality on its own enables concepts such as gender, race, social class, etc. to be grouped together and analysed as intersecting categories rather than as essentialised ones (*ibid*). However, grounding in and complementing intersectionality with an historical approach that includes an understanding of the contexts helps to overcome the tendency to overlook how gender, for instance, is also a classed, racialised and ethnicised concept (Bastia 2014). Taking the historical context into account therefore avoids the depoliticisation of intersectionality (Bilge 2013). In the case of Zimbabwe, both the colonial background as well as the white Zimbabweans’ personal migration history are relevant for this analysis.

This historical background shows the transnationalism and diaspora status of white Zimbabweans due to their migration history to Zimbabwe during colonisation, which they carry (for a second time) into emigration. Their emigration experiences, which ultimately lead to what I refer to as dual transnationalism, are conditioned by whiteness. The translocational lens is a tool that helps to understand, with reference to social structures and processes, the different aspects of this conditioning. It also helps to point out its outcome in terms of the resulting social positionality of white Zimbabweans in their respective locales. By interpreting locality as context, meaning and time, the translocational lens enables the analysis of the role of the social dynamics and power structures in the different locales in positioning individuals socially. The translocational lens also factors in the element of shifting social positionnalities, which, in analysing experiences during migration, when people are on the move, is a useful operational lens to apply to intersectionality.

3.2 Transnationalism

Earlier literature on international migration made three main assumptions that transnationalism was able to address, through reconceptualising international migration. Firstly, they assumed migration to be unidirectional with migrant integration a given, complete with a definitive cutting of ties with home countries (King and Skeldon 2010; Della Puppa *et al.* 2021). Immigrants were assumed to have located themselves within the socio-cultural, economic and political sphere of the host country, a view which Glick Schiller *et al.* (1992) challenged in their introduction of the concept of transnationalism.

Secondly, a permanent one-way movement was expected, meaning that other forms of migration were then categorised as return, circular or permanent migration. More recent studies, drawing on the concept of transnationalism, have more strongly thematised elements such as how immigrants maintain multiple identities that transcend the boundaries of the nation state (Kivistö 2001). At the same time, within transnationalism, there continues to be an acknowledgement (Hirsch and Kayam 2021) of how the temporal factors of migration play a key role in the ways in which individuals ‘forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement’ (Basch *et al.* 1994, 7). These temporal questions - how long people plan to stay in the host country - affect or guide their initial attitudes and decision-making processes, including how they respond to the surroundings of the host country. Here, earlier notions of short-term, permanent, serial and reverse migration (Duff 2015) are reflected on from the perspective of the time and the intended duration of settlement of migrants.

This temporal element for this research surfaces in a more complex way in that migration can be accidental - that is, not planned as a permanent move but ultimately becoming long-term or permanent (Von Koppenfels 2014). This concept includes individual (with part of the household remaining in the country of origin) migration, which may be followed by return or onward migration (Bilecen and Lubbers 2021). Migrants often underestimate or do not plan an intended duration of settlement, with stays shifting from intended short-term visits to longer term visits. As I will demonstrate later, whiteness facilitates this 'accidental migration' in that it facilitates ease of travel and of stay in countries worldwide.

Thirdly, the focus on one-way, permanent migration meant that migration and its actors were often seen as dualistic - immigrants and non-immigrants, homelands and host countries, colonisers and the colonised, core and periphery. Yet, as research drawing on a transnational lens demonstrates, and as my research further develops, these dualities are insufficient to capture the rich complexity of migration and integration. Transnationalism, which bridges some of these dualities, has thus emerged as a key field of study, characterised by an examination of networks, activities and patterns that transcend the borders of the host countries and the home countries (Kivisto 2001).

In my research on white Zimbabweans, the notions of non-immigrant and homeland are blurred from the beginning. Some white Zimbabweans were transnationals even prior to their emigration from Zimbabwe (their homeland), considering the colonial history and the migration that took place from Europe to Africa in colonial times. They are descendants of what Cohen (2005) calls imperial diasporas. The line between host country and homeland is therefore blurred: while Zimbabwe is considered to be home by white Zimbabweans, it could also be a host country when ancestral roots are considered. Similarly, while they can be

considered as ‘emigrants’ upon leaving Zimbabwe, they have also, at times, been ‘othered’ as ‘foreigners’ in Zimbabwe because of their links with the imperial diaspora. This was particularly the case where political interest made it convenient to do so, such as during the land invasions under Robert Mugabe in the early 2000s. These complexities also apply to the host country’s categorisation. Those carrying British, or other European, passports for example, could be immigrants in their own imagination, or co-ethnic return migrants either in their own imagination or in the administrative processes of the European country of arrival.

The complex and multi-layered positionality of the white Zimbabweans further adds to recent awareness in the literature (King 2002; King and Skeldon 2010; Della Puppa *et al.* 2021; de Haas 2021), that the earlier unidirectional and dualistic view of migration is overly simplistic. The case presented here also demonstrates that, unlike a diaspora which is characterised by its formation at the point of settlement in the host country, or its descent from those who settled, transnationalism can occur at any point during the migration process, before (even without physically migrating), during or after. Furthermore, the nature of transnationalism prior to emigration may be a contributing factor to the destination of the migrant, the migration route they use (student, asylum seeker, visitor, etc), or the immigration status they obtain in their host country and the privileges that come with it (Vertovec 2007; Bilecen and Lubbers 2021). Additionally, transnationalism itself is not a static existence for most migrants (Tudor 2017). Indeed, my research also demonstrates that some migrants may move between transnational experiences, diasporic experiences, and co-ethnic return migrant experiences over time, back and forth.

People are on the move with increasing channels of communication (Anthias 2012) even before they physically migrate. There is consensus that the age of information and technology

has led to dense, active networks that cast social formations into a virtual space, leading to multiple kinds of social, cultural, economic and political relationships (Tayeb 2021; Kim 2022; Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021). These relationships must, however, be analysed in context. Examining the different tools used to exercise transnationalism, or what Levitt and Schiller (2004) call transnational ways of being and belonging, as I do in my research, contributes to an indication that different individuals have different levels of access to the tools that enable transnationalism. These are, in turn, linked to resources and indirectly, to whiteness.

In the case of white Zimbabweans, my research shows that they had certain tools that were advantageous to them both within the Zimbabwean setting and outside of it. These include structurally determined economic **power** that made life in Zimbabwe comfortable in the financial sense, a point that is important for contextualising the reasons for migration and differential whiteness in Chapters Five and Six. Most white Zimbabweans had several structurally determined social **privileges**, such as European passports that made travel in and out of Zimbabwe relatively easy, and facilitated settlement elsewhere, as did the existence of family or friends in countries of destination. Further, white Zimbabweans spoke the English language, which happens to be the official language in Zimbabwe, but also linked their **identity** with the British imperial structure, which had a wider influence on the world order. White Zimbabweans have the white skin colour, which also shapes their **identity** as they embody an element that is crucial to whiteness. This skin colour, which came to be present in Zimbabwe largely through colonisation, was in itself an embodiment of privileged transnationalism and diasporism in the imagination of many white Zimbabweans. Additionally, it is a symbol of privileged transnationalism and diasporism in the imagination

of non-white Zimbabweans, who aspire to a Western way of life and award favourable treatment to white Zimbabweans as discussed in Chapter Two.

I mark the whiteness in Zimbabwe as a starting point because of Zimbabwe's subjective position as 'home' to the group in question. This understanding as a starting point provides context to home country whiteness and transnationalism, a starting point from which the experience of whiteness in the post-migration transnational life can be understood.

3.2.1 The influence of transnationalism from above on transnationalism from below

In this thesis, the concept of migrant transnationalism is used as "a broad category referring to a range of practices and institutions linking migrants, people, and organisations in their homelands or elsewhere in a diaspora" (Vertovec 2009, 13). According to Portes (1999), transnational activities are those that "take place on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants" (464). When these activities are conducted by powerful actors such as governments, state bureaucracies and political parties, who typically try to align transnational practices which are already happening below with national interests in the country, they are referred to as transnationalism from above (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Tedeschi *et al.* 2020). When they are conducted by individuals, such as immigrants and non-migrants, or civil society, they are known as transnationalism from below (Portes 2001; Vertovec 2003; Tedeschi *et al.* 2020; Bilecen and Lubbers 2021). These activities may be across many spheres, including socio-economic, political, cultural, and religious activities (Bauböck and Faist 2010; Klingenberg *et al.* 2021).

Transnationalism is therefore the creation of a new social space, one spanning at least two nations. It is fundamentally grounded in the daily lives, activities and social relationships of ordinary actors (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1992). It describes the ways that the everyday practices of ordinary people, their feelings and understandings of their conditions of existence, often modify these very conditions and thereby shape new modes of culture.

At the same time, caution should be exercised in viewing transnationalism, particularly transnationalism from below, as being only about individual activities and grassroots experiences. Migrants do not shape communities alone. Rather, the intra-border policies imposed by states fundamentally shape the options for migrants and ethnic trans-state social action (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004). Thus transnationalism from above is not a separate strand from transnationalism from below, but rather has enormous potential to influence it and vice versa (Gabriel Anghel 2008; Østergaard-Nielsen 2009).

In many cases, government restrictions or the lifting of those restrictions can affect individuals' transnational activities. Anghel (2008) for instance, found that the lifting of EU visa requirements for Romanian citizens in 2002 had a strong impact upon transnational movement. In my own research, I found that citizenship status – Zimbabwean, Rhodesian, UK or European – was a key factor in explaining transnational behaviour. My research differs from Gabriel Anghel (2008) in that I examine relatively privileged migrants. I also add to Gabriel Anghel's perspective by introducing an intersectionality lens to the examination of transnationals.

My analysis shows, for example, that after Rhodesia made the Unilateral Declaration for Independence in 1965, the British government imposed sanctions on Rhodesia, including making travel difficult for those on a Rhodesian passport. This top-down policy forced some Rhodesians to trace their heritage more actively, connecting with Western grandparents or great-grandparents to facilitate obtaining Western passports in a strategic way that would make travel and migration easier (Harpaz 2019). The result of this transnationalism from below is that it then shifted the social positionality of an individual. For instance, once an Irish passport was obtained, the intersection between white and Rhodesian which was unfavourable, changed to an intersection between white, Rhodesian of Irish descent (therefore with an Irish passport) which was a more favourable, or privileged, status when travelling. This opened up opportunities for other ways of transnationalism, through increased or more possible mobility, for instance. Mobility enabled certain experiences (such as that of non-belonging) without which the re-conceptualisation of Zimbabwe as home would not have been possible or necessary (Tsuda 2010).

To further highlight the influence of transnationalism from above on transnationalism from below, Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) challenge the notion that transnationalism is ‘regular and sustained’ cross-border activities as suggested by Portes and his colleagues (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999). Waldinger and Fitzgerald argue that this view makes freedom of movement a point of departure, as though the world were not divided into nation states, and as though many of these nation states were not expelling residents that are deemed to be undesirable and closing doors to foreigners (1178). However, Waldinger and Fitzgerald’s interpretation of ‘cross-border activities’ is limited to the mobility of bodies, which is only one aspect of cross-border activities (Vertovec 2009; Tedeschi *et al.* 2020). The contemporary understanding of the activities of transnational actors considers the magnitude,

density and diversity of global connections that are facilitated by technological advancement, making transnational activities possible without the mobility of bodies, rather through the mobility of *things*, including remittances, goods and forms of communication (Tedeschi *et al.* 2020). Vertovec (2009) clarifies this in his description of transnationalism as “a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all the laws, regulations and national narratives they represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common - however virtual - arena of activity” (3).

Yet still, Waldinger and Fitzgerald’s view communicates that the physical mobility of bodies is still part of transnationalism and should not fall out of analysis. The current age of migration is characterised by limited freedom of movement for some groups but not others, a pretext for examining who has freedom of movement, why and to what extent. This comes up in my discussion later, on the ease of travel of white Zimbabweans with EU passports and the conscious, and strategic (Harpaz 2019) efforts they make to acquire EU citizenship.

Such questions form a prelude to issues of social hierarchy, power and privilege. This view is also expressed by Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003) in their conceptualisation of methodological nationalism. While the essence of methodological nationalism is to caution against confining social analysis to nation-state borders, the concept also highlights that the same should nevertheless not be disregarded or underestimated. Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003) identify three variants of methodological nationalism. They argue that the interaction between these variants forms a coherent epistemic structure, a self-reinforcing way of analysing the social world. These variants are identified as: 1) Ignoring or disregarding the fundamental importance of nationalism for modern societies; 2) naturalising or taking for

granted that nation state boundaries delimit and define the unit of analysis and 3) territorial limitations which confine the study of social processes to the political and geographic boundaries of a particular nation state (577-578).

While acknowledging the role of communication technologies, Levitt and Schiller (2004) highlight the importance of ‘place’, cautioning against taking social relations and social positioning out of the analysis as is done in cosmopolitanism, where communication technologies become key (Beck 2000). Levitt and Schiller (2004) argue that without a concept of the social, the relations of power and privilege exercised by social actors based within structures and organisations cannot be studied or analysed. Consistent with Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004), they caution against neglecting the continuing power of the nation state while providing a view that is supported by Anthias’ (2018) translocational lens, which brings the locale and power into the analysis, both of which are crucial to understand how experiences of whiteness change as people move and how whiteness conditions transnationalism in different contexts.

3.2.2 The social field perspective

Transnational links in transnationalism

Given that some white Zimbabweans are descendants of European settlers, while others are children of more recent European ‘migrants’, it is not uncommon for white Zimbabweans to grow up in strong transnational social fields, and therefore to have strong relations with their parents’/ancestors’ places of origin (Mazzucato and van Geel 2022). As a tool for conceptualising transnational links, the concept of social fields extends beyond the direct experience of migration, into domains of interaction where non-migrants, or individuals who

do not migrate themselves, maintain social relations across borders through various forms of communication.

To conceptualise the potential array of transnational links, Levitt and Schiller (2004) propose Bourdieu's concept of the social field. Bourdieu used the concept of social field to point to the ways in which social relationships are structured by power. Levitt and Schiller define the social field as “a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organised and transformed” (9).

Social fields are multi-dimensional, and encompass structured interactions of differing forms, depth and breadth (ibid). Levitt and Schiller highlight that national boundaries are not necessarily contiguous with the boundaries of social fields. They make the distinction between national social fields and transnational social fields, clarifying that national social fields are those that stay within national boundaries, while transnational social fields connect actors through direct and indirect social relations across borders. Similarly, Fouron and Schiller (2001) see it as “an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks that extends across the borders of two or more nation-states and that incorporates its participants in the day-to-day activities of social reproduction in these various locations” (544).

In the transnational social field, the realities of migrants and non-migrants are strongly connected and sometimes coordinated, such that what happens in one place, e.g., weddings or funerals, triggers actions in another place (Bilecen and Lubbers 2021). Furthermore, the individual resources of people in the transnational social field shape the ability of migrants to access social support, whether such support is emotional, instrumental, or financial (Hoór 2021). In my research, these transnational social fields are comprised of small groups - family and friends, and transnational communities. Faist (2006) identifies four types of transnational

spaces, namely, small groups, such as families and kinship systems; issue networks; transnational communities and transnational organisations. These systems are able to draw on their resources to facilitate migration in different ways; in the case of white Zimbabweans, whiteness facilitates access to these resources.

The concept of social fields provides a framework for analysis to understand the pre-migration transnationalism of individuals. This helps to understand the transnational social fields of individuals before they emigrate, in order to understand the role that transnational social fields play in emigration (Hoór 2021; Hosnedlová *et al.* 2021). Levitt and Schiller (2004) caution against assuming that those with stronger social ties will be more transnationally active than those with weaker connections, as well as cautioning against assuming that the actions and identities of those with more direct ties are less influenced by dynamics within the field than those with direct transnational ties. For example, within a network, there may be one individual who maintains a high level of contact with a given context, in this case a homeland/potential host country. That individual may be the node through which information, resources and identities flow. While other individuals linked to them may not take action on those ties, they remain part of the same transnational social field, thus they remain connected and informed and can act if they are motivated to do so. Thus, recognising that such individuals are embedded in a transnational social field may be a better predictor of future transnational behaviour than locating them in a nationally delimited set of relationships (10). Additionally, in terms of the support that those in the transnational social field can provide to facilitate mobility, whether it is instrumental, financial or social, even those with whom individuals have weak ties can provide support. Indeed, from my research, it emerges that in some instances, distant relatives are able to facilitate the acquisition of

strategic citizenship (Harpaz 2019) in the form of European passports on the basis of heritage.

Transnational ways of being and belonging

A social field perspective allows for the distinction between transnational ways of being and transnational ways of belonging (Levitt and Schiller 2004). ‘Ways of being’ refers to the social relations and practices that an individual is involved in rather than the identities associated with their actions.

Levitt and Schiller (2004) put forward the notion that ‘ways of belonging’ refers to practices that signal an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. Ways of belonging therefore combines an action with an awareness of the kind of identity that it signifies. An individual may have several social contacts with people in their home country and engage in practices of the home country without identifying themselves as belonging to that home country. On the other hand, an individual may have relatively fewer social connections with the home country but behave in ways that assert their identification with that country. In this case the individual explicitly recognises transnational ways of being and acts upon them to express a transnational way of belonging (11). This distinction becomes important particularly in Chapter Six, where I deal with post-migration transnationalism and discuss the different ways in which white Zimbabweans practice their transnationalism. The connection to a way of belonging, through memory, nostalgia or imagination, inclines individuals to enter a social field when and if they choose to do so (*ibid*).

In practicing transnational ways of being and belonging, individuals’ generation also influences the extent of their transnationalism as well as the strength of the ties in their transnational social fields. Levitt (2009) argues that the effect of being raised in a

transnational social field is strong. “When children grow up in households and participate in organisations in which people, goods, money, ideas and practices from their parents’ countries of origin circulate in and out on a regular basis, they are not only socialised into the rules and institutions of the countries where they live, but also into those of the countries from whence their families come. They acquire social contacts and skills that are useful in both settings. They master several cultural repertoires that they can selectively deploy in response to the opportunities and challenges they face” (1226). Here Levitt is referring specifically to second generation transnationals.

However, the further down the generational line one goes, the less their transnationalism involves remaining embedded in the everyday affairs of the homeland (Faist 2000; Leichtman 2005), even while these later generations can still maintain links with the ancestral homeland in a diasporic sense. In this sense, while Leichtman’s (2005) study on second and third generation Lebanese transnationals in Senegal suggests that later generations may tend more towards transnational ways of being and less towards transnational ways of belonging (Leichtman 2005), this differs in other studies, for instance Hua and Wei (2016) on the Chinese later generations in the UK where later generations also have a sense of belonging to the ancestral homeland. In the case of white Zimbabweans, whiteness conditions transnationalism in several ways that could lead later generation transnationals to practice transnational ways of being and belonging. One relevant factor that is linked to colonialism and whiteness in Zimbabwe is the idea that all whites belong to the West (Quijano 2000). This becomes an imposition of a Western identity on white Zimbabweans. Later, when I discuss feelings on non-belongingness in the case of co-ethnic return migrants, I suggest that this imposed identity, which creates an expectation to belong to the ancestral homeland, contributes to feelings of non-belongingness.

The aspect of generation in my research also plays a role in the post-emigration phase, when transnational ways of belonging are expressed towards Zimbabwe and diasporic memories are being recollected. Here the generation of white Zimbabwean emigrants can position them as ‘whenwes’. This is because their diasporic memories, based on which they feel belongingness to Zimbabwe, are in fact memories of Rhodesia and not Zimbabwe, even when they may have mentally migrated from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. I reflect on this in Chapters Five and Six.

3.2.3 Transnationalism and Assimilation

To bring the role of power back to the discussion on transnationalism of being and belonging, it is also important to look into transnationalism and assimilation. The social field perspective embraces the simultaneity of connection that lies between assimilation and transnationalism. The element of assimilation is important in this research because of its possibility for the group in question, who are at times co-ethnic return migrants in the countries of settlement, or who become citizens over time. It is also important because it encompasses the role of power structures in the inclusion and exclusion experiences in transnationalism.

People change and swing towards assimilation or connection with their home country depending on the context (Levitt and Schiller 2004). The challenge is to explain the variation in the way that immigrants manage this pivot and how host country incorporation and homeland or other transnational ties mutually influence each other (*ibid*). In some cases for example, becoming full members of the new land makes it easier for immigrants to run successful businesses as found by Portes *et al.* (1999), what Ip *et al.* (1997) call instrumental/

strategic citizenship in their category of legal transnationalism. However, even this dynamic is dependent on other factors, including social hierarchy and power as focused on in this research. It also includes embodied elements of visibility and invisibility as explored by O'Connor (2010) where certain embodied elements make people invisible, so that they blend with the dominant group, or visible, so that they stand out as different and not belonging. Race in this case is such an embodiment.

The subjective experience of assimilation differs for individuals, and it cannot be taken for granted that it is a choice that individuals make based on a process of self-identification. Anthias (2008) highlights that the notion of belonging is very much dependent on being accepted by the group to which one sees oneself belonging. The positive elements of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism for example are largely applied to Western individuals, who are regarded positively on the whole (even though social class plays a role).

Migrants who travel and are involved in multiple sites of destination over time are regarded as problematic, in spite of the fact that they have acquired some of the cultural baggage of the cosmopolitan ideal, which is, being multilingual, having travelled extensively, familiarity with a range of cultural norms and values and being able to negotiate these (Lundström 2019). In this case, 'migrants' tends to be used to refer to non-whites or those at the periphery of whiteness, with other terms, such as 'expats' or 'cosmopolitans' used to refer to white migrants, most often those from the Global North, but not only. Indeed, this issue of terminology comes up in my discussion in Chapter Six, where I discuss the complexity inherent in white Zimbabweans becoming part of the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK, which is dominated by the black Zimbabwean diaspora, to whom the term 'migrant' is generally applied. While the discussion of cosmopolitanism is beyond the scope of this research, it is

worth mentioning that Eurocentric interpretations of cosmopolitanism (given that cosmopolitanism generally indicates a receiving country's positive perspective on that particular migration flow), exclude the transnationalism of some migrants, particularly economic and poor migrants (Anthias 2008; Lundström 2019). Similarly, on assimilation, the migrants who embody certain characteristics that position them at a lower on the widely perceived global hierarchy may find it more difficult to 'belong' than others of a different profile. Yet even within whatever group migrants have been cast into, there are particularities that make their experiences different. For example, my research findings, demonstrating the role of intersectionality, suggest, for instance, that the experience of an English-speaking, post-colonial, white immigrant woman from Zimbabwe, living in the UK is different from that of a non-English speaking Polish man in the same setting.

These differences in positionality are largely based on the centrality of power and social hierarchy and the extent to which individuals embody the elements related to these. The translocational frame thus enables my research to capture these differences by attending to intersectionality, attending to the local dynamics in which the individual is located and analyse transnationalism in a manner that attends to power and social hierarchy, as I have demonstrated throughout this discussion.

In the previous Chapter, I explored literature relating to whiteness, and began to demonstrate that, for white Zimbabweans, whiteness is a status which has changed relative to time and to location. As I will demonstrate in succeeding chapters, other aspects of their identity and positionality change as well. Insofar, Anthias' (2002; 2008; 2012) translocational positionality is an appropriate lens to draw on as the analytical framework of my research. I introduce that framework here, then introduce and discuss the concepts of intersectionality

and diasporas through this translocational lens, with the purpose of locating my own research and demonstrating how white Zimbabweans fall at the point of juxtaposition of these concepts.

3.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a concept developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989; 1991). She examined the case of black women in the US legal system, showing that they were doubly disadvantaged at the intersection of gender and race. As black women, she argued, they were particularly vulnerable, but the legal system saw them either as black or as women, and not as both (1989). Intersectionality offered a framework to understand how particular identities, (i.e. black and female) are tied to particular inequalities (i.e. violence against women) in different historical times and geographic places (McKittrick 2006).

In coining the term intersectionality, Kimberle Crenshaw (1991) was capturing a critique that was voiced by black feminists in the 1970s. They felt that they were represented neither by mainstream feminism nor by antiracism. They argued that feminism was about white women and the problems and discriminations that white middle class women faced. Anti-racism on the other hand, focused on black men and the movement saw racism as homogenous, without taking into account the specific discrimination faced by black women. The concept of intersectionality was developed to capture the intersectional identity of black women.

The particular value of intersectionality theory is that it addresses the oversight of previous research, which generally focused on a single category, singling out gender, race, ethnicity or class, with little focus on the interplay between them (Acker 2006). Hence, theorising around the multiple identities of people and their intersection with each other helps in the exploration

of discrimination and unequal treatment (Ressia *et al.* 2017). Over time, scholars have developed the theory in several ways. They have taken it further from the focus on the classical three constructs of gender, race and identity, arguing that other identities are also crucial to analyse (Walby *et al.* 2012). They have expanded the theory by looking into how broader societal structures and processes create disadvantage for people who are in marginalised social locations or positionalities (Anthias 2012; Weber *et al.* 2018).

Intersectionality has also broadened its reach by increasingly taking into account the socio-cultural position of underprivileged groups (Bürkner 2012,182).

Intersectionality has primarily focused on the oppressed, or underprivileged groups (Levine-Rasky 2009; Bastia 2014). Yet increasingly, it is applied in the analysis of privileged groups, including in whiteness and middle-classness (*ibid*); whiteness and sexuality, class and gender (Martin and Hartmann 2022) or hegemonic masculinity and whiteness (Sang and Calvard 2019). Levine-Rasky (2009) acknowledges that making space for whiteness and middle-classness within intersectionality may seem objectionable in view of the critical project of challenging inequalities. She highlights that it could represent a political shift away from the experience of injustice (240). Nevertheless, Levine-Rasky's paper aims to participate in challenging the denial of power and privilege conferred by the intersections of whiteness and middle-classness. In applying an intersectional lens to my research on white Zimbabwean emigrants, I explore power, privilege and identity from the perspective of a group that is privileged based on colonial remnants and global whiteness. However, they are, numerically speaking, an ethnic minority in Zimbabwe, and living under post-colonial conditions in which whiteness in Zimbabwe has been de-centred.

An intersectional approach emphasises the importance of attending to multiple social structures and processes of race, gender, class and so on, in order to grasp the complexities of the social world and the multi-faceted nature of social identities and advantage/disadvantage (Anthias 2012, 106). The approach posits that each division involves an intersection with the others, so that gender is always classed and racialised and race is always classed and gendered etc., in a way that makes it necessary to do away with essentialised social categories (Anthias 2012).

For this research, it is important to understand that intersectionality can be on at least two levels. In analysing the dynamics of African American women that led to Crenshaw's coining of the term intersectionality, it can be argued that African American women as a 'group' occupy an intersectional space, that is a middle space that has elements of racism as experienced by African American men and elements of sexism as experienced by white women and yet they themselves fall under neither of these 'groups'. This position can be likened, in my later analysis in Chapter Six, to that of white Zimbabweans abroad, particularly in the UK, who may feel like a diaspora but have difficulty integrating with the greater Zimbabwean diaspora because of the intersectional space they occupy, of being white Africans and non-European whites. This dilemma is also faced even in the pre-migration phases, as Coetzee and Bethlehem (1990) point to those who are 'not yet African but no longer European' (11). The understanding of intersectionality at this level is important in ensuring that intersectionality goes beyond elements such as gender, race, class etc. and also raises broader issues of social organisation, representation, systematic forms of subordination and oppression. This is what my research, through Anthias' (2002; 2008) lens of translocational positionality, attempts to do.

The second level of intersectionality that applies to this research is the individual level, which looks at the intersections of individual characteristics, race, gender, sexuality and socio-economic status. Applying the translocal lens to intersectionality, I examine the relative social positioning of white Zimbabwean emigrants as an outcome of intersectionality.

I suggest that the process of social positioning happens at both levels, and that this relates to whiteness as a structuring property as described by Owen (2007). ‘Groups’ of people are placed in a hierarchy at a macro level, according to whiteness and patriarchy, as is the case of African American women. Within that hierarchy, at the micro level, individuals continue to be racialised, gendered and classed, as pointed out by Anthias (2008), which gives them a specific social position, which in itself is always shifting.

3.4 Introducing the translocal lens

As a tool for analysis, intersectionality knits together the macro-economic political social discourses which structure inequities with a complex array of individuated subjectivities which by imposition, choice or desire are written on and lived within the body (Mirza 2013, 7). In this research, these phenomena are happening in a transnational space, which is characterised, among other things, by the simultaneity of social locations.

The concept of translocality accounts for the ways in which national and transnational spaces become entangled in the co-constitution of the experiences that take place in particular localities or contexts (Ponzanesi 2021). Anthias (2018) states that:

“a translocal lens attends to the spatial, temporal and scalar aspects within which intersections of power are embedded as well as the broader social context. The term translocal also denotes differential positionings and belongings across intersecting locations, and that these are not static” (153).

Transnationalism looks at the networks and activities of people across nation-state borders.

Through transnationalism, we get to understand the element of simultaneity, that an individual may be in a privileged position in one location and marginalised in another. A good example of this would be immigrants who may be marginalised in their host countries, but relatively wealthy in their home countries in comparison to poorer villagers (Anthias 2018; Gabriel Anghel 2008). For these immigrants, due to transnationalism, these two social positions would be occupied at the same time.

A translocational lens (Anthias 2001; 2008; 2013) enables us to enter these transnational spaces and locate these framings (e.g., marginalisation, privilege, belonging and non-belonging) in terms of structures on the one hand (broader economic and political frameworks) and processes on the other (broader social relations including discourses and representations) (Anthias 2018). Translocality focuses on *social locations*, and social locations are not physical locations but are rather, the placing of individuals, which are also called social positionalities. These social locations/positionalities are an outcome of context, meaning and time. In other words, they are the result of how the structures and processes of a particular locale have made meaning of the intersecting characteristics of an individual within the temporal dimension. For example, there is diversity across countries in national level gender inequalities, based on intersecting axes of transnational, regional, crosscutting and unique national issues that structure gendered differences and concerns (Bose 2012, 71). As such, the intersection of gender with sexuality and whiteness in one location, would result in a different social location/social positionality as the same intersection in a different location. The translocational lens is a framework for examining the structures and processes that make it so, while identifying the differential social positionings, together with their shifts.

Furthermore, the translocal lens also argues that these social positionings are not static. They shift across the transnational space, but also within the same locales, together with any shifts in structures and processes that happen in those locales. Translocality also accounts for the fact that the lives of individuals are dynamic. Therefore, the social positioning of an unemployed immigrant shifts in that same locale when the immigrant becomes employed.

Thus, in applying the translocal lens to analyse the shifting positionalities and the role of power structures, I also apply its logic of transcending physical location, highlighting that social positionalities are shaped more by meaning, context and time rather than the geographical location itself, even though geographical location cannot be discounted. My analysis of shifting social positionalities in transnationalism demonstrates that a person's social positionality can shift even while they remain in the same geographical location. In my research, a person who obtains an EU passport acquires the privilege of relative ease of travel and migration in an administrative sense. At the same time, I do note that the widely perceived global hierarchy of peoples is such that passport holders of EU countries are exempted from visas for most countries (Ip *et al.* 1997; Harpaz 2015; 2019), which pushes them towards the centre of whiteness and upward, as illustrated in Hewitt (2002, 152) through a world racial status hierarchy (Henry 1999; Hewitt 2002). These are privileges which an individual may acquire while in situ, thus, pre-migration, and due to transnationalism, which itself is conditioned by whiteness.

Anthias' translocal lens (2002; 2008; 2012) has been used in other studies to operationalise intersectionality research within micro-level encounters, structures, systemic processes, and institutional arrangements (Ressia *et al.* 2017); to analyse complexities and contradictions of class in migration (Leung 2017) and to apply narratives of location and

positionality in the analysis of migrants as Woube (2014) does in the case of Swedish migrants in Costa del Sol. In this thesis, Anthias' (2002; 2008; 2012) translocational lens is a useful framework as it operationalises intersectionality into a tool for analysing transnationalism as well as diasporism. The translocational frame provides analytical sensitivity which attends to the centrality of power and social hierarchy (Anthias 2012, 102).

3.4.1 The suitability of the translocational lens in the transnational migration of white Zimbabweans

In thinking through the translocational frame, Anthias (2012) maps out some of the main issues that confront transnational migration studies. Anthias identifies those issues as the object of reference (migration, transnationalism and globality); the focus on identity and diversity; generation; identity and belonging and the issue of gender and migration. While acknowledging the usefulness of intersectionality as a framework in addressing the problems in these issues, Anthias also highlights that intersectionality often becomes a nomenclature without being concretised, often being mentioned as a formula but without concretising its context and history (Anthias 2012).

To overcome this, Anthias proposes a translocational lens which considers the importance of context, meaning and contradictory locations and provides a particular analytical sensitivity, which attends to the centrality of power and social hierarchy (Anthias 2012, 102).

The translocational lens is a tool for analysing social positions and outcomes produced through the intersections of different social structures and processes, including transnational ones, giving importance to the broader social context and to temporality (Anthias 2008, 131). In this way it operationalises intersectionality; while intersectionality enables the analysis of

the interplay of several individual constructs, translocality maps the outcome of that interplay in the given locale, thus interpreting the resultant social locations or positionalities of individuals. To come to an understanding of these social positionalities, the translocalational lens brings into the analysis, the social structures and social processes of the locales.

For analysing the ways in which whiteness conditions the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans as they emigrate, this is particularly useful. In my conceptualisation of whiteness as the interplay of power, privilege and identity, it helps me to understand what that interplay results in, in terms of the kind of whiteness in the different locales - therefore to understand the *context*. Second, it helps me, through the analysis of the narratives of my interviewees, to look into their intersecting characteristics (gender, sexual orientation, class, nationality, language, etc.) within given contexts and understand what *meaning* the *contexts* has made of them at given *times*. Thirdly, it helps me, on the basis of these two processes, to make conclusions on the resulting social positionality of the white Zimbabwean emigrants in the different locales.

3.4.2 The focus on social locations

With the idea of translocations, there is a focus on social locations, rather than a focus on groups. It moves away from the idea of given ‘groups’ or ‘categories’ of gender, ethnicity and class, which then intersect, and instead pays much more attention to social locations and processes which are broader than those signalled by the intersection of these categories.

Anthias (2012) draws from Brubaker (2004) to argue that the problem of ‘groupism’ in discussions of identity refers to the assumption that identity derives from being members of a group. Groups are thus seen as homogeneous and processes such as gender, class, and ethnicity are seen as groups rather than processes or social relations.

While I agree with Anthias on the problems with groupism, in this research I take a ‘group’ not as an identity but rather as a constellation of people with a shared history and ethnicity, and the shared experience of having emigrated from Zimbabwe or Rhodesia, and who, because of their shared history, particularity of their ethnicity in the context of Zimbabwe, and the positioning of that ethnicity in the global hierarchy of peoples, I select as the focus of my research. This is important to clarify in order to make the distinction between what Anthias calls ‘groupism’ and the logic that I apply in calling white Zimbabweans in my research a ‘group’.

Further, it is worth clarifying that the findings of this research are informed by an analysis of individual experiences which are cast into the sphere of the broader landscape of power and social hierarchies. Where I generalise to the ‘group’, I am not generalising to an identity, but rather to a ‘group’ of people to whom the intersection of power, privilege and identity play out through certain processes to position them in certain ways. This ‘group’ of people falls within the parameters that I have described above.

‘Location’ in the translocational frame is embedded in relations of hierarchy within multiple situational and suppositional spheres. Therefore, the lens is turned towards the broader landscape of power which produces social divisions and is ever shifting. Thus, locations relate to stratification (at local, national and transnational fields), within a contextual and temporal context, i.e. they inhabit a ‘real time and place’. Social categories and their ontological realms are boundary-making forces which assume particular historical and spatial forms (Anthias 2008; 2012). Translocational refers to the complex interplay of a range of locations and dislocations in relation to gender, ethnicity, nationality and so on (15). In this

thesis, I take the social location to mean the social positionalities which are the outcome of intersectionality in the different locales.

In this thesis, differential whiteness is key to the concept of social positionalities. White skin colour confers important benefits, but the extent of white privilege depends on other factors in addition to race, such as ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, accent and nationality among others. In this thesis, through the transnational lens, I demonstrate that it also depends on how these elements intersect and that the meanings of these intersections, depending on context and time, result in the extent of white privilege. Therefore, the intersections of these axes of inequality and difference produce differential privileged outcomes (Van Riemsdijk 2010; Rzepnikowska 2019), which result in differential whiteness.

3.4.3 The transnational lens as transcending methodological nationalism

The transnational lens goes beyond physical ‘place’ and draws from the critique on methodological nationalism (Beck 2002; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002) which indicates the problem with restricting social analysis to the realm of national borders and exploring a range of interrelated issues in modern society around boundaries and hierarchies of belonging. The same critique, however, also warns against underestimating the role of the nation state in shaping social factors and relations. In the transnational frame, Anthias (2008) highlights that the increasing flows of people, commodities, cultures and economic and political interests present a range of social processes which are broadly identifiable as ‘transnational’. Anthias argues that these not only affect people who are directly ‘on the move’ but also the locales in which they settle, converting them to transnational spaces, thereby affecting all those living in those spaces in different ways. Anthias argues that the

role of the locale cannot be under-estimated as it can be the realm in which the lived experience is taking place.

The ‘locale’ element of Anthias’ translocational frame is incorporated in my analysis of how the result of intersecting individual constructs is social positionalities based on the dynamics of the locale and the meanings it attaches to those constructs. I argue in Chapter Five that the role of the locale in positioning individuals should be considered together with the agency of those immigrants to transcend those social positionings. In transnationalism, the locale element of the translocational frame is incorporated in my argument that white Zimbabweans perform their transnationalism in reaction to local dynamics, as applied to the case of white Zimbabweans in South Africa, which I do in Chapter Six. In the same chapter, I also apply it in analysing how transnational ways of being and belonging are interpreted locally when practiced by those who are white vs. when practiced by people of colour. This latter analysis adds to the understanding of how transnationals, through their culture and commodities, shape locales, and yet in some ways, play into existing layers of social organisation and representation, in this case, whiteness. In Chapter Six, I also apply the locale element of the translocation lens to analyse the differences in diasporic engagements of white Zimbabweans in the UK vs. that of those in South Africa.

3.4.4 Applying intersectionality to the structural and identity levels

In analysing transnationalism, the translocational positionality lens proposes a frame that considers dynamics that are shaped by power structures at the macro level and their influence on micro-level experiences. At the macro level, the role of place in the transnational analysis must pay attention to how different nations are hierarchically positioned and how actors themselves are hierarchically positioned through the global dimensions of power (Anthias

2012, 103). In this research, the understanding of colonial and the postcolonial contexts provides insights into ascriptions and attributions given to actors because of their provenance or country of origin, as well as forms of discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity or cultural difference (Anthias 2012).

The framework deals with the idea that both the structural and identity levels need to be explored by intersectional frameworks. It recognises the importance of context, the situated nature of claims and attributions and their production in complex and shifting locales. Within this framework, difference and inequality are conceptualised as a set of processes (therefore there is a need to attend to historicity), and not possessive characteristics of individuals. This implies that there are no standard outcomes involved in the articulation of the boundaries and hierarchies of social relations.

Social categories are not equally important at all times and our approach has to be historically sensitive as there are complex new emerging constellations of disadvantage. This relates to one of the pitfalls that Anthias identifies with intersectionality, where it is unclear how many intersections should come into analysis, and unclear whether all social categorisations are equally salient. Anthias refers to Hancock's (2007) idea of the 'Oppression Olympics'. To this end, my research draws on Oyewumi (2005) who emphasises that the weight of the classical triad of race, class and gender should be questioned in certain places and situations, and other categories of oppression can be considered if they are more important in that particular context.

Anthias argues in this framework that differences should not be seen as empirically given but as part of a process relating to boundary-making and hierarchies in social life which might

take different forms in different times and contexts, and should be treated therefore as emergent rather than pre-given. In my application of the lens in this research, my findings lead me to suggest later in this chapter and again in the analysis of my findings in Chapter Six, that indeed differences can be seen as processes that take different forms in different times and contexts. However, whiteness, if considered as an organising principle, or as a structuring property (Harris 2019), draws a boundary to limit the extent to which social positionalities resulting from intersectional elements that exhibit whiteness are surprising. This is because as a structuring property, whiteness contributes to the shaping of contexts, so that context (at least the contextual dynamics in this research), becomes a limited variable.

In this next section I begin by applying the translocational lens to the concept of intersectionality as I will use it in this research. I will also apply this lens to the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora.

3.5 Intersectionality through a translocational frame

As a conceptual framework for understanding intersectionality, a translocational perspective encompasses dislocation and relocation at a number of different levels (race, gender and class for example). It pays attention to the ways in which migrants are gendered, classed and ethnically constituted subjects in their countries of origin, even prior to migration, and considers what happens to these intersections when transnationalism processes are at play and vice versa (Anthias 2008). To this extent, a translocational perspective provides a suitable framework for examining intersections before and after migration and at any point within the transnational social field.

Anthias (2008) cautions that intersections may pose the risk of constructing people as belonging to fixed and permanent groups (race, ethnic, gender, class, etc). Such a construction undermines the focus on social processes, practices and outcomes as they impact social categories. However, applying intersections through the lens of dislocation and relocation is more consistent with transnationalism in that it considers that people do not necessarily remain in the same social class after migration as they were prior to migration. Processes such as de-skilling, limited opportunities, non-recognition of previous skills, discrimination, non-recognition of embodied elements that previously resulted in social privilege or disadvantage, can have outcomes such as a loss or elevation of status, privilege or social class. Even while in the host country, social positionality may change, for example when a previously unemployed person becomes employed, or when they learn a new language etc .

The example provided below by Purkayastha (2012) vividly shows how the dislocation and relocation elements of translocationality are applicable to intersectionality, and how the macro level and micro level perspectives simultaneously determine the transnational experiences of actors.

“A Ugandan Black immigrant and a Ugandan Indian immigrant—whose families lived for many generations in Uganda before being forcibly evicted by Idi Amin—are both racially marginalized, though in different ways, in the United States. While both share the effects of gendered, racialised migration policies that would prohibit or slow the process through which they might form families in the United States, their experiences differ in other ways. The Ugandan Black migrant is likely to experience the gamut of racisms experienced by African Americans, while the Indian Ugandan is likely to experience the racisms faced by Muslims and “Muslim-looking” people in the United States, and they may share other structural discriminations experienced by Asian Americans (Narayan and Purkayastha 2009). These similarities and differences are consistent with racist ideologies, interactions, and institutional arrangements in the United States” (Purkayastha 2012, 59).

Drawing from the notion of social location of the transnational lens, here we see the role of the social structures and processes in the specific context (United States). We see the meaning that they make of the intersections of the individuals, e.g. nationality (Ugandan); race (black); immigration/immigrant, and we see the time - the moment in which they are in the United States – and the different places they navigate within that. Together, these shape the social positions of the immigrants, through which they experience their specific kind of marginalisation.

“ But if both return to their home country Uganda, they would encounter a different set of privileges and marginalization in this Black-majority country; the Black Ugandan migrant is advantaged here (though the other intersecting factors would together shape her exact social location). If both visit or temporarily live in India, the Indian-origin Uganda-born person may experience the privileges associated with the dominant group in the country. However, if she is a Muslim or a low-caste Hindu, she might experience a different set of social hierarchies” Purkayastha (2012, 59).

When they move from the United States, we see how the same process takes place and their social positions change, based on the social structures and processes of the other contexts they move to. While in this example, Purkayastha (2012) focuses on the experiences in the United States and in Uganda or India at separate times, in the case of transnationalism, one must remember that the layer of complexity is added by such experiences of privilege, discrimination and the different social positionalities occurring at the same time, due to the nature of transnationalism, of being in more than one place at any given point in time.

The ways in which intersectionality, both at the structural and individual level, shapes these shifting positions and their relationship with transnationalism is also apparent in my research. Power structures play a role in the social positioning of individuals. For example, my findings show that financial privilege from Zimbabwe is not always transferable to the UK for several reasons, including currency exchange rates. Thus, a financially privileged Zimbabwean

woman finds herself differently positioned in the UK, whereas in Zimbabwe, she is a propertied and well-off woman.

My research also shows that the way race combines with other embodiments, such as gender, produces different experiences in different places for the individual, depending on local cultures and socio-political dynamics. For example, one of my interviewees found herself positioned on the periphery in a male-dominated workplace with a culture of heavy drinking in Botswana. On another occasion, she returned home to Zimbabwe, where in spite of societal white privilege, she emigrated again because of familial pressure to get married, as a woman. On a different occasion, she was denied a Dubai visa on the assumption that she was black since she was on a Zimbabwean passport. However, on the realisation that she is white, the visa was granted. On yet another occasion she faced harassment, as a woman, by men on the streets of Egypt.

The experiences of my aforementioned interviewee demonstrate the shifting positionalities that are related to time, meaning and context as Anthias (2008) puts it. Yet reflecting back on the above example provided by Purkayastha (2012) and taking Anthias' argument on shifting positionality, I draw on Owen (2007) and engage with my findings as discussed in Chapters Six and Seven of this thesis to show that in spite of the shifting social positionality, whiteness is still a global structuring property that almost draws a boundary around how far social positionality can shift. The whites in my research are very much aware of their white privilege everywhere, as I discuss in Chapter Seven, so that even when they mention that in some instances they are disadvantaged, this disadvantage is relative, as they mention that whiteness still positions them better than other migrants. For example, they are protected from the xenophobic attacks that black African immigrants face in South Africa, so that while

they are immigrants in South Africa, their whiteness protects them from being considered as immigrants.

The boundaries placed by whiteness on the extent to which positionality can shift also affect those whose white skin colour intersects with elements that have been structurally constructed as peripheral to whiteness. In Chapter Two, my discussion on Zimbabwe's diglossic relationship with the English language demonstrates how British colonisation structured the world in a way that positions the English language as a global language for most transactions and one that earns symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977; 1991) for individuals because of the cultural imperialism that has come with it. In my research, it becomes clear that the ability to speak the English language with an accent that is close enough to a British accent positions white Zimbabweans better in the UK than fellow white immigrants whose white skin intersects with poor English language skills and accents that may be different, as well as the perception of these individuals as belonging to a lower social class.

Thus intersectionality in this thesis is used in tandem with Anthias' translocational positionality as a framework to analyse how the individual constructs of white Zimbabweans (race, gender, social class, generation) intersect with each other; how they intersect with elements whose positionality have been systematically hierachised (language, heritage, citizenship, race, gender) to position individuals socially (migrant; co-ethnic return migrant; transnational; diaspora), and understand the duality and multi-layered nature of these social positionality, and how whiteness facilitates and complicates that duality. Further, the translocational lens enables the analysis of these positionality and how they shift.

3.5.1 Social organisation and representation in intersectionality

As I highlight the ways in which whiteness draws a border to limit the extent to which positionalities can shift, it remains that this border is drawn by the social organisation of the specific locale. Coming back to Anthias' translocational lens, this emphasises once again that the weight given to the result of any combination of intersecting elements depends on what that result means in a specific place. For this research, applying such a lens makes it possible to understand why a combination of elements such as being white, female and English-speaking with a Zimbabwean accent locates a person in one social position in Australia; in a different one in the UK, and in yet a different one in South Africa.

Yet still, empirical work on intersectionality makes it clear that intersectionality does not exist in a void, and that any combination of intersectional elements may give birth to a novel and surprising social positioning. Rather, the outcomes of intersectional elements, including those that are somewhat unexpected, are contained within a predetermined framework, determined by the macro level, made up of the global power structures and local level structures and organising systems (Riaño 2011; Mirza 2013; Bastia 2014).

Mirza (2013), in her research on highly educated Muslim women in the UK, finds that their expression of Muslimness, through wearing a headscarf for example, led individuals to being seen as representative of a country rather than being seen as an individual, whereas this socio-cultural transnationalism may be interpreted more as an expression of individuality and originality when engaged in by those racialised as white. This comes up later in my empirical discussion on socio-cultural transnationalism in Chapter Six. I, however, go further on Anthias and Mirza's contributions to show that in spite of social positionality, white

Zimbabweans in my study instrumentalise transnationalism to transcend undesirable social positions. They do this to resolve the discomfort of the dilemma of: ‘when we are here (Zimbabwe), we think we belong there (the ‘West’); when we are there we know we belong here’, a dilemma that results from their dual transnationalism and diasporism.

O’Connor’s (2010) research on the Irish immigrants in Australia shows that accent is a marker of difference even among whites who come from different parts of the English-speaking world. However, read together with Mirza (2013)’s research on Muslims in the UK, it is clear that the advantages or disadvantages brought about by having a different accent are shaped by its combination with other embodied elements, including race, gender, social class, etc. of the individual. They are also shaped by the positioning of those characteristics in the specific context in which they are experienced, as well as the positioning of the social group with which their beholder is associated, which is also based on the “politics of place and region” (Newitz and Wray 1997, 4).

For example, there are several accounts from African Americans in Paris who experience that as African Americans, in spite of their black skin colour, they were treated better in France than black Africans because of France’s romanticised relationship with African Americans dating back to the First World War. For African Americans, France has for a long time been considered as an escape from the racism in the U.S, whereas the same country is experienced differently by Africans who are ‘othered’ as burdensome immigrants. In this sense, the outcome of intersectional elements falls into a hierarchy of acceptability (Roediger 2002) that is conditioned by whiteness and its historical experience. This hierarchy of acceptability is applied to people of colour, but Roediger also found it to be applied to white minorities.

This intersectional analysis of whiteness has indeed been applied to the examination of whites, even by scholars such as Coston and Kimmel (2012), whose analysis of marginalised masculinities and the intersectionality of privilege leads them to argue that certain categories are so problematised that privilege is rendered invisible. This can be considered within Fanon's (1967) theory of the zone of being and the zone of non-being in mind, which states that even within the 'zone of being', which is the zone of those who are white, there are intersectional elements that position those within it at the periphery of that zone. Of course, this is also with the understanding that the marginalisation experiences within the zone of being are incomparable to those in the zone of non-being in terms of, among other things, the level of violence that characterises the experiences in the zone of non-being. Nevertheless, it is important to break down the monolith of whiteness through the application of an intersectional lens. Newitz and Wray's (1997)'s anthology on 'white trash' demonstrates how sexuality, gender, social class and racism confine people within certain categories. Hartigan (2000) examines the non-uniformity of whiteness among the different neighbourhoods in Detroit, pointing to those whites who were left out of the standard definition of whiteness when the historical events mostly related to the de-industrialisation of the city repositioned them among the working classes and the poor. Other examinations of the intersections of whiteness with gender/sexuality by authors such as Frankenberg (1993; 2020) and Ware (1992; 2001) have made significant contributions to examining the intersections of whiteness.

Beyond the intersections, scholars such as Moore (2013) bring out the role of location and location-specific systems of social organisation in defining the specific 'shade of whiteness'. Moore analyses Eastern Europeans in the English countryside and the perception of them by the English as not being sufficiently white, due to the English's class-related discourses and their construction of insider/outsider. Here the role of the history of Britain as a class-based

society is made clear in its influence on marking those who are at the centre of whiteness and those who are at the periphery.

In my engagement with these perspectives in this research, I argue that it is important to consider to *whom* marginalised whites are being compared. I base this argument on the analysis of my findings in Chapter Five, which show that, prior to emigration, some white Zimbabweans considered themselves to be poor. However, on close examination of the accounts of their lifestyle, I argue that while they may have been ‘poor’ compared to other structurally privileged whites, their lifestyles may not have been considered as poor when compared to structurally disadvantaged non-whites.

3.6 White Zimbabweans as Diasporas

The duality of white Zimbabweans is that of having the experience of being dually transnational but also being dually diasporic. In this section I will briefly draw on literature to define diasporas and then move on to clarify how I operationalise diasporas in this thesis.

3.6.1 Defining diasporas

Clifford (1994, 302) labels diaspora as a ‘travelling term’ because of its use as a signifier for a necessarily heterogeneous and disparate set of experiences. The term diaspora itself was once reserved for forced migrations, referring initially to the Jewish dispersions which were caused by fleeing persecution (after failure of the Jewish uprising against Roman imperial rule in Judea in AD 70) and expanded to include the Greek and the Armenian (Tölölyan 1996) migrations.

Those that applied the term diaspora to these original groups, for example Safran (1991), argue that the degree of force involved in facilitating the movement of a population is important in defining who counts as a diaspora, a semi-diaspora or a non-diaspora. Thus, Safran develops criteria which are based on characteristics that a diaspora community should exhibit in order to be called a diaspora, highlighting that a group needs to share several of these characteristics to justifiably be labelled a diaspora. The criteria include dispersal from the original homeland; retention of a collective memory, or myth about the original homeland; feeling of exclusion in the host country; regard of the ancestral home as the true home with intentions to return; a commitment to the maintenance or restoration of the original homeland; and a continued relationship with the homeland (Safran 1991,83-84).

Only the Jewish diaspora meets all these characteristics, as they are identified as the original diaspora (Safran 2005). Other diasporas, such as the Greeks or the Armenians, meet some of the characteristics, but not all. The full set of criteria is, however, difficult to apply and other scholars like Sheffer (1986; 2003) include both forced migrants and voluntary migrants in their definition of diaspora, with an emphasis on shared ethnicity and the imagined or actual connection to the homeland.

Cohen (1997) goes further by categorising diasporas into types, namely, victim diasporas, labour diasporas, trade diasporas, imperial diasporas and cultural diasporas. Cohen's categories offer a useful way of incorporating the different types of migrations that have come to be acknowledged in more recent understandings of migration as being less linear and more circular, less permanent and more transnational. On the categorisation of African diasporas as a victim diaspora, other scholars have argued that this conceptualisation has been

dominated by the Afro-Atlantic model, which focuses on the movements from Western Africa to the Americas through slave trade. This leaves out other types of African diasporas, for instance the Moors, who lived in Spain, or other intra-African diasporas who can be classified as trade diasporas (Zeleza 2005; 2010). Nevertheless, what remains as the main distinguishing feature of diaspora compared to other forms of migrant communities is the history of dispersal; connections with the homeland (myths, memories, desire for eventual return); and a collective identity or boundary maintenance (Brubaker 2005; Van Hear 2005).

Some white Zimbabweans in this research were part of a diaspora of ‘elsewhere’, even while living in Zimbabwe. This diasporism is not always based on personal identification, but rather on a more ‘objective’ view of white Zimbabweans and Rhodesians, based on their ancestry. Sökefeld (2006) highlights that it remains unclear whether people are categorised as a diaspora based on ‘objective’ criteria ascribed by external observers, or on ‘subjective’ criteria that a group uses to identify itself or to imagine the community to which they belong. Indeed, several scholars have grappled with this phenomenon. In the case of white Zimbabweans, I suggest that whiteness as it is lived by white Zimbabweans amidst a black majority, makes it so that both the objective criteria as well as the subjective identification as diasporas are applicable.

In this research, I focus on the objective identification of white Zimbabweans as none of my participants self-identify explicitly as members of a Zimbabwean diaspora as such. Ang (2003) notes that the self-identification of people as diasporas can be empowering when it allows people to identify with a globally significant transnational community, rising above the national environment from which they may feel socially and culturally excluded. Cohen (1997) suggests that member adherence to a diasporic community is demonstrated by an

acceptance of an inescapable link with their past migration history and a sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background. Ang (2003) suggests that such an emphasis on ancestry is problematic. Ethnicity remains a very powerful mode of collective identification, even in today's globalising world (Saunders 2011). Ethnic categories exert their influence as bureaucratic fictions, for example, in official policies of multiculturalism, or as imagined communities constructed from below, by "ethnics" themselves as a means of accentuating "our" difference in a context of fluid coexistence with many heterogeneous others (Ang 2003, 10).

Diasporas may well also be the globalised embodiments of such ethnicised imagined communities (*ibid*). However, the premise that ancestry is ultimately more important than the present home in determining one's contemporary identity and sense of belonging presents a lost opportunity for recognising hybridity in peoples' identities, when one part of their heritage is emphasised over another. Such an over-emphasis may fail to acknowledge that diasporas are characterised by hybridity and heterogeneity, which are cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and national.

Upon over-emphasising ancestry over all else, the potential of hybridity to open diasporic subjectivity to a space wherein identity can be negotiated (Braziel and Mannur 2003, 5), becomes limited. Limiting this space not only limits the diaspora group concerned, but also excludes others who might subjectively identify or imagine themselves as being part of that group, but may be objectively left out of the definition of who belongs to that group (Ang 2003). This certainly applies to the in-between space occupied by white Zimbabweans in the UK for example, who are neither part of the British whites, nor part of the black Zimbabwean

diaspora, which is also part of the African diaspora, even though they (white Zimbabweans) may identify themselves as African.

Further, the problem of over-emphasising ancestry and ethnicity/race is evident in the sense of not belonging that white Zimbabweans and other co-ethnic return migrants face when they return to their ancestral homes - which is often what drives them to seek renewed membership in the diaspora of the natal homeland, thus becoming double diasporas.

3.6.2 Imperial diasporas

In this thesis, colonisation as it is discussed in Chapter Two explains how some white Zimbabweans would have come to be diasporas in Zimbabwe to begin with, as settlers in Rhodesia. Imperial diasporas are synonymous with settler or colonial diasporas. Nearly all the powerful nation-states, especially in Europe, established their own diasporas abroad to further their imperial plans (Cohen 2008). In the case of Zimbabwe, while the British were the primary settlers, whites were recruited from all other European countries to boost population numbers in order to make the colonial project sustainable.

According to Cohen (2018), European colonists, specifically, the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, German, French and British colonists dispersed to most parts of the world and became imperial and quasi-imperial diasporas. Quasi-imperial diasporas refer to those cases in which colonists were localised or creolised, through such acts as marrying into the local community or turning against their original homelands (Cohen 2008, 69). While the homeland connection is applied to all diasporas, “an imperial diaspora’s connection to the homeland is marked by a deference to and imitation of its social and political institutions and a sense of forming part of

a grand imperial design, whereby the group concerned assumes the self-image of a ‘chosen race’ with a global mission” (*ibid*). This definition incorporates the notions of whiteness and racial superiority upon which Rhodesians and some white Zimbabweans based their ‘diasporic’ and transnational identities. It is the reason why I argue that *whiteness* makes it so that both the objective criteria and subjective identification can be applied to positioning white Zimbabweans and Rhodesians as a diaspora, which includes imperial diasporas.

As explained in Chapter Two, the construction of whiteness and white superiority was imported into the colonies during colonialism and therefore the white Rhodesians would have been considered, and considered themselves, as a part of the powerful empire. More concretely, Uusihakala (2008), who investigates the self-acclaimed Rhodesian diaspora in South Africa, explains that ex-Rhodesians are a community whose history is marked by multiple moves, convoluted in the imperial expansionism. They or their ancestors originally migrated to Africa from Europe. While in Rhodesia, white settlers maintained a diasporic relationship with their ancestral homelands (England, Scotland, Ireland, Greece, etc.) as imperial diasporas. Therefore, in the same way that I argue that some white Zimbabweans were transnationals even before emigrating from Zimbabwe, I also suggest that some white Zimbabweans were also a ‘Western’ diaspora in Zimbabwe.

Upon migration, some white Zimbabweans once again become a diaspora, this time a Zimbabwean or Rhodesian diaspora. This duality makes them, I argue, a double diaspora. In Guo’s (2016) study, the double diaspora is characterised by a number of dualities, such as dual nationality; living in both diasporas; living simultaneously as a diaspora and returnee and playing double roles as a cultural and economic broker between two countries. My findings as discussed in Chapter Six demonstrate that most white Zimbabweans in my

research do not subjectively call themselves a diaspora. However, they present diasporic tendencies in their lived experiences. These include the diasporic activities they engage in at an organisational level and nostalgia for Zimbabwe which is accompanied by the glorification of home, as is typical of diasporas. Interestingly therefore, the ‘whenwe’ term that is used within the white Zimbabwean community to describe the Rhodesian diaspora who choose to live in the past, can also be applied to white Zimbabweans in the way they reminisce about Zimbabwe. In some instances, the ‘whenwe’ memories of white Zimbabweans who indeed identify themselves as Zimbabweans are those of a life they lived in Rhodesia, because the reality of some is that while they identify as Zimbabweans, they grew up while it was still Rhodesia. As such, white Zimbabweans are at the intersection of transnational migrants, diasporas and co-ethnic return migrants, moving back and forth between these categories based on their experiences. I engage with this more in Chapter Six.

At this point however, the terms ‘diaspora’ and ‘transnationalism’ risk becoming a slippery slope as they diverge and converge to a point of blurriness. It is therefore necessary for me to clarify how I operationalise diasporas in this thesis.

3.6.3 Pre-emigration from Zimbabwe: White Zimbabweans as an imperial diaspora

In this research, from the starting point of Zimbabwe, I take white Zimbabweans to be an imperial diaspora. This is based on the history of colonisation and the imposition of the western identity on whites globally (Quijano 2000). It also draws on whiteness in Zimbabwe, which includes holding Western values in high esteem and using a colonialist lifestyle and the perceived lifestyle of the West as referents (Belk 2000; Fisher 2010). The latter is also consistent with the idea that in cases where diasporas’ involvement with the homeland can be

an instrumental one (adopting its citizenship; involvement in its language and culture) (Safran 2005), in the case of imperial diasporas, such involvement may be based on a desire for association with the imperial power and emulation of superiority (Cohen 1997). I suggest here, in the context of Zimbabwe, that this is also reinforced by the construction of blackness as the undesirable opposite of whiteness; this is the transnational social field that in some cases is based on colonial ties and the actual heritage of white Zimbabweans.

In my research, apart from Rhodesian diasporas, white Zimbabweans do not generally call themselves a Zimbabwean diaspora. Drawing from Sökefeld (2006), it is possible to categorise a group as a diaspora based on objective criteria. While there has been an academic and social expansion of the term ‘diaspora’ over time, so that it includes many other kinds of migration, including those who are also otherwise known as expatriates, refugees, guest workers, exiles, etc (Alinia and Eliassi 2014; Fischer 2017; Webb and Lahiri-Roy 2019), it nonetheless remains a useful concept. One of the key features, both in its classical understanding and in its expanded definition is a consciousness of being different from surrounding society, and ‘an awareness of multilocality’ (*ibid*).

Objective criteria for diaspora apply to white Zimbabweans as their background and lifestyle is described in Chapter Two. For example, their minority status is due to much lower population numbers; ancestry from elsewhere, mainly Europe; differences from surrounding society in the form of structural privilege and an awareness of multilocality which is related to the idea of belonging to the greater white world, yet there is also a consciousness of being different.

3.6.4 Post-emigration from Zimbabwe: Aspects of diaspora

Beyond the salient features of the term diaspora, scholars have also engaged in analysing contrasting forms in which the term has been used, particularly by the different academic disciplines (Pasura 2008). These forms are diasporas as a social form; as a type of consciousness; as a mode of cultural production; and as political orientation (Vertovec 1997; Cohen 2001). Sökefeld (2006) discusses the first three forms of diaspora and argues that it is conceptually difficult to separate them.

Diaspora as a social form points to the maintenance of transnational social organisations and networks as a collective identity (Sökefeld 2006). Diaspora as a consciousness suggests moving away from essentialist notions and a celebration of the fluidity, hybridity and deterritorialisation of identities. Diaspora as a mode of cultural production is about the duality of social and cultural identities (Vertovec 1997) and is applicable to the notion of duality as raised in this research.

According to Sökefeld (2006), “sentiments of belonging, attachment to a homeland and ideas of a place of origin do not constitute the ‘substance’ from which diasporas – like other identity groups are made, but the codes in terms of which ‘a’ diaspora is imagined” (267). The idea of a place of origin is accompanied by myths about that place of origin, and typically, its glorification (Ghorashi 2007; McIntosh 2016). In looking at the post-emigration experiences of white Zimbabweans, I focus on the different way in which they glorify the homeland to argue that they exhibit characteristics of a diaspora.

For the definition of diaspora in this research, I build on these discussions and draw from Patterson's (2006) definition. This definition was applied by Patterson to diasporas of ethnic minorities in the United States, but resonates with the circumstances surrounding white Zimbabwean diasporas which I have discussed in Chapter Two and briefly in the preceding discussion.

Diaspora in this research thus refers to a people dispersed from their original homeland, a people possessing a collective memory and myth about and sentimental and/or material links to that homeland, which fosters a sense of sympathy and solidarity with co-ethnic diasporans and with presumed kinsmen in the ancestral homeland. These diasporic communities can be as concrete as individuals dispersed from, yet with tangible, on-going connections to, a given clan in a given village in a homeland or, conversely, as ideological as a construct or myth about a homeland which specific individuals or even their parents or their grandparents have never visited, much less resided in. Among these diasporas, there is affinity towards fellow ethnic group members, so that personal and collective identities are often conflated in complicated ways. These diasporas are socialised around the enduring quality of "racially-based" ethnicity, which affects the core of their identities. Ethnic group members are socialised around emotionally evocative issues such as their common ancestral heritage, imagined extended family and mutual mythological experiences. Personal and collective identity-conflation is wrapped up in a shared sense of vulnerabilities and anxieties concerning the political, social and economic landscape of their host country. This matters because individuals are judged in part on their ethnicity. Sentimental pride and embarrassment in conjunction with material opportunities and constraints are all affected by a person's group membership as well as by the ranking of that group in society and indeed in the world (Patterson 2006, 1896).

3.7 Co-ethnic return migration

While I argue in this thesis that white Zimbabweans are primarily identified, and identify as, transnationals and members of a diaspora, there are also components of co-ethnic return in their migration patterns. I therefore argue that they are at the intersection of transnationals, diaspora and co-ethnic return migration, and briefly discuss co-ethnic return migration here.

One of the key findings in literature on co-ethnic return migrants is that they tend to assume that they will fit into the culture of the receiving country because of their heritage and because they are of the same ethnic background as the majority of the society into which they are integrating (Joppke 2005; Remennick 2003; Von Koppenfels 2009; Tsuda 2022). Another key assumption, both by co-ethnic return migrants themselves, as well as the governments of the countries to which they are “returning,” is that, due to historical-cultural ties, they share a culture with the ancestral homeland and will therefore feel at home.

Indeed, this assumption came up many times in my research, and it is primarily for this reason that I situate white Zimbabweans as being, to some extent, co-ethnic return migrants. Co-ethnic return migrants generally have a particular legal or visa status as co-ethnic return migrant (Von Koppenfels 2009; Remennick 2003; Tsuda 2003), which the majority of the white Zimbabweans did not. However, their return migration experiences are characterised by surprise and disappointment at feelings of not belonging in places where they had expected to belong, and this, as noted above, is a key element that emerges in literature on co-ethnic return migrants.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, which is the second theoretical chapter of my thesis, I have drawn on literature to engage with the concepts of transnationalism; intersectionality and the translocational lens (Anthias 2008), clarifying the relationship between these three concepts in this research. As my research also argues that white Zimbabweans fall at the intersection of transnationalism, diaspora and co-ethnic return migration, I have also operationalised the way I apply diaspora in this research.

The translocational lens allows for the analysis of these concepts through the lens of power dynamics and social processes. On intersectionality, I discuss intersectionality as applicable at the level of the group, where the social location of the group is determined by their place in the global hierarchy of peoples. I highlight that colonisation played a significant role in determining this global hierarchy, so that whiteness acts as a container that limits the extent to which the social positionality of those who are white can shift. I also indicate that intersectionality applies at an individual level, where the individual constructs of the individual shape their relative social position. This social position is also shaped by its meaning, depending on the social organisation of the specific locale. I highlight that the hierarchisation imposed by whiteness, which Roediger (2002) calls the hierarchy of acceptability, is also applied to white minorities, thus influencing which whites are at the centre of whiteness and which ones are at the periphery.

I have also clarified how the translocational lens applies to transnationalism and the difference between the two. On transnationalism, I have discussed that it captures simultaneity, how people occupy several social positionality at the same moment, and shifting within and beyond them, even while in situ. I have highlighted that translocality is a framework we can use to enter these transnational spaces and understand the social structures and processes that facilitate this and in addition, to map the relative and shifting social positionality in the different locales. The translocational lens therefore gives importance to the broader social context and to temporality and is a useful complement to the notion of intersectionality. It makes it possible to analyse intersections of social relations as being mutually reinforcing at times, and contradictory at other times, these occurring simultaneously through the condition of transnationalism (Anthias 2012).

The social field perspective, which encompasses transnational links, allows for the analysis of the pre-migration transnationalism of individuals. The social field perspective also encompasses transnational ways of being and belonging, arguing that one may practice transnational ways of being, without claiming belongingness to a place, or transnational ways of belonging, which are transnational practices meant to show belongingness to a place. However, belongingness, to the extent that it involves assimilation, is not entirely up to the individual, but it is also determined by being accepted by the group of which one feels a part (Anthias 2008), which is also determined by issues of visibility and invisibility (O'Connor 2010); certain embodied elements make one invisible, so that assimilation with the dominant group is possible, or visible, so that individuals stand out as not belonging. Assimilation is thus also dependent on where the embodied intersectional elements of individuals position them in the context to which they see themselves as belonging. This social positioning is also determined by social organisation and representation.

In this chapter, I have also engaged in a brief discussion on diasporas. I have introduced diasporas as one of the concepts that can, in conjunction with transnationalism and co-ethnic return migration, apply to white Zimbabweans. I have argued that against the background of colonisation and settlement, some white Zimbabweans are part of, or are descendants of, an imperial diaspora. Thus, when they become a diaspora upon migration, they become a dual diaspora, in the same way that they become dual transnationals. I argue that colonisation and the lifestyle of white Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe, which is characterised by white privilege, makes it plausible to apply objective criteria to define white Zimbabweans as a diaspora as well as drawing on subjective self-identification. I argue, however, drawing on Ang (2003) that the over-emphasis of diasporas based on ancestry and in this case, race, contributes to the

non-belongingness of white Zimbabwean co-ethnic return migrants through creating the expectation of belonging to Europe.

In the next chapter, I turn my focus to an examination of my empirical findings on the transnationalism of white Zimbabweans while they were still living in Zimbabwe, and before emigrating.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Throughout this thesis, I refer to white Zimbabweans as migrants, co-ethnic return migrants, transnationals and diasporas. These are all terms used in the academic literature, as well as by white Zimbabweans themselves. I do not use these terms interchangeably nor do I generalise them to all white Zimbabweans, but use all of them with the understanding that there are some white Zimbabweans who are migrants but do not regard themselves as such, nor do they live as members of a diaspora. For others, their experiences and perceptions are those of a diaspora, while for others, the experience is that of a transnational and for others, it is that of a co-ethnic return migrant. Finally, for others, there is an intersection between transnationalism and diasporic experiences, even if some might even be considered administratively, in terms of visa status, as co-ethnic return migrants.

A note on terminology and concepts

In this chapter, I turn my focus to the methodological approach I have taken to understand white Zimbabweans' individual experiences of transnationalism against the background of the structural and socio-historical roots of whiteness. In this methodology chapter, I outline my research design and research methods. In light of the fact that any qualitative interview data is socially constructed in the encounter between researcher and participants, I also engage in a reflexive exploration of my own positionality as a researcher and how that influenced the data collection, reporting and analysis of the findings of my research. This chapter also addresses how any ethical concerns were addressed.

On migration, the central question underlying my thesis is understanding what happens to whiteness upon migration. In exploring this question, I do not take migration to be a single event in the lives of the participants. As empirical data show, the migration of white Zimbabweans is fluid and circular in some cases, ranging from temporary visits to other locations for different reasons, to short stays and permanent re-locations. My research reflects on the experiences of all these different types of migration experiences, particularly because the empirical data present valuable experiences from many aspects of migrations, including perspectives on co-ethnic return exclusion which, in turn, leads to a re-conceptualisation of home, as well as a diasporic nostalgia, which also contributes to the becoming of a complex dual transnationalism position of, I argue, most white Zimbabweans.

4.2 Qualitative Methodology: An interpretivist paradigm

The overarching methodological approach in this research is qualitative and derives from political science methodology. The data has been collected through 23 semi-structured interviews with white Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Spain, UK and Australia. Semi-structured interviews are useful in soliciting subjective responses from individuals regarding a situation or phenomenon they have experienced, and can be used to obtain subjective knowledge to complement existing objective knowledge (McIntosh and Morse 2015). It is a widely used method in political science research, including research on migration and whiteness (Miladinovic 2020; Hof 2021; Liu and Dervin 2022).

I have been influenced by an interpretivist paradigm, which is founded on the premise of complexity in the social world and that all of those in that world, including participants and researcher alike, define – or interpret – their own meanings within respective social, political

and cultural settings (Markula and Silk 2011; Purdy and Jones 2011; Alharahsheh and Pius 2020). The interpretivist perspective thus encompasses an intersubjective ontology in which a single phenomenon can have multiple interpretations rather than an objective truth (Alharahsheh and Pius 2020).

It takes the view that seemingly 'hard' and 'fixed' truths in the world, in fact, have histories that reflect often-conflicting truth claims and interpretations of the taken-for-granted or 'normal'. Interpretivism understands the social world as constructed within and among individuals, subjectivities, interests, emotions, and values (Sparkes 1992). Therefore, researchers taking the interpretivist perspective aim to gain a deeper understanding of the complexity of a phenomenon in its context, without trying to generalise to a whole population (Alharahsheh and Pius 2020). My research seeks not to generalise findings to all white Zimbabweans, but rather to identify heretofore under-researched trends and phenomena, which can contribute to the relevant literatures and provide fertile ground for future research.

The main advantages of using an interpretivist paradigm in this research are firstly, that the diverse views facilitate not only the description of experiences, but also a deep understanding of those experiences in the social context (Alharahsheh and Pius 2020). Second, the key method of interview as a form of interaction enables the researcher to investigate and follow up on points that may otherwise be difficult to observe, such as values, reflections or prejudices (Wellington and Szczerbinski 2007).

As with all methodological approaches, interpretivism does face several points of critique. Its aim of gaining a deeper understanding within varied contexts leads positivists to critique it as non-generalisable. This non-generalisability leads positivists to doubt the usefulness of

research outcomes coming out of the interpretivism paradigm (Mack 2010). However, the focus of the interpretivist paradigm is to understand, explain and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants (Cohen *et al.* 2007, 19), rather than to disprove a null hypothesis. Insofar, research from an interpretivist perspective, such as my project, rather contributes to a deeper understanding of phenomena that are uncovered in the course of the research. A second criticism from a positivist perspective is that the ontological perspective of the interpretivist paradigm draws too heavily on the researcher's own interpretation (Mack 2010).

As such, the reflexivity of the researcher is crucial, so that there is self-awareness of the researcher's own positionality and how this may affect the different areas of the research (Garfinkel 1967; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford 1988). I have engaged in this reflexivity (see below) so as to identify my own positionality within the research. A third criticism, which has potentially led to the view of critical realism as enhancing the practicability of research, is that interpretivism tends not to address the political and ideological impact on knowledge and social reality (Alharahsheh and Pius 2020). This criticism is important to take into account in my research, given the role that the structural embeddedness of whiteness pays in shaping the perspectives of those who are racialised as white. In Chapter Two, I already highlighted this as one of the functional properties of whiteness, stating that the social location of whiteness limits the worldview of those racialised as white (Owen 2007). On this, those who advocate for critical realism over interpretivism (Iosifides 2012) raise the important point that "ontology (i.e., what is real, the nature of reality) is not reducible to epistemology (i.e., our knowledge of reality)" (Fletcher 2017, 4). Human knowledge therefore captures only a small part of a deeper and broader reality (*ibid*).

Taking an interpretivist approach in the context of my research therefore means that I pay attention to the fact that the perceptions expressed by participants are a reflection of their own reality which is influenced by social and political factors that shape their interpretations and meaning-making. This view is still part of the essence of interpretivism, as Potrac *et al.* (2014) argue, while there is emphasis on meaning-making, that meaning is founded in social consensus, for example, social understandings, structural universals (Levi-Straus 1963), intersubjective agreements (Schutz 1972), and ethno-methods (Garfinkel 1967) among others (33). These are commonly understood rules which guide social life, but interpretivists see them not as imposed independent structures, but as being created by individuals in the course of their everyday lives, which through means of power, come to be regarded as objective or external (Scott 2009). This view accounts for the entrenchment of whiteness in power structures, that I give importance to in my research, expressing it as something that is created by individuals and objectified and externalised through power. I therefore avoid falling into the pitfall against which Iosifides (2018) cautions, which is that of reducing social reality to subjective, agency-driven action, ignoring a series of other factors and causal powers, such as materiality, structural conditioning, asymmetries in social power and cultural dynamics (95). Therefore while I place a strong focus on individual accounts, I approach the reality as understood by participants as being influenced by a number of political, social and cultural factors that support the construction of such shared understandings.

The transnational element of my methodology, which is that of interviewing individuals in several geographical locations, is consistent with transnationalism in that my research design, much like transnationalism itself, transcends the nation-state border and makes several considerations in view of the interpretivist paradigm. Firstly, since the research focuses on transnationalism, it is important that the methodology allows for the transnational field to

emerge beyond nation-state borders. The study of diaspora, globalisation and transnationalism has been crucial in highlighting the significance of translocal processes (Glick Schiller and Caglar 2009) and my research .

A second consideration of my research is that it was important to transcend any kind of methodological individualism for which interpretivism is criticised (Iosifides 2017) and make space for the role of external factors to come into the analysis. Therefore, in the application of an intersectional lens to capture dynamism and transformations in migration, it ensured that I respond to the need to pay attention to both power structure relations and actors' agency, and the interaction between them (Collinson 2009, 10).

The third consideration, which also relates to the second one above, to the interpretivist paradigm and to intersectionality, is that of privilege and whiteness, which are at the core of my research concern. In this research, while individual interpretations and meanings are important, I draw upon literature which highlights that whiteness places individuals in a social location from which the worldview is racialised and thus, limited. Therefore, my methodological framework has to consider that the interpretations and meanings of participants are from a specific social location. In addition, whiteness and the resulting white privilege are not always perceived by whites themselves. Martinez Dy *et al.* (2014) argue that it is entirely possible and likely quite common that someone could believe they are not privileged on the basis of their normative race, dominant gender, or higher social class, and for this belief to be incorrect (9). It is therefore crucial for the researcher to engage critically with participants' knowledge and experiences without taking them as true representations of social reality and to engage with different comprehensions of the same reality due to the

structural and material conditions that influence individual perception of that reality (Iosofides 2018; Alharahsheh and Pius 2020).

4.3 Data collection and analysis

The data collection of this research is based on 23 semi-structured in-depth interviews with white Zimbabweans in South Africa, the United Kingdom, Spain, Switzerland, Australia and Zimbabwe. The following sections present the way in which participants were reached and present the ways in which analysis was carried out.

4.3.1 Participant observation

My research design began with a foray into participant observation. I used participant observation from a political science perspective, at the beginning of my research. This influenced the design of my research and the finalisation of my research questions. However, in my data collection, I moved away from participant observation and focused on semi-structured interviews. Gillespie and Michelson (2011) note that participant observation is underused in political science and make a strong argument for its inclusion in qualitative political science research. Even as long ago as the 1970s, participant observation was included as a method in political science (Ross and Ross 1974). Musante and DeWalt (2010) define participant observation as a method in which the researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning explicit and tacit aspects of their life, routines and culture (1). Musante and DeWalt highlight that elements of participant observation include informal observation during leisure activities; using everyday conversation as an interview technique and actively participating in

a wide range of routine and extraordinary activities with people who are full participants in that context. This is a useful method for gaining insights into specific groups. I set out to do just that.

My initial PhD research plan focused on the migration for development activities of Zimbabwean diaspora organisations in the UK and Belgium. I started that research by mapping Zimbabwean diaspora organisations and creating a timeline of their activities, tracing their development. After ethics board approval, I reached out to organisers and registered with numerous organisations. I engaged with individuals through conversation, and attended, as a Zimbabwean living in Belgium, diaspora events in Belgium and the UK. Events included the seminar on Refugees as development actors organised by ECRE, the Danish Refugee Council and Maastricht University in Brussels in March 2014; the Diaspora for African Development conference in June 2014 in London, organised by Comic Relief under the Common Ground Initiative; the British Zimbabwe Society Annual Research Day in Oxford in June 2014 and a European Parliament event in Brussels on the future of Zimbabwe in 2014. At these events, I wore a name tag that identified me as a fellow Zimbabwean, and in conversation, I identified myself as a researcher as well. I began to engage in participant observation at these diaspora events. I was immersed into the activities, processes and constitutions of diaspora organisations. I began to see that my assumptions – and those of many other academic observers – were faulty or, at best, limited.

Through conversations with fellow participants, I saw significant class differences among the diaspora, different immigration statuses, migration routes (Pasura 2011), settlement experiences, lifestyles back in Zimbabwe and, most significantly, individual and collective diaspora activity interests and motivations. As I kept careful notes of my observations and

interactions, I realised there were significant differences in diaspora activity – and presence at these events – across social classes, ethnicities (Shonas and Ndebeles), race (black and white Zimbabweans), professions and levels of education. Reviewing my notes, I realised that my observations that white Zimbabweans were dominant at certain events, but absent at others were falling into a consistent pattern. Events such as that hosted by the European Parliament in Brussels on the future of Zimbabwe and the land grabbing programme were characterised by a clear majority of white Zimbabweans.

According to the accounts of people I spoke to at these events and some studies on the Zimbabwean diaspora, another event that was clearly dominated by white Zimbabweans was the Zimfest annual celebration in the UK (Pasura 2011; Zembe 2016). The Zimfest organisation and attendance demonstrates the way in which white Zimbabweans, who are left out of the greater African/black diaspora align themselves with other white Anglophone foreigner associations in the UK. Zimfest, an annual arts and music festival, has been predominantly organised and attended by white Zimbabweans in the UK. Over time, Zimfest became more diverse as other Zimbabwean groups began to participate, extending the boundary from ‘white Zimbabwean’ to just ‘Zimbabwean’. More recently however, Zimfest organisers teamed up with a bigger organisation called Homeland, which is composed of Australians and New Zealanders in the UK. This collaboration shifted Zimfest to once again be overwhelmingly white-dominated, shrinking the boundary back to a ‘white Zimbabwean’ affair. Beyond this, Zembe’s (2018) findings show that pockets of black Zimbabweans view Zimfest as a misleading representation of Zimbabwe diaspora community relations and as a commercial venture by mainly white organisers with no interest in addressing historical and persisting racial issues to bring sustainable unity to the racially fragmented Zimbabwean communities in Britain.

On the other hand, white Zimbabweans were completely absent at migration for development conferences and events. The Diaspora for African Development conference organised by Comic Relief was largely attended by Africans from several countries, however with very few white people in general and possibly no white Zimbabweans at all. On the other hand, at the British Zimbabwe Society annual research day, there was a balance of white and black Zimbabweans. The British Zimbabwean Society was founded by Terrence Ranger, a white Zimbabwean who initially set out to counter the negative press on black governance in Zimbabwe after independence in the UK. It has since developed to become a research diaspora organisation with an Annual Research Day, hosted at Oxford University, and brings together scholars and practitioners to discuss topical issues on Zimbabwe.

As I reflected on the implications of the overwhelming presence of white Zimbabweans at certain events, and their notable absence at others, I began to wonder about the experiences of white Zimbabweans as migrants. Did they feel at home in white majority countries? Did they identify as Zimbabweans or as white Europeans? Did they face similar challenges to non-white migrants, or did their whiteness, now that they are in majority white countries, provide them with protection, such that they did not feel the need to attend certain events? Seeing a clear research puzzle that had not been sufficiently researched, I began to focus on the experiences of white Zimbabweans after migration from Zimbabwe. At that point, I shifted away from participant observation, as it was no longer practical or helpful, given my new research focus. It had, however, given me the valuable insights which put me on my new research path.

4.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Recruitment and participant characteristics

Statistics on the population numbers of white Zimbabweans are difficult to find. However, according to Herbst (1988), there were never more than 270,000 whites in Zimbabwe and, at most, they accounted for 5.6 percent of the total population. After independence, by 1988, the white community had decreased to about 100,000, accounting for no more than 1.5% of the population (ibid). Most of the white population is comprised of those of British origin, with smaller numbers of Greek, Portuguese, French and Dutch origins (World Population Review 2022). Meanwhile Black Zimbabweans are 98% of the population and mixed-race people account for 0.5% of the population (ibid). As such, while Zimbabwean emigrants are scattered in several geographical locations across the world, mainly South Africa; UK; Australia; the United States; New Zealand and the UK (Pasura 2012), white Zimbabweans, being a small minority, are thinly scattered.

As I started my first interviews, and, following the well-established snowball principle (Barglowski 2018; Keller 2018; Van Haute 2021), I asked study participants for others whom I could contact, this dispersal was confirmed, and I realised that the social networks of my participants were international. As one of my participants told me, “when we move, we scatter like seed pods in the wind.” Insofar, as noted above, I learned quite quickly that participant observation would no longer be helpful, and second, that remote, transnational semi-structured interviews would be the most appropriate data collection method for my project.

Another factor feeding into my decision to carry out interviews with participants in multiple locations, thereby increasing the number of potential participants, was my awareness that it might be difficult to recruit participants. Having shifted to reading more about the situation of white Zimbabweans abroad, and well aware of the racial tensions between the white and Black Zimbabwean communities, mainly driven by the political narrative which increasingly surfaced racial injustices of the colonial system, I was aware that finding white participants to speak with me, a black Zimbabwean researcher, might well prove a challenge. In addition to following my participants' social networks, this potential challenge was also one upon which I reflected in deciding to engage in remote, transnational research.

My starting point for snowball sampling was with several key informants recruited through my own social network and through Zimbabwean diaspora and Rhodesian Facebook groups. From there, each participant referred me to the next participant, whether a friend, relative or, in some cases, a professional contact. After the first few pilot interviews, I realised that the networks of the participants were a research finding in and of themselves. By using snowball sampling, I could follow these networks as far as possible and with as little interference as possible, thus showing the transnational social fields of the participants. Indeed, other scholars have employed snowball sampling when aiming to focus on participants who engage in transnationalism (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Levitt and Waters 2002).

Secondly, snowball sampling is a strategy used to overcome problems associated with sampling concealed populations (Faugier and Sargeant 1997; Hartonen *et al.* 2021; Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz 2022). It can be placed within a wider set of link-tracing methodologies (Spreen 1992; Kim and Handcock 2021; Gupta 2022) which seek to take advantage of the social networks of identified respondents (Delli Paoli and Maddaloni 2021). While my

population of interest is not a concealed population per se, snowball sampling did enable me to overcome the potential difficulty of finding white Zimbabweans who were willing to agree to take part in this research and to speak freely with me, a black Zimbabwean researcher.

As strong a method as it is, snowball sampling is not without its disadvantages (Cohen and Arieli 2011). The lack of randomness in selecting the sample and the dependence on the subjective choices of the respondents first accessed may result in bias that does not allow researchers to generalise from a particular sample (Griffiths *et al.* 1993; Cohen and Arieli 2011; Hu 2022). In my research, this bias is managed by the fact that there are several points of initial access, in the form of different key informants and Facebook groups as initial access points from which new social fields were tapped into. Furthermore, the research does not strive to generalise the findings but rather to represent broad trends that contribute to academic conversations on migration and transnationalism through the lens of whiteness, and in particular, of white Zimbabwean emigration. This is consistent with an interpretivist paradigm.

For this research, I did not have a limit to the geographical scope, nor did I set out to achieve gender balance. The final sample shows an overrepresentation of women (18 women and 5 men). There are several explanations for this. Firstly, as snowball sampling relies on referrals, most of the women I spoke to referred me to their female friends or relatives. The 5 men in the sample were recruited through my social network and reaching out to interesting participants as well as one referral. While I reached out to both women and men through social media, specifically through the Facebook groups I joined which were dominated by white Zimbabwean diasporas and Rhodesians, it was the women who were responsive. It was also remarkable that in the Zimbabwe diaspora Facebook groups, women were more active.

An estimation of 80% of members were female. On the other hand, the Rhodesian Facebook group I followed was more balanced in terms of gender.

The sample represents three categories of white Zimbabweans:

1. Those who were born in Zimbabwe but were descendants of European great grandparents, grandparents or parents and had emigrated from Zimbabwe: 18 respondents
2. Those who were born in Zimbabwe and were descendants of European great grandparents, grandparents or parents. They had emigrated from Zimbabwe for some time and at the time of interview, had returned to Zimbabwe: 2 respondents
3. Those who were born in the UK to British parents and had emigrated to Rhodesia for some time, left Rhodesia and had returned to Zimbabwe at the time of interview: 2 respondents

According to Pasura (2010), there were five main phases of emigration from Zimbabwe. My participants span several phases, mainly phases two, four and five. Phase two of emigration was between 1960 and 1979 and is characterised by the flight of white Zimbabweans, most of whom feared living under a black-ruled government post-independence. Phase four was between 1990-1998 and is characterised by the migration of skilled professionals as the economy started turning downwards at the introduction of IMF's Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). Phase five was from 1999 to the present (at the time of writing in 2020) and is what Pasura calls the great exodus. It is the phase in which the economy worsened, white farms were invaded in the land redistribution programme, the government persecuted people who opposed them, and some fled as asylum seekers.

Emigrants in this group are a combination of economic migrants, including skilled professionals and asylum seekers.

I have appended demographic data for all of my interviewees in Appendix A. Given the narrative structure of the interviews, and the sensitivity of many of these issues, I did not systematically ask for demographic information, however, have noted it where it emerged.

Narrative and Semi-structured interviews

I employed a qualitative approach through a combination of narrative and semi-structured interviews (see Appendix D). I triangulated this interview data with other secondary data, such as participants' blog pages, travelogues and information derived from public Facebook groups.

Narrative interviews are a means of collecting peoples' own stories about their experiences and can help researchers to better understand peoples' experiences, contexts, thoughts and behaviours (Anderson and Kirkpatrick 2016) and are often combined with semi-structured interviewing to dig deeper into the narratives (Wengraf 2001; Anderson and Kirkpatrick 2016). In migration studies, biographical accounts help to challenge simplistic discourses of migrants and migration through presenting alternative knowledge of migrant lives and identities (Inowlocki and Lutz 2000; Erel 2007).

For this research, it was important to understand the experiences of the participants through the lens of their social position and cultural vantage point (Eastmond 2007). Through the intersectionality lens that I take, the research highlights multiple social positions of individuals, while unsettling the group-based categorisations of whites (Anthias 2002; Yuval

Davis and Kaptani 2009). In order to understand the ways in which participants experienced whiteness upon migration, it was necessary to have a historical view of their lives before migration, to understand their heritage and where that positioned them as whites before and after migration.

Kalekin-Fishman and Denis (2012) highlight that, in general, empirical research on migration suffers from an ahistorical perspective and lack of knowledge of the societies of origin and personal histories of migrants; a tendency to homogenise migrants and a lack of analysis of the interrelatedness of migrants with other groups, particularly in countries of origin (208). They expand on this by arguing that an ahistorical perspective is evident in the lack of consideration for migrants' historical and cultural contexts or origin as well as their biographical experiences prior to emigration. Migrants' worldviews before emigration, their social patterns and habits in general are ignored and misinterpreted, particularly in situations in which the migrants come from a culture that is different from that of the researcher. While they refer here to non-white migrants, who tend to be lower ranked in the global hierarchy of peoples (Quijano 2000), Kalekin-Fishman and Denis make the strong point that interviewees' statements are always constituted by their present perspective and by the interview situation - even though interviewees come from a long stream of narration (Rosenthal 2003; Schutz 1972). It is therefore important that the interview brings into analysis the history of the individual, which is what my narrative and semi-structured interview approach does in this research.

Beginning the interviews with participants' narratives eased the interviewees into the conversation. I applied elements of biographical interviewing (Mason 2002), where the interviewee's own life story is considered to be meaningful to them and the sequence is taken

from that story rather than pre-formulated questions (ibid). This approach enabled me to address the issue of the history of the participants, thus, their pre-migration lifestyles in Zimbabwe, including their privilege and transnationalism, through asking participants to tell me about their lives in Zimbabwe. My pre-formulated questions were then used to engage in a semi-structured interview which sought to follow on the interviewees' cues (Mason 2002), expanding on certain elements of their narratives and asking questions to include topics that were important for my research and had not been addressed in the interviewees' narration. This approach gave the interview the character of an informal conversation.

It is also important to note that in my interviews, I did not explicitly address the topic of 'whiteness'. Rather I engaged with its elements, for example, asking questions about how people identify; and taking cues to expand on experiences of privilege and power. I took this approach because, as discussed in Chapter Two, white privilege is an 'invisible knapsack' (McIntosh 1988) and is a topic with which white people have often not engaged. Therefore it was more useful to draw from Brubaker (2006), who argues that ethnicity is neither a thing nor a substance, but rather, an interpretive prism, a way of making sense of the social world. I thus applied whiteness in my analysis of the interviews as an 'interpretive prism' (ibid), observing whiteness in the flow of interviewees' lives and social experiences and how those lives interacted with local and international political, economic and cultural landscapes that position people unequally.

Brubaker *et al.* (2018) remark that political discourse filters into everyday life, and is sometimes absorbed, in fragmentary fashion, into everyday ways of thinking and talking (16). For my research, this means that the interpretivist approach is an appropriate one, due to its foundational premise that the social world is complex and that people define their own

meanings within their respective social, political and cultural settings (Markula and Silk 2011; Purdy and Jones 2011; Alharahsheh and Pius 2020).

All interviews were conducted online, through Skype or WhatsApp, with the exception of two, which were carried out in person in Zimbabwe. Online interviews made the wide geographical scope of my research possible, enabling the research to be internationalised without the associated travel costs (O'Connor *et al.* 2008). While Covid-19 has made online interviewing commonplace (Howlett 2022), online interviewing was previously often seen as a last resort option to be considered where face to face interviews were not possible (Deakin and Wakefield 2014). In my case, as noted above, there were several reasons that virtual interviews were well-suited to my research project.

I therefore did not try to emulate face to face interviews during the online interviews, but rather embraced the advantages of online interviewing. Online interviewing enabled participants to be available in instances where they would otherwise not have had time to meet. For instance, I interviewed one participant while she was sitting in her car, waiting for her son to finish football practice. I interviewed another who was in the comfort of her living room on an evening, sitting on her couch with her feet up, lights dimmed, talking over a glass of wine. She found the interview enjoyable and mentioned that she had never actually had a conversation about her identity in that way. She went on to ask if we could schedule another call to talk some more, which we did. During the Skype calls, it was possible for interviewees to share links to articles that came up in conversation, using the messaging function. One participant shared a reflection article she had written several years ago on being white Zimbabwean in the UK, while two others shared links to their personal websites and others shared the names of Facebook groups I could join to access other white Zimbabweans.

Using Skype and WhatsApp of course presented limitations such as the absence of body language cues. It has also been argued that Skype interviews can compromise the building of rapport with participants (Given and Saumure 2015). However, other recent studies have shown that interviews conducted in private settings, whether in person or virtually, result in more sharing of deeply personal experiences, and there is little difference in this exceptional disclosure between Skype and in-person private interviews (Jenner and Myers 2019). I used video calls as far as possible in my interviews. In terms of building rapport, I mitigated this limitation by being flexible at the beginning of each call, allowing the participant to lead the discussion in the phase of getting to know each other. Drawing on the initial narrative question also allowed participants to freely talk about themselves within the parameters of the subject I had presented. Interviews typically lasted 90 minutes.

4.3.3 Data analysis and presentation of findings

To analyse my data, I employed thematic analysis and used NVivo. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning ('themes') within qualitative data (Braun and Clarke 2006, 297). One of the benefits of thematic analysis is its flexibility for use across a wide range of theoretical and epistemological frameworks, and its application to a wide range of research questions, designs, and sample sizes (Kiger and Varpio 2020, 2). Braun and Clarke argue that qualitative analytic methods can be divided into two categories. In one category are those that are tied to, or stemming from a particular theoretical or epistemological position. For some of these, for example, conversation analysis (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998), and interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith *et al.* 1999), Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that there is (as yet) relatively limited variability in

how the method is applied, within that framework, so that they are generally applied consistently in analyses. For others of these, for example, grounded theory (Glaser 1992; Strauss and Corbin 1998; Foley *et al.* 2021); discourse analysis (Burman and Parker 2016; Wetherell and Potter 1988; Willig 2003; Hjelm 2021) or narrative analysis (Murray 2003; Riessman 1993; De Fina 2021), there are different ways of applying the method within the broad theoretical framework. In the second category are methods that are essentially independent of theory and epistemology and can be applied across a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches (Braun and Clarke 2006; Kiger and Varpio 2020). Thematic analysis falls within this second category. Its theoretical freedom provides flexibility which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data (Braun and Clarke 2006, 78).

I applied thematic analysis through three main steps. The first step was to immerse myself in the raw data through listening to recordings, transcribing, reading the transcripts and studying notes in order to list key ideas and recurrent themes. What counted as themes were elements that captured key ideas about the data in relation to the research questions and represented patterned responses or meaning within the data set (Braun and Clarke 2006, 82; Herzog *et al.* 2019; Finlay 2021).

The second step was importing the transcripts and notes into NVivo, where I coded the data guided by the research questions and the key themes I had identified in the first step. I worked through the data to identify patterns of meaning and created nodes and subnodes. In the coding process I also paid attention to narratives on context and the levels at which experiences or events took place. For example, I coded experiences based on macro level power structures and those at the micro level. This enabled my analysis to move beyond the

‘what’, to reflecting on why certain experiences took place in the ways that they did, thus bringing in the elements of complexity, power relations and contextuality. I also drew on literature to organise participants into broad categories based on their narratives. In the post-migration transnational phase of white Zimbabweans, I identified three broad categories of transnationals. Of those, two are co-ethnic return migrants – the first is the group who, through a shift from temporary to permanent migration, or “accidental migration” (Von Koppenfels 2014), end up in their ancestral homelands as co-ethnic return migrants and, second, those who return to their ancestral homelands, expecting to settle as co-ethnic return migrants. The third category comprises those who emigrate to other countries as white immigrants, not thinking of themselves as “returning” to a homeland. For the co-ethnic return migrants, the dual transnational status persists in the ancestral homeland so that the transnational ways of being or belonging continue to be practiced, this time in relation to the natal homeland (Zimbabwe). The identification of these broad categories enabled me to further the analysis of the narratives to engage with the different interpretations of reality based on the different social positionalities and histories.

The third step was the identification of themes. I identified broad themes from the coded nodes, which I merged and reduced until I came up with the final themes as they are reflected in my empirical chapters. While the process was done in steps, in reality it was repetitive and themes were often merged and disintegrated as I coded and analysed the data. There were important sub-themes that emerged within broader themes. This is reflected in my empirical chapters. For example, discussions on accents were discussed under the topic of post-emigration experiences and identity and fell under the theme of socio-cultural transnationalism. Yet specificities about accents, for example, their intentional use and their instrumentalisation by individuals to differentiate themselves from other kinds of whiteness,

were also revealing of how people engaged with whiteness. Throughout the analysis, consistent with the interpretivist paradigm on which I am drawing, I did not take the narratives and interpretations of my participants as a completely objective truth. Rather I constantly reflected on them critically through the lens of theory and relevant literature. Some participants, for example, recounted that there was no racial discrimination in Rhodesia. I critically analyse these reflections through reference to the literature on colonialism, which posits that colonialism was conceptualised on the basis of an imagined racial superiority of whites, with a discrimination of non-whites (Bulhan 2015; Butt 2013; Odukoya 2018). Therefore, I used NVivo as a useful tool, complementing it as appropriate. This is in keeping with standard practice; Ishak and Bakar (2012), for instance, state that “the [NVivo] software cannot replace the wisdom that the researcher brings into the research because at the back of every researcher’s mind lies his or her life history that will influence the way he or she sees and interprets the world” (102).

Indeed, on my part as the researcher, and a black Zimbabwean, it was therefore imperative that I continually reflect on my own role and social positionality and what these meant for the research, throughout the data collection process, the data analysis process and, finally, the presentation of the findings.

4.4 Positionality, Reflexivity and the Research Process

I first began reflecting on my doctoral research in 2014 when Zimbabwe was still under the leadership of former President Robert Mugabe, who at the time was making statements such as: "We say no to whites owning our land and they should go," and "Don't be too kind to white farmers. Land is yours, not theirs." (BBC News 2014).

Amid this racial tension in Zimbabwe, I was aware from the onset of my research that participants' perceptions of my social positionality and the politics of our identities, mine as a black Zimbabwean and my participants' as white Zimbabweans, would influence the trajectory of the research. In qualitative research, positionality points to the fact that the characteristics of a researcher affect the trajectory of the research, from the data collection phase through to the data analysis, writing of the research and how the research findings are received (Carling, Erdal, and Ezzati 2014). My own identity as a black, female, Zimbabwean researcher would influence my research, both in terms of gaining access to white Zimbabwean participants and the openness of the participants towards me. It would also affect my own engagement with the data, and interpretation of the data. In this research, I was an insider, just as I was an outsider. An insider researcher refers to a researcher who conducts research with populations of which they are also a member (Kanuha 2000; Adu-Ampong and Adams 2020) so that the researcher shares an identity, language, and experiential base with the study participants (Asselin 2003; Irgil 2021). This membership usually gives the researcher a certain amount of legitimacy but may also be a source of stigma (Adler and Adler 1987; Adu-Ampong and Adams 2020). Insiders are seen as being more easily accepted by their participants, with the result that participants are typically more open, and there may be a greater depth to the data (Dwyer and Buckle 2009), even though outsiders are able to take a distance which may enable them to interpret data more objectively (Irgil 2021).

An outsider researcher is one who is outside of the commonality shared by the participants (Dwyer and Buckle 2009, 55), however that may be defined, and for whom the acceptance process can be more challenging. In reality, the insider/outsider status is not so clearly dichotomous, nor is it fixed. Rather, it is considerably fluid, demanding of researchers to

conduct an ongoing examination of their positionalities in space and time in relation to their research and research participants (Merriam *et al.* 2001; Flores 2018; Irgil 2021; Quraishi *et al.* 2022). Researchers are always in a state of duality, and despite the similarities and differences they have with their research participants, they are always both an insider and an outsider, simultaneously or at different times during the research (Rose 1997; Dinçer 2019; Mohler and Rudman 2022;). Researchers determine similarity and difference and what constitutes ‘us’ as separate from ‘them’ by drawing on the infinite social categories that are in their minds, some of which researchers may not be conscious of (Eriksen 2010). In addition to variations in peoples’ lives at the micro-level, there are macro-level shifts that make specific divides prominent (Eriksen 2010), such as the political tone towards whites in Zimbabwe at the time of my data collection between 2014 and 2018.

In my research, transnational in nature, the migrant ‘group’ is, of course, multi-layered. I had several characteristics in common with the research participants, yet differed on several salient characteristics. Our shared nationality as Zimbabweans and our common emigration experiences positioned me as an apparent insider (Carling, Erdal, and Ezzati 2014). However, as a black woman, I had likely been located in different social positions than my white Zimbabwean participants, even within the spaces that we had in common. My race therefore positioned me slightly on the outside. Nevertheless, there were some insider markers, such as education level or parental status (Carling, Erdal, and Ezzati 2014), that steered my participants to granting me honorary insider status where, otherwise, I might have been an outsider based on race and in most of the cases, younger age. My middle-class background and status as a PhD researcher gave me cultural competence in Zimbabwean whiteness. My names also suggested interaction with white cultures. My first name is Czech, given by my father from his memorable younger years as an Engineering student in then Czechoslovakia.

My last name, which is my married name, is Flemish, originating from my white Belgian husband. On paper therefore, my names suggest neither my Zimbabwean nationality nor my race. Upon interaction, one may say that the story of my names suggests some association with white cultures. There were advantages to this, but I was concerned about the disadvantage of the possible surprise element when participants realised upon first interaction that I was a black Zimbabwean woman. I wanted to be sure that when participants accepted the invitation to participate, they had all the necessary information they needed to make that decision. Therefore, in the invitation to participate, I introduced myself as a black Zimbabwean woman. I was also aware that the political mood towards whites in Zimbabwe could make white Zimbabweans suspicious of the intentions of my research. To address this, and in conformity with ethics board approval, I emailed the consent form to participants using my university email address ahead of the interviews. This level of formality reassured participants that I was a legitimate university researcher, and not working, for instance, on behalf of the government of Zimbabwe or any other actor.

During interviews, my position shifted between insider and outsider several times during the same conversation. Where participants saw me as an insider, they took it for granted that I had contextual knowledge of the things they spoke about. For example, participants below the age of 50 often referred to Zimbabwe as ‘Zim’, as is commonly done by younger Zimbabweans. Participants also discussed their privileged lifestyle in Zimbabwe in a matter of fact way, which involved naming things instead of describing them, with the assumption that I knew what those things were, and I did. For example, where a person talking to an outsider may have found it necessary to explain that they went to an expensive, girls only, white dominated high school in Harare called Chisipite Girls High School, one of my participants simply said: “I went to Cheezy.” This is how this particular school is known

among those who are attending or attended a private school, or have some knowledge of private schools in Zimbabwe. In this case, my participants saw me as an insider who not only shared language and experiential base but also social culture and sub-language. While these tendencies kept our conversations natural and open, I had to guard myself from falling into the trap of assuming that I had an implicit understanding of what was not explicitly said. I therefore ensured that I asked specific follow-up questions, taking my cue from the narratives of the participants.

In that way, I asked the participants to explain in more detail, rather than relying on my own ability to know what they meant. In some instances, whiteness and the generational gap between some participants and myself positioned me as an outsider. At one point, when talking about language and the words that people still use, a participant referred to Afrikaans words and some Afrikaans songs, assuming that I knew them. These words and songs were not familiar to me, because of my position as a non-white who did not mingle among Afrikaans speakers, but also, I suspect, because of the generation difference between myself and the participant. My lack of familiarity with such terms repositioned me as an outsider at certain moments of a conversation in which I was being treated as an insider. Throughout the interviews, I had a sense of Zimbabwean patriotism from participants. I then wondered whether participants might have felt pressure to perform this patriotism towards me because of my own identity as a Zimbabwean. I therefore sought to verify this impression through other means of data collection. Indeed, I did observe, when I visited Facebook groups of which some of the participants were members, as well as personal blogs maintained by some participants, that they were actively involved with Zimbabwe, and that their tone of patriotism was consistent beyond my interaction with them. Insofar, I was able to use

secondary sources to triangulate and confirm my impressions were not related to my positionality.

What was distinctive about my data collection is the fact that most of my interviews were conducted through Skype and WhatsApp video. While there has been a growing body of literature on email interviews (Bampton and Cowton 2002; Hawkins 2018), literature on internet-based interviewing using technologies such as Skype has been slower to develop, even though this has changed, particularly after the Covid-19 pandemic (Salmons 2021; Keen *et al.* 2022). O'Connor *et al.* (2008) remarked that there was little reflexive exploration of the reflexive experiences of researchers who engage in internet-based interviewing. I have already reflected on my online interviewing experience in the interview section of this chapter. What is important to add as far as reflexivity and social position while using online interviewing methods is concerned is that, in a way, being behind screens equalised the relationship between the participant and the researcher.

I found that participants were comfortable with questions that might have been perceived as more difficult or personal in an in-person setting. Although body language cues were missing, I found that the absence of a video feed in 3 out of 23 of the cases meant that I listened more carefully to how participants were responding, and not only listening to their words. Insofar, the remote interviews also held a wealth of information. While the absence of physical cues is often reflected on as a limitation, I found that the screens eliminated each of our physical appearances as distractions, so that our researcher/interviewee relationship was based on our mental engagement with each other. In my research therefore, I believe the virtual interviews produced solid research data. Overall, as Hanna (2012) states, in a virtual

interview, “both the researcher and the interviewee are able to remain in a safe location without imposing on each other’s personal space” (241).

4.5 Ethical considerations

All participants were provided with an informed consent statement which included a summary of my research and the purpose of the interviews (see Appendices B and C). It invited participants to ask questions prior to agreeing to take part. I again invited participants to ask any questions they still had about the research at the beginning of the interview.

All participants were guaranteed anonymity prior to the interview. A consent form was sent to each participant before the interview. The consent form (see Appendix C) was pre-signed by myself. Participants either signed it and returned it by email, or gave verbal consent at the beginning of the interview, when the consent form was again presented. At the beginning of each interview, the consent form was read verbally to all participants and verbal consent was granted in each case.

All participants have been given pseudonyms. Participants were generally happy to accept anonymity, with the exception of two who did not think it was necessary. Nevertheless, anonymity has been applied to all participants. A list of participants’ pseudonyms and their locations is attached in Appendix A.

The interviews started off with small talk which I used to ease participants into the interviews. Small talk helped to establish a degree of comfort and trust and to establish a connection with the participants, laying the groundwork for reciprocity (Rowles 2001). The understanding of reciprocity which is applicable in my research is that of the researcher

disclosing information of his or her own accord during the interview, sharing personal experiences and opinions with interview participants (Oakley 1981; 2016). Participants asked me questions about my own life and we shared our emigration experiences and other experiences about our families and raising children away from home. This type of reciprocity, while useful in establishing rapport, has also been viewed as a potential hindrance to data collection as interviewees may disclose information based on their perception of what the researcher may or may not relate to (Adler and Adler 1987, Glesne 1999). It also brings about questions of whether participants are disclosing information out of informed consent if they are doing it out of being drawn to the researcher's empathy and friendliness (Oakley 2016). This foregrounds the perceptions of insider/outsider as discussed in the reflexivity section of this chapter. My own experience, given the dynamics of interviewing and my own positionality, was that the advantages of this kind of reciprocity were beneficial for the collection of quality research data. In addition, several participants provided me with feedback expressing their gratitude for having the space to reflect on their identity as white Zimbabweans, which was something that they never did.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined my research methodology – a qualitative approach in the field of political science, which is influenced by an interpretivist paradigm. My approach includes elements of participant observation, which I have highlighted as a preliminary method that provided useful insights that helped to shape my research and finalise my research focus at the beginning of the project. Moving on from participant observation, my methodology relies primarily on semi-structured interviews with a narrative element, mostly conducted virtually and transnationally.

In this chapter, therefore, I have demonstrated how my methodology transcends methodological nationalism to achieve methodological transnationalism which is consistent with research on migration and transnationalism. In terms of the interpretivist paradigm, I have demonstrated its suitability as a paradigm for my research by engaging with some of the criticism raised on it, demonstrating how my research has addressed issues related to bringing power relations and the social location of whiteness into the analysis, while focusing on individual experiences.

In the discussion on my data collection, I have highlighted that the narrative and semi-structured interview approach is a widely used approach (Wengraf 2001; Scheibelhofer 2008; Anderson and Kirkpatrick 2016), which in this research enables me to understand the histories and contexts of participants, as well as to understand their lived experiences and thoughts.

I have also reflected on my social positionality as a researcher, including my role as PhD student, as a middle-class, black Zimbabwean woman married to a white man and living abroad. I have reflected on how this positionality affected my research from its inception, through to the participant recruitment, data collection, data analysis and reporting of my findings. I highlight my awareness of how my positionality has seen me alternate between an insider researcher and an outsider researcher, often within the same conversation. I have also discussed my ethical considerations in the research, including anonymity, informed consent and reciprocity.

Having established my theoretical and methodological framework, I now shift to presenting the empirical findings of my study on white Zimbabweans' pre-migration transnationalism experiences (Chapter Five), post-migration transnationalism experiences (Chapter Six) and finally, on the ways in which white Zimbabweans engage with whiteness (Chapter Seven).

Chapter Five: Pre-emigration Transnationalism and Diaspora

5.1 Introduction

In this first empirical chapter, I draw on my data, largely derived from interviews, and triangulated with other secondary data, such as participants' blog pages and travelogues and information derived from public Facebook groups, against the background of my theoretical framework which shed light on the ways in which we can understand whiteness. This framework then allows for an interpretation of how embodied elements shape the migrants' experience upon migration.

In this chapter, I examine the transnational lives of white Zimbabweans prior to emigrating from Zimbabwe. My empirical research reveals a vibrant transnational existence, whether individuals themselves migrated to Zimbabwe, or their parents or grandparents. This examination of the first layer of their transnational identity contributes to the understanding of how whiteness evolves upon their emigration from Zimbabwe, and the characteristics of their subsequent dual and multi-layered transnationalism and diasporism. Migration in this research, as it is in so many other cases, is a fluid process (Coulter *et al.* 2016), which does not have a distinguishable beginning or end. And, indeed, for my participants, a pre-migration phase – prior to leaving Zimbabwe – was fluid, with temporary migrations overlapping with a final decision to leave permanently. In three cases, participants have returned to Zimbabwe and, as we see in the next chapter, their dual transnationalism is particularly characterised by a translational way of being with an absence of current or future aspirations for emigration from Zimbabwe. This is distinctly different from many of those

who are outside of Zimbabwe, whose dual transnationalism is characterised by a transnational way of being and belonging, with expressed aspirations to migrate back to Zimbabwe at some point. For all of them, a transnational existence in Zimbabwe was an integral part of their migration journey and, more significantly, their identity.

White Zimbabweans are a diverse group, not least with respect to their migration histories. My empirical data includes three broad groups. The majority are white Zimbabweans who were born in Zimbabwe but were descendants of European great-grandparents, grandparents or parents and had emigrated from Zimbabwe. Individuals in this group emigrated to South Africa; the UK; Spain and Australia. Some moved back and forth between these countries for some time. For example, some lived in the UK for a period, before moving to South Africa, or in Australia temporarily before moving to the UK. Others lived in countries such as Botswana, Egypt or Dubai before moving to the countries of settlement at the time of interview. I interviewed 18 individuals with this migration history.

The second broad group are white Zimbabweans who were born in Zimbabwe and were descendants of European great-grandparents, grandparents or parents. They had emigrated from Zimbabwe for some time and at the time of interview, had returned to Zimbabwe. In this group, I interviewed three individuals.

Third, represented by two cases, are white Zimbabweans who were born in the UK to British parents and had emigrated to Rhodesia for some time, left Rhodesia and had returned to Zimbabwe at the time of interview. The demographic information of interview participants is provided in Appendix A.

This chapter comprises two sub-sections. In the first sub-section, I discuss the pre-emigration social fields (Levitt and Schiller 2004). I begin with discussing the everyday lives of white Zimbabweans while they were still living in Zimbabwe. By doing so, we are able to gain a sense of what everyday privilege within the framework of white privilege looks like (cf. McIntosh 1988; Vargas 1997) as well as shedding light on differential privilege and the relativity of white privilege. I expand on this depiction by engaging with my findings on the transnational social fields of the white Zimbabweans in question prior to emigrating from Zimbabwe within these local and transnational social fields. Throughout this chapter, I draw on intersectionality as a lens to reflect on the elements that result in the different social positionalities of white Zimbabweans, which lead to the experience of differential whiteness.

I find that individuals' transnational social fields are a key resource in influencing their different migration routes (Anwar 1979; Hoffman-Novotny and Hans-Joachim 1978). My participants' migration routes included that of the visitor, the student, the work permit route (Pasura 2010) or migrating while holding the passport of the intended host country. In this latter case, we see overlaps with the co-ethnic return migration literature (cf. Tsuda 2010). Pasura refers to phases and reasons of migrants (2010), and I similarly find in my research that white privilege, as well as the concept of global whiteness, emerges clearly in my participants' recounting of their migration journeys.

Drawing on thematic analysis of the portions of the interviews addressing pre-emigration everyday privilege and whiteness, as well as local and transnational social fields and embodiments, three key elements emerge, which lay the foundation for the second layer of transnationalism in the post-migration phase, discussed further below. The three key elements which emerged in thematic analysis are:

1. Whiteness citizenship based on heritage.
2. Belongingness upon co-ethnic return migration.
3. Diaspora and transnationalism with a country that no longer exists politically and socially.

That white Zimbabweans were privileged in Zimbabwe during the Rhodesian era is clear; yet light can be shed on the nuance of this privilege. I find that whiteness is contextual, relative and multi-layered. It is not a uniform privilege. I demonstrate the relationship between privilege and the limited perspective that the location of whiteness provides to the white subjects in question. I argue that macro-level power structures determine the boundaries of whiteness and whiteness itself which, in turn, condition individual transnationalism; these macro-level structures then influence micro-level privilege. I base this argument on the findings that, despite white Zimbabweans' privilege in Zimbabwe, particularly prior to 2014, they nonetheless endeavoured to use their heritage to obtain a second passport, specifically a European one (cf. Harpaz 2019). They did so consciously and specifically in order to access the privileges, including freer mobility and residence in Europe, attached to the identity of belonging to a white-majority nation-state, which in this thesis, I term *whiteness citizenship*. I argue that citizenship in a white-majority nation-state is a proxy for whiteness in this particular context – citizenship is another form of hierarchisation of peoples, which superiorises those of white skin colour as belonging to the 'West' (Quijano 2000) and imposes a Western identity on white Zimbabweans in this research.

The second theme that emerged was that of co-ethnic return migration. Much like such co-ethnic return migrants, whether Russian Jews making Aliyah to Israel or Russian Germans "returning" to Germany, one commonality was a disappointment that the imagined ancestral

homeland was not as welcoming in reality as in their imagination. For white Zimbabweans emigrating to Europe, this was also the case. A recurrent theme among my interviewees was that they feel they do not belong to those countries. As with many others in similar situations, whether co-ethnic or other migrants, this feeling of alienation results in them re-conceptualising Zimbabwe as their home.

Finally, a third key theme that emerged and around which I organise my findings of this first, pre-emigration, phase of transnationalism, is the sense of belonging to a country which no longer exists. In examining the experiences of peripheralisation and non-belongingness, I argue that while the macro-level power structures contribute to drawing the borders of whiteness and can exclude people from whiteness citizenship, the subjective experiences of those individuals may be based more on embodied elements (such as being an English-speaking postcolonial migrant) of how whiteness is defined in a locale, so that they still experience differential whiteness. I, however, raise the point that the role of the locale in social positionality should not be considered in isolation of the subjectivities of individuals. Here I argue that even where the context positions individuals favourably, differential whiteness can lead to individuals still feeling out of place, feeling like they do not belong, because they miss a particular kind of whiteness. With this argument, I go further to cast this whiteness back into the spectrum of relativity, drawing on my findings to show that whiteness, upon migration, may exist in a diminished version compared to pre-emigration whiteness.

On the re-conceptualisation of the natal homeland, i.e. Zimbabwe, as home, as a way to navigate non-belongingness in ancestral homelands or new countries of settlement, I also discuss the dilemma of those who still identify themselves as Rhodesians. The dilemma of

these individuals is that of being diasporas and transnationals of a country that no longer exists as a political entity. I suggest that while the dismantling of a political system creates these sudden and disquiet diasporas, it can also be argued that even without such radical events, most diasporas are diasporas of countries that no longer exist in the way they are remembered. I assert that those who migrated from Zimbabwe after independence in the 1990s could find that the Zimbabwe they remember no longer exists due to the changes that have come about as a result of political and economic shifts and turmoil. This particular point is expanded on in Chapter Six, where I discuss the diasporism of white Zimbabweans in terms of the glorification of the home country and the transnational activities in which they engage.

These arguments contribute to my overall argument that, upon migration, white Zimbabweans become dual, even multi-layered, transnationals and members of a dual diaspora - a state that is facilitated by issues of belonging and non-belonging, and by shifting social positionalities and perceptions within the symbolic boundary of whiteness, which led to differential whiteness.

5.2 Pre-emigration social fields

5.2.1 The local social fields: Subjective daily lived experiences of whiteness

In this section I discuss findings that demonstrate the interplay between economic privilege, gender and sexuality, and how these translate to differential privilege. I draw on intersectionality and Anthias (2008)'s translocational lens on intersectionality to bring out the role of context, meaning and time in the social positioning of individuals. In this discussion,

the transnationalism of participants is clear in that while their local social fields are characterised by struggles of societal acceptance of their sexuality and seeking gender equality, they are also characterised by economic privilege and transnationalism in the form of holding or having access to foreign passports, which in turn facilitate emigration to search for a better life.

Economic privilege, gender, sexuality and the notion of relativity

When I asked my participants, in an initial narrative prompt, to describe their lifestyle in Zimbabwe, they recounted their daily lived experiences. In some cases, these descriptions resembled a ‘colonial’ lifestyle, while in others, the multi-layered complexity of whiteness as the interplay of power, privilege and identity comes out clearly. In particular, economic privilege was an important element which influenced interviewees’ lifestyles and increased the experience of privilege. In terms of identity, gender, particularly for the female interviewees, who account for 18 of 23 participants in this research, was experienced as a limiting factor in the lives of interviewees; sexuality, for those who identified as gay or lesbian, was also mentioned in this regard. Such elements of identity intersected with whiteness in ways that demonstrate that whiteness is not absolute, and is indeed crosscut by a range of other axes of both relative advantage and disadvantage (Frankenberg 1993, 76) as discussed in Chapter Two. While these do not erase race privilege, they do modify it and, in my research, it is evident that they produce differential privilege among individuals based on their intersecting characteristics which place them in different social positions.

Most white Zimbabweans in my research, particularly those who grew up in Zimbabwe, explicitly indicated that they lived a life of financial privilege when growing up, which is consistent with other accounts (Fisher 2010; van Zyl-Hermann and Boersema 2017). The

lifestyles they describe indicate the ways in which this financial privilege was enjoyed and where it positioned them in terms of the Zimbabwean social hierarchy. One way of living out financial privilege was through nature and space, as white Zimbabweans were the major landowners in the country. Many participants grew up on farms that had self-contained recreational activities and which enabled them to live out their love for nature and connect with it. This love for nature is representative of the tendency of diasporas to glorify their home countries (Ghorashi 2007; McIntosh 2016), but at the same time, shows elements of whiteness and nature (Gwekwerere *et al.* 2018; Braun 2003; Braun and Castree 1998; 2001) as conceptualised in Chapter Two.

Trisha highlights that: '*...growing up in Zimbabwe is a dream if you love nature and freedom.*' Gill talks about missing the space, the peace and quietness and the many recreational activities they had on the farm. She mentions that growing up on the farm, they were isolated and in isolation they had an intense relationship with the land, nature and the environment.

For those who grew up on the farms, the life they would later live abroad, in small apartments in the middle of megacities such as London, would be a huge change from the life of nature and freedom. When considering the financial privilege they had and the comfortable lifestyle they led, my participants discuss that there were other personal and societal factors that intersected with that privilege, thus making privilege relative.

Gender inequality put white Zimbabwean women in a situation that if one wanted to be more than a housewife, they had to emigrate, much as other migrants also migrate in search for opportunity. Gill is a representation of this. While she would have wanted to stay on in

Zimbabwe and live on the farm, she realised that the only way she could continue to live a farm life was if she married a farmer. She notes that it was always obvious that her brother would inherit their parents' farm due to the patriarchal system of inheritance. She therefore decided to go and study in Scotland, thanks to her transnational social field (which I will discuss shortly in this chapter), which involved a professor in Scotland who was helping Rhodesians to get an education abroad. Her family's financial means facilitated the emigration process, allowing her to receive family support to pay for accommodation and subsistence abroad. Yet her gender, as a woman, had positioned her differently from her brother, so that while privileged as a white person, she was relatively disadvantaged as a woman.

Similarly, Nala narrates:

“Zimbabwe is still a good two generations behind Europe. You are brought up to clean the house, learn to cook, get married, have a husband. I was never the one to do that. My friend got married at 19, I was not ready for that at 19. I wanted to go out. But I couldn't find work except be a secretary and filing and I didn't want to do that. So I left and went to the UK, where I worked at the front desk of a hotel. I loved it, but I missed my family and there were problems on the farm, my parents were upset so my brother and I went back. After a few months there was pressure that I wasn't working, that I needed to get married and find a husband. So I left to Botswana, started a company...”

This relates to the patriarchy which was central to the type of whiteness that colonisation comprised as discussed in Chapter Two.

An even more complex intersection in the case of an already gendered pre-emigration social field is the intersection of whiteness, gender and sexuality. Intersectionality as an analytic tool here highlights the complexity of experiences but also unpacks gender by acknowledging the differences among women (Davis 2008; Hackworth 2018). Drawing on Anthias' (2008) translocational lens on intersectionality, the experiences of lesbian women in my research show that a white Zimbabwean lesbian woman is in a less privileged social position in Zimbabwe than a white heterosexual woman, particularly while living in Zimbabwe. This social position may change when individuals emigrate to another country, where lesbians are not as marginalised as they are in Zimbabwe. The experience of being less privileged as a lesbian in Zimbabwe is clear from my interviewees, given that four out of the 18 women I interviewed told me they identified as lesbians, and all four revealed that being lesbian contributed to their decision to emigrate from Zimbabwe. Yet, here too, the translocational lens (Anthias 2008) is a useful tool for further analysis. The translocational lens defines location as context, meaning and time, so that how much categories matter in a place depends on the meaning that has been given to them as well as the context and the time in that place. For the accounts of lesbian interviewees in my research, the extent to which emigration from Zimbabwe to elsewhere (in this case the UK) shielded individuals from marginalisation based on their sexuality depended on the generation of individuals and the time of emigration. This is represented by the accounts of Trisha and Iris.

Trisha (30-35 years old) left Zimbabwe at the age of seventeen, around 2002. She took the opportunity to obtain a Dutch passport based on her mother's Dutch origins. This meant renouncing her Zimbabwean citizenship, which she didn't want to do. However, at the age of sixteen she had become aware of her sexual orientation as a lesbian. When she thought about how the Zimbabwean society treated lesbians, she decided that she would be better off in the

UK, where she could be free to live her life. According to Trisha, she feels comfortable in the UK as a lesbian.

Iris' (50-55 years old) decision to leave Zimbabwe was also influenced by her sexuality as a lesbian. However, she emigrated to the UK in 1988, just after Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government had enacted Clause 28, which was a legislation that prohibited the promotion of homosexuality by local authorities and in Britain's schools (Sommerlad 2018). The clause was repealed in the UK in 2003. However, for Iris, not long after her arrival in the UK in 1988, she joined the activism of the gay community against this legislation and narrates that:

“at that time we did a lot of political activism including storming the press, but sometimes the actions were against gay men because they were not including women’s voices.”

The case of the two women as analysed through an intersectionality lens demonstrates that the intersectionality of whiteness, gender and sexuality has as its outcome the relative social positioning of individuals (Anthias 2008). Yet, that relative social positioning, as analysed through a translocational lens (*ibid*), is not fixed, but shifts according to context, time and meaning as demonstrated by the two cases provided.

Nevertheless, it remains that the transnational social fields of both women enabled them to emigrate easily to the UK to seek a better life for themselves, through obtaining an EU passport in the case of Trisha and possessing a British passport in the case of Iris. These examples show the paradox between privilege and oppression in both cases, based on the intersection of being white, being part of a transnational social field that could facilitate emigration to search for a better life, being female and being lesbian. They also show the

differential privilege between the two cases due to context, time and meaning - Iris arriving in the UK at a time when legislation was being passed to marginalise lesbians vs. Trisha arriving in the same place at a time when lesbians were less marginalised.

Social privilege

The social privilege of white Zimbabweans is represented in the narratives through diasporic nostalgia, expressing feelings of safety in Zimbabwe. These feelings are generalised and taken to be representative of Zimbabwe as a safe society. I argue here that this may be demonstrative of the social location of whiteness, which limits the worldview of whites (Owen 2007). As such, there may be an element of generalising experiences and assuming that they are experienced by others, when in reality the experiences could be conditioned by whiteness.

Furthermore, the accounts of interviewees here bring out the mutual construction of whiteness and blackness in two main ways. Firstly, drawing on the lens of intersectionality, there are elements that in some sections of society result in an unfavourable social positioning, for example the intersection between being white and being disabled. However, it is clear from one account in particular, as I will discuss shortly, that in such a case, blacks extend white privilege, based on the race of the white person, despite disability, in a way that results in the perception by whites, in this case, Frida, that blacks are all accepting. In this sense, blackness creates the conditions for whiteness to feel safe and accepted, such that the unfavourable social position that would be the outcome of intersectionality is mitigated by whiteness, through blackness.

Most interviewees highlighted that they felt safe growing up in Zimbabwe and some even juxtapose this to life in their host countries.

Anna highlights for example that one always felt looked after and safe in Zimbabwe. Trisha also highlights that there was always someone looking out for her and acknowledges that they were probably “under strict instructions” to look out for her, referring to the domestic and farm workers. Frida’s emigration to the UK was influenced by the disability of her child, for whom she was seeking better care and facilities. She indicates that while there are better facilities in the UK, her child faces more marginalisation as a disabled person than in Zimbabwe. While talking about acceptance in Zimbabwe, she makes the clear distinction between “villages” and “educated people”, which are representative of black spaces and white spaces. Frida narrates “people in the villages accept you the way you are, it’s the educated people I have to worry about, because I have to worry about how they have been educated. Have they been educated to value money above humanity for example?”

The safety in these narratives hangs on several different factors including the role of domestic workers, which McIntosh (2016) finds in her research on Kenya, that domestic workers are spoken of as happy people who were happy to serve and, in this case, felt part of the family. There is little reflection on the subjective experiences of these workers while keeping white children safe. The safety experiences also bring up the aspect of a sheltered life, in which children and adults took part in outdoor leisure activities which was possible because of the presence of domestic workers to attend to cooking and cleaning. This is indeed consistent with the colonial lifestyle of white Zimbabweans, as discussed in Chapter Two. After migration, most white Zimbabweans in my research refer to safety as an issue for them in their countries of settlement. Those in South Africa are bothered by the violent crime that

surrounds them and those in the UK express fear that the people around them, particularly paedophiles, could harm their children. These experiences are a sharp contrast to the feelings of safety that surrounded them while growing up in Zimbabwe and thus show a shift in social positionality.

On the functional properties of whiteness, Owen (2007) highlights that whiteness defines a particular racialised perspective or standpoint that shapes the white subject's understanding of both self and the social world. Owen points out that as a structuring property, whiteness situates persons racialised as white in a social location that provides a particular and limited perspective on the world. For this research, Owen's analysis is applicable in that the white Zimbabweans in my research perceive that they had a safe upbringing in Zimbabwe, and conclude that therefore Zimbabwe is a safe place, and that their current countries of settlement are less safe for themselves and their children. Consistent with Owen's view, I argue that the perspectives of my interviewees may be based on the limited viewpoint of whiteness, thus, the white lifestyle in Zimbabwe is taken to be representative of the social reality of the whole country. Similarly, their reasons for feeling unsafe in the countries of settlement are taken to be representative of the social reality of those countries of settlement, in this case, the UK and South Africa. While I do not dismiss the objective foundations of the views of my interviewees, I do suggest that their views do not consider their specific social positionality in Zimbabwe and the shifts in those positionality upon migration. More specifically, life in Zimbabwe may indeed have been safe in white suburbs and white farms, with domestic workers ensuring the safety of white children under strict instructions. I suggest that this safety was provided by the social conditions of whiteness in Zimbabwe rather than the general social climate of the whole country. Similarly, the feelings of unsafety abroad may be signs of a shift in social positionality where individuals have become exposed

to a lifestyle that they were previously sheltered from. Two of the interviewees who raised the issue of safety grew up on farms and one grew up in an affluent white suburb. They currently live in apartments in lower middle-class neighbourhoods in the cities of London and Birmingham and in Cape town.

The experience of Frida is representative of how social position as an outcome of intersectionality can be mitigated by white privilege which blacks recognise and respect, due to their own colonial condition (Fanon 1969). This is a remnant of colonialism which makes them superiorise whiteness and act in subordinate ways towards whites. Here, for Frida's child, the intersection of being white, being a child and being disabled, results in an unfavourable social position in urban spaces and among whites in Zimbabwe. Frida narrates that in Zimbabwe, her child faced discrimination among the "educated people" in Zimbabwe but was accepted by those in the "villages", which are inhabited by blacks. I suggest here that the acceptance of her child that Frida speaks about may be representative of blacks extending white privilege on the basis of race. This is not to suggest that they are intolerant of disability, but rather to suggest that it is likely that, for them, whiteness carries such weight that other embodiments, such as disability, which might otherwise be seen as a disadvantage or might otherwise cause marginalisation, may be rendered insignificant in the face of whiteness. As such, in urban areas or among whites, her child is relatively marginalised on the basis of disability, but in the black villages, the child is favoured on the basis of being white.

The special treatment that is given to whites by blacks is also represented in Stan's case. Stan, a British-born white Zimbabwean man, further testifies to this by highlighting that he seldom gets stopped by the police at roadblocks in Zimbabwe. He also reports that he usually gets served first at restaurants even though there are other customers ahead of him. He says

he understands very well that these social favours are granted to him because he is white. Therefore blackness, to the extent that it is subordinate to whiteness, creates the conditions for whites to feel safe and accepted as in the cases of Trisha, Anna, Frida and even Stan.

5.3 Transnational social fields and accidental migration

The concept of transnational social fields emerged from the study of migration to examine global flows on transnational spaces and processes (Gargano 2009). As stated in Chapter Three, a transnational social field is “an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks that extends across the borders of two or more nation-states and that incorporates its participants in the day-to-day activities of social reproduction in these various locations” (Fouron and Schiller 2001, 544). Faist (2006) identifies four types of transnational spaces, namely, small groups, such as families and kinship systems; issue networks; transnational communities and transnational organisations. My participants’ transnational social fields before any permanent emigration from Zimbabwe were comprised mainly of small groups in the form of family and friends and, to a limited extent, transnational communities in the form of colonial ties.

Transnational social fields and networks contribute to the reasons and ways in which people emigrate and, indeed, transnationalism has been proposed as another element in migration theory (Faist 2006; Raghuram 2013). It was not seen as a particularly strong predictor of migration, yet when we look at transnational social fields as contributing to short-term migration which ultimately leads to longer term or permanent migration, we can see that it does play a role. In the pre-emigration stage, participants travelled abroad, including to the ancestral homeland, for short-term opportunities such as holidays, temporary work and gap

years. Here the transnational social fields that existed pre-emigration played a visible role in the migration routes used.

While understanding the pre-emigration movements, that is, the travels that people made before they migrated long-term, a theme that comes up is the realisation that very few of the participants I spoke to actually emigrated consciously. Through their transnational social fields, they left for different reasons and through different routes, but did not consciously emigrate. Rather one thing led to another, and the years passed, and they built a life elsewhere and never returned home, a phenomenon that Von Koppenfels (2014) terms accidental migration. The notion of accidental migration builds on what Anwar called “the myth of return” (1979) and Hoffman-Novotny referred to as “the return illusion” (1978) – namely that many migrants who have settled in a host country had initially moved with a thought only of temporary migration. They had not intended to become permanent emigrants, hence the “accidental migrant”. Inherent in this concept are resources to remain in a host country. For those who are undocumented, this might be strong social networks (e.g. Joseph 2016) while for others, a strong socio-economic status or valuable passport status play a key role. Differing statuses and different visas characterise this originally unintended settlement. In discussing accidental migration, Von Koppenfels closely examines the transition from temporary migration to settlement and the fluidity of one’s status, as well as the elements that work together to make return difficult and therefore perpetuate settlement. Von Koppenfels applies the term to American citizens, typically seen as privileged migrants. As noted above, many migrants are “accidental migrants”, whether undocumented or with residence visa, higher or lower socio-economic status. These migrants’ trajectories are characterised by an original intention to leave the home country as a temporary migrant, with the genuine intention of returning. And indeed, many of my participants could be characterised as such.

In my research, migrants with variable privileges, depending on their citizenship status, also have the same accidental migrant status. Further, in my research, accidental migration shows the hand of global whiteness in individual lives and certain privileges more clearly, namely financial privilege which allowed for the spontaneity of accidental migration to take place, and ease of travel which eliminated immigration laws and visa requirements from being hindrances to the spontaneity of accidental migration.

5.3.1 Transnational social fields and migration routes

Transnational social fields not only facilitate migration and its prolongation, but also determine those migration routes. Friends abroad made it possible for people to emigrate as visitors and look for a job, thus changing their status to an employee and later a citizen. In addition, the transnational social ties within these social fields are reproduced through conditions such as modern communication technologies, frequent short-term travel, state policies, which can include discrimination/anti-discrimination; socio-economic exclusion/inclusion of migrants and policies on remittances (Faist 2006). In my research, I find links between transnational social fields; conditions that reproduce the transnational ties, particularly, short-term travel and state policies (visa requirements); and white privilege. I examine the relationship between these elements of transnationalism through the concept of accidental migration. The concept of accidental migration enables me to demonstrate that white privilege facilitates certain conditions that reproduce transnational ties. This includes frequent short-term travel through the ease of travel as a result of valued passports, visa requirements and financial means for spontaneous international travel. Spontaneity of travel therefore makes accidental migration possible, which later leads to transnationalism.

The transnational social field of Gill, who is mentioned earlier, represents a transnational community which is based on colonial ties. It included a professor in Scotland who was committed to helping Rhodesians to study abroad. He facilitated Gill's partial scholarship to study in Scotland, where she met her future husband, married and settled in the UK. Gill's emigration route was therefore the student route, facilitated by the Scottish professor, which later changed to spouse and then citizen.

Sue is a white Zimbabwean woman of Dutch and Irish origin. She lives in Cape Town. She further demonstrates the phenomenon of how privilege makes accidental migration possible, which then leads to transnationalism.

"I didn't consciously leave Zimbabwe but just stayed in Cape Town. I left Zim to go to UCT [University of Cape Town] and didn't consciously leave Zim but just stayed in Cape Town. I never really went back in terms of finding a job and finding a life. I did a year in the UK like everyone does, so I came to UCT in 1984 and graduated in 1986. Was in 87-88 in the UK and went back to Cape Town, found a job and started a life."

Sue's friend, Marie, is a white Zimbabwean woman of Greek and Irish descent who also lives in Cape Town. She represents a transnational social field of a small group in the form of family and friends. This transnational social field influences Sue's migration route - first as a visitor, then an employee and finally with a permit to stay. At the same time, the privilege to be able to keep her transnational social ties through short-term travel to Cape town facilitates accidental migration, which leads to transnationalism.

“I never really left Zimbabwe ...I came to CapeTown to visit my sister and met a boy and went on a whirlwind romance with him. He asked me to come back to Cape Town. I went back in 1991 and stayed a bit with my friend Sue who had emigrated already. The relationship ended after 3 months. I got a job ... and got a work permit to stay...”

Marie thus emigrated through the visitor's route, triggered by her then-boyfriend and facilitated by her sister and friend in Cape Town. This is a similar route to Kendall's on her first emigration to France. Kendall's experience, like Sue's, is representative of the connection between transnational social field, privilege, accidental migration and transnationalism.

Kendall is a white Zimbabwean woman of Greek and Irish descent and lives in Spain. On her migration experience, Kendall narrates:

“I never officially left Zimbabwe. After my 'A' levels, I went to study at UCT and then went back to Zim. I wasn't quite sure what I wanted to do, so I followed a boyfriend at the time to France. I studied French and Spanish. Then I went to live in the UK for about two and a half years. The plan was to speak different languages and go back to Zim to get a good job where I didn't have to rely on being paid in Zim dollars. This was in the 1980s. The plan was to go back and work as a translator, or interpreter. But it takes a long time to learn languages. I then went to Spain, fell in love and got a job.”

These narratives demonstrate that the transnational social fields in the form of family and friends abroad facilitated the emigration process and influenced the emigration routes for certain people. They also suggest that privilege enabled participants to travel around with

relative ease, thus making accidental migration possible, such that short term visits led to longer term emigration, which led to transnationalism.

Structural economic privilege and ease of travel as facilitators of migration and transnationalism

Having discussed above, the relationship between transnational social fields, transnational social ties, white privilege, accidental migration and transnationalism, I want to discuss in more depth the elements of white privilege that I refer to as facilitating accidental migration and therefore transnationalism. I identify two main elements: economic privilege and ease of travel. Economic privilege is important to the extent that it is a carry-over of the legacy of colonialism which provided structural economic privilege to whites. As such, it is useful to reflect on how that factor, of the legacy of whiteness, which came out as a theme in my research, continues and how it facilitates the transnationalism of white Zimbabweans. Ease of travel is important because it relates to macro-level power structures in the form of border policies, which are based on whiteness and perpetuate it (Quijano 2000). While in this section I introduce both these factors of privilege, in later sections of this thesis they inform my analysis, through intersectionality as a lens, as some of the factors that intersect with others to position white Zimbabwean emigrants in different societies.

Economic privilege

On the point of economic privilege, Pasura (2012) summarises the five phases of Zimbabwean emigration. Three of those phases are relevant to this research, namely phases two, four and five as indicated in Chapter Four.

However, their reasons for emigration are seldom linked to the socio-economic and political reasons that characterise these emigration phases (Pasura 2012; Weda 2012).

Some white Zimbabweans, like Claire's family, indeed fled to escape a black-ruled country in the second phase of migration. However, others who also left just after independence, left to seek more diversity and better entertainment. Christie for example narrates that

“The parties in Bulawayo were not as nice as in Harare, because the white community was small and everybody knew everybody and it was always the same. Harare was much more diverse because of the expats and such. But then I visited London and the parties were amazing, so I decided to move there, I was in my twenties...”

Still, others who left during the post-independence phase left as students going abroad, as is the case for Kendall, Sue and Marie above, for some of whom the declining economic situation in Zimbabwe became a hindrance to return. Others in my research, particularly those who left recently, in the fifth phase of migration, moved for reasons including going to look after a sick parent living abroad, escaping pressure to get married in Zimbabwe, the discomfort of one's sexual orientation, love and economic hardship in Zimbabwe, as demonstrated by some of the narratives above.

The narratives that demonstrate accidental migration, particularly the flexibility and ease of travel and the stated reasons by participants for emigration demonstrate that economic hardship was seldom a push factor for emigration among many interviewees. This is also the case for those who emigrated during periods that were characterised by economic hardship (Pasura 2012; Weda 2012). This suggests that these white Zimbabweans had some level of

economic resilience while in Zimbabwe (even though the failing economy became a hindrance to return), and indeed some of my interviewees explicitly mention this economic resilience. This economic resilience while in Zimbabwe presents another area in which a shift in social positionality upon migration becomes clear later.

It is also clear that the structural economic privilege experienced by whites in Zimbabwe was not always perceived by participants. Therefore, participants did not necessarily always make the link between their economic privilege and their emigration trajectories or their transnationalism.

Gill represents this phenomenon. She grew up on a farm in Zimbabwe and highlighted that she had a humble upbringing on the farm. They had horses and bicycles but no TV and books. According to Gill, they didn't have much money in those years as her father was still building up the farm and therefore, they could hardly afford holidays. They only went on holiday occasionally, which included: "one trip to the UK, Mauritius, Seychelles and Beira."

In the context of economic privilege, the account of Gill may be representative of relative privilege. Hence, when she compares themselves to other whites, she may conclude that she was relatively less privileged, and in her own words, from 'a humble upbringing'. Yet when viewed from the perspective of non-whites who may have less and are faced with structural restrictions that inhibit upward financial mobility, the individuals with diminished white privilege still remain relatively more privileged. Yet the social position of whiteness may limit white individuals from having this view (Owen 2007). Therefore, I suggest that it is important, when talking about relative privilege and marginalisation to pay attention to intersectionality. Further to this, the translocational lens (Anthias 2008) which I draw upon

throughout this research, which focuses on context, time and meaning, is important to place the resulting social positions of intersectionality in their proper context. This enables us to understand that in the case of Gill, for instance, she may be relatively less privileged within the border of whiteness, but more privileged than those who fall outside of that border.

Ease of travel

On the second point of privilege through flexibility and ease of travel, the discussions with my interviewees on their migration journeys indicated an ease of travel between the different places to which they went. While some of these particular interviewees had EU passports (Marie and Kendall), others, for example Nala, always travelled on a Zimbabwean passport. In my conversation with Nala, she narrated that she moved around a lot to countries including Botswana, Egypt and Dubai. When she applied for a visa for Dubai, she was denied the visa and went to enquire why it was denied. It was then explained to her that for certain nationalities, Dubai only granted a limited number of visas and given that she had applied on a Zimbabwean passport, it had been assumed that she was black and therefore the visa was denied. Upon seeing that she was white during her enquiry, the decision was reversed, and the visa was granted immediately.

Such experiences point to the global whiteness phenomenon on two levels. Firstly, it indicates that the non-possession of citizenship that is representative of whiteness limits global travel. Second, and related to the first point, it shows that the embodiment of being racialised as white provides relative privilege among those who do not possess such citizenship. Macro-level power structures through transnationalism from above (for example immigration laws) may limit those who do not have white privilege to emigrating intentionally and in a restricted way. On the contrary, those with white privilege can shift to

the status of permanent emigrant almost by accident, moving with ease from one location to another as opportunities and interests change.

In the section below, I will examine the notion of mobility more closely within the context of heritage and transnationalism. This next section relates to the previous section in several ways, including demonstrating that the acquisition and use of the whiteness that I have discussed above is not a phenomenon that happens without the consciousness and participation of those who are racialised as white. Rather, my research shows, as I will demonstrate in this next section, the ways in which pre-emigration transnationalism is in some ways instrumentalised to obtain whiteness and white privilege.

5.4 Heritage, Generation, Transnationalism and Mobility

5.4.1 The intersections of privileged mobility

The role of the ‘immobile’ others in the transnational social field

In my discussion on transnationalism in Chapter Three, I highlight that transnationalism does not always involve mobility. Thus, people can lead transnational lives through communication and through a transnational social field. That transnational social field includes immobile others, who themselves do not move, but facilitate transnationalism.

Travel to the ancestral homeland is an important part of transnationalism. As shown in the discussion on everyday lives of white Zimbabweans earlier in this chapter, many white Zimbabweans travelled abroad on holiday as part of their lifestyle, sometimes to an ancestral

homeland. In analysing the everyday transnational lives of people at the micro-level, Faist (2010) highlights that most studies focus on migrant agency and forget to look at the significant others who are left in the emigrant country/region. (Other scholars such as Jorgen Carling and Kerilyn Schewel have also made contributions to migration and transnationalism research on the ‘immobile’). My findings advance Faist’s argument by showing that the state of immobility is not necessarily permanent and that the role of immobility in the transnational social field also depends on how immobility is defined.

In the transnational lives of white Zimbabweans, the role that is played by immobility in facilitating transnationalism is shared due to the temporariness of their own immobility. This means that whoever is immobile at that moment in the transnational social field (whether it is the white Zimbabwean transnationals stationed in Zimbabwe, or their relatives stationed elsewhere) provides a landing post for those who are mobile. This in turn influences the migration route of those who travel, i.e. making it possible for the mobile to travel as visitors, or students with a place to stay, etc.

An individual who is immobile can nonetheless engage in transnationalism, through providing a place to stay for family visiting from elsewhere, a visit which facilitates their own transnationalism. This happens through exposure to the language of elsewhere, food (when their visiting relatives cook for them), culture and closeness, which serves as an investment in the relationship for when they travel and need a place to stay abroad.

Trisha was an immobile transnational while living in Zimbabwe until the age of sixteen. She was part of a transnational social field which included her mother’s Dutch family. In her account, it is clear that her family in Holland brought her closer to her ties with the country so

that while she herself was immobile, her Dutch family's visits to Zimbabwe facilitated her transnationalism. Thus, while Trisha never went to Holland, Holland came to her in the form of her mother's family visiting, until she herself became mobile when she travelled to the UK for the first time at the age of sixteen.

“My grandparents from mom’s side are from Holland. My grandparents from dad were both born in South Africa and my grandmother’s side is from London and my grandfather’s side is from Germany, that’s why I have a German surname. We had no contact at all with our ancestral countries. My mom went to Holland twice. She always spoke Dutch to her family. She tried to teach us but I just wanted to climb trees. We sometimes had my mom’s family come over from Holland to visit. I never went. My first time on a plane was when I was sixteen, coming to the UK with my best friend on holiday.”

The immobile others also play a second role if immobility is not the absence of travel but rather non-migration. With that interpretation, I argue that in another sense, Trisha’s family in Holland can be considered as immobile because they remained living in Holland. The role played by their immobility is that of providing a transnational social field that is capable of changing the positionality of those within it, through official identification. For example, when Trisha decided to move to the UK, she had the option of applying for an EU passport based on her mother’s Dutch heritage. Her mother, who still had family in the Netherlands and maintained close ties with them, had held a Dutch passport until she was eighteen years old, based on which Trisha could also qualify for an EU passport. This brings up the issue of the intersection between heritage, generation and transnationalism and how it positions individuals within the boundary of whiteness.

Obtaining whiteness citizenship through heritage, generation and transnationalism

Trisha is a second-generation Zimbabwean, with her parents having held foreign passports from their ancestral homelands. It was therefore possible, or easier for her, to apply for a Dutch passport based on her mother's previous Dutch passport. For others, the intersection between their transnational social fields and generation positioned them differently in terms of ease in obtaining international passports. Other white Zimbabweans such as Sue, who is a third generation Zimbabwean of Dutch and Irish origin, did not succeed in obtaining an EU passport based on her heritage. In Sue's case, being a third generation Zimbabwean was coupled with the fact that her transnational social field included neither any of her relatives from the Netherlands nor Ireland, and there was therefore no one to facilitate a process of proving her relationship with those countries. Here I am therefore arguing that the intersection between heritage, generation and transnationalism (depending on who is in one's transnational social field and what one's transnationalism can facilitate), can result in a shift in social positionality through providing whiteness citizenship.

Whiteness citizenship is a term I introduce here to refer to the acquisition of official documents, i.e. passports which provide access to the privileges experienced by those who are 'white' because of the identity those documents represent, and the power that identity has because of its position in the global hierarchy of peoples. Harpaz (2019)'s analysis demonstrates that while citizens of Western countries have no incentive to obtain a second citizenship, the demand for second citizenship among citizens from Latin America and Eastern Europe is high. Harpaz concludes that the demand of obtaining a second citizenship is shaped by individuals' positions in the global citizenship hierarchy (*ibid*), a hierarchy which this research argues is based on whiteness. Whiteness citizenship based on heritage is

therefore one of the elements I identify as stemming from pre-emigration transnationalism which includes social fields and embodiments.

While white Zimbabweans in my research endeavoured to obtain EU passports to acquire whiteness citizenship, not all of them succeeded. Whiteness citizenship was very much conditioned by generation, so that those whose parents were born in Europe and had European passports found it easier to obtain EU passports than those who were third generation Zimbabweans, for instance. Here too we see how macro-level power structures draw the boundaries of privilege in order to create differential or relative privilege. As such, in the pre-emigration stage, that is, before a long-term form of migration, European passports for the white Zimbabweans in this research facilitated ease of mobility which was supported by economic privilege. Economic privilege made holiday travel to the ancestral homelands and other parts of the world possible. This supports my next argument that whiteness structures transnationalism, in this case, through determining who, in spite of economic means, has the ease of travel and migration, and who does not.

Transnationalism as conditioned by whiteness citizenship

While transnationalism, as discussed in the previous chapters, has become more complex and virtual through technologies that expand peoples' transnational social fields without physical movement (Vertovec 2009), the mobility element of transnationalism remains important for several reasons. My findings in this research show that the mobility element of transnationalism demonstrates the extent to which transnationalism is structured by whiteness, so that those who have whiteness citizenship and can travel freely, are able to incorporate the mobility aspect more into their particular form of transnationalism. Furthermore, other forms of transnationalism, in terms of keeping in touch with family

members within the transnational social field, are in some cases engaged in for reasons of convenience, such as obtaining EU passports, thus, whiteness citizenship.

Christie, for instance, mentioned that she did not have a good relationship with her dad's side of the family. However, she did have contact with her paternal grandmother who helped her to obtain a British passport.

White Zimbabweans, while being privileged in Zimbabwe and embodying the white skin colour, also felt the need to obtain European passports because possessing them awarded these individuals privilege beyond the borders of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe.

In my conversation with Sue, she expressed: "I looked into all sorts of avenues to get a different passport". Trisha expressed that her first reason for obtaining a Dutch passport was that it allowed her to travel easily without visa restrictions. The other reason was that an EU passport gave her the freedom to go to the UK (this was pre-Brexit) and anywhere else in Europe.

Claire, whose whole family was born in Rhodesia, also made an effort to obtain an Irish passport through an English relative who was born in Ireland.

These conscious efforts to obtain EU passports are with the understanding of the privileges that their possession awards. Sue for example reports that "...when it was Rhodesia, it was very difficult to travel. As a kid we sat in airports because we weren't allowed out of immigration..."

There is therefore a peripheralisation of this group of whites by the macro-level power structures in cases where the white skin colour intersects with elements that are not central to whiteness, or in cases where it intersects with elements that have been purposely excluded from white privilege by those in power, for example, possessing a Rhodesian passport. In Chapter Two, I discussed the sanctions imposed by Britain on Rhodesia after its Unilateral Declaration of Independence, which also included making it difficult for Rhodesian passport holders to travel. Here my findings show that the power, privilege and identity that defines whiteness is not operating in a void. Rather, those who are powerful and have developed power structures to uphold whiteness, (in this case Britain as the colonial master at the time of the UDI) have the power to shift the symbolic border of whiteness which determines who is at its centre and who is at its periphery. Rhodesians like Sue at the time and Zimbabweans like Trisha therefore needed to obtain whiteness citizenship status in order to access the full privilege of ease of travel and migration even as people of white skin colour.

Meanwhile, experiences of those like Nala on trying to obtain a Dubai visa, show the limitations of not possessing whiteness citizenship during the process of migration and travel. Fisher (2018) sheds light on this by arguing that current immigration and border control laws criminalise the mobility of those who threaten the order of modern sovereignty, while celebrating that of those who are part of the ‘good circulation’. Who is good or bad in this circulation is of course layered, but indeed those from the ‘Global South’ are seen with more suspicion than those from the ‘Global North’. This research adds to this view by demonstrating that when those from the ‘Global South’ embody enough qualities to position themselves as close as possible to whiteness, including being racialised as white but more importantly, through the acquisition of whiteness citizenship, they too become part of the ‘good circulation’. My research also presents a case (Sue) which exemplifies the ability of

macro-level power structures to revise the profile of whiteness, and to expand and shrink its boundaries based on political interests, thereby creating differential or relative privilege.

Part of what defined whiteness in Zimbabwe, as has been discussed in Chapter Two, was the economic and social privilege of white Zimbabweans and Rhodesians, which was structurally determined. Sue for example narrates: “Life in Zim was great. I was at a nice privileged school. I came from a privileged background. My parents were farmers; we didn’t struggle for money...”

My earlier discussion on the everyday lives of white Zimbabweans and their transnational social fields shows that economic means were a tool that facilitated transnationalism. Indeed, for white Zimbabweans who saw travel as a part of their lives, this privilege was experienced in moderation by those with Rhodesian passports such as Sue. Levine-Rasky (2009) builds on Anthias’ thinking on intersectionality and power by advancing the understanding of power through a reconsideration of intersectionality theory as applied to the ‘other side’ of power relations, that is intersections of whiteness and middle-classness rather than the more traditional categories of racialisation, gender and working-classes. Levine-Rasky argues that the problem is not so much who has power, but how power is practiced so as to effect political and social advantage. Levine-Rasky’s under-estimation of the importance of ‘who has power’ may be problematic and there may be a need to unpack and challenge it. However, when looking at position and positionality as Anthias suggests, Levine-Rasky leads us to the view that the ways in which whiteness and middle-classness are practiced are also linked to the historical, economic, cultural, political contexts that gave rise to them.

This perspective is linked to the broader problem of social domination that is accomplished through a range of structural and cultural phenomena including race, social class, gender, religion, language, but also historical settlement and immigration policies and so on. The social domination we see in the case of determining the borders of white privilege for the Rhodesians is from the macro-level of the global-reaching power of Britain as a colonial master at the time, and its ability to sanction the subjects of its empire for breaking away as was done by Rhodesia through the UDI. The intersection between whiteness and Rhodesian-ness at the time therefore positioned Sue differently (on the periphery of whiteness) from other whites in an airport situation. Therefore, even though economic privilege and social privilege (to the extent that being white meant superiority), was clear in the pre-emigration phase, this privilege was contained by the limits of international power structures.

This research therefore advances Levine-Rasky's theory by adding the perspective of the malleability of the structural and cultural phenomena that give rise to the social domination of whiteness. I make the argument within the framework of how transnationalism from above shapes transnationalism from below, and argue that those in power, (in this case Britain as a colonial master), can, through their immigration policies (transnationalism from above), redefine the profiles of the in-groups and the out-groups. In this case, the same structures that give rise to whiteness, can, for political and other reasons, limit white privilege, for example, the ease of mobility (transnationalism from below) of the same people who were previously positioned at the centre of whiteness (in this case Rhodesians).

5.5 Transnational mobility, return migration and the notion of belonging

Return migration studies have advanced beyond the simplistic model of migration from origin to destination in which some stayed permanently and others returned after a while. More recent studies capture the complexity of the back and forth in a continuous pattern of migration and re-migration (King and Christou 2011). The ontology of return rather stretches across time, space and generations. The 'place' of return and the type of movement also has various expressions - real, virtual, imagined, desired, forced or denied. The return event can be in the form of brief visits, holidays, an extended stay or permanent return (King and Christou 2011). The return itself can be experienced in several different ways. Returns can be 'journeys of hope but also of despair' (Ghosh 2000), the return can be an 'unsettling path' (Markowitz and Stefansson, 2004), and the returnees may be 'strangers in their homeland' (Tsuda 2003).

Within the experience of return, there seems to be a definitional relationship between cultural heritage, transnationalism and one's sense of belonging. In this relationship, the role of transnationalism in one's sense of belonging is important, and is only fulfilled by specific elements of transnationalism, particularly mobility. In the case of white Zimbabweans in this research, transnational social fields in many cases indeed gave individuals a feeling of belonging in more than one place, particularly when the starting point of that social field was close to them, for instance, if they were a second generation Zimbabwean or Rhodesian. In terms of the weight that individuals place on heritage, there seems to be an active role that mobility as an element of transnationalism plays that other more 'passive' forms of transnationalism do not play. The physical experience of travelling or living in the ancestral home or place of one's heritage leads individuals to a re-construction of their personal narrative of where they belong, depending on how the ancestral home is experienced.

One's positionality in the ancestral home, and therefore one's experience, also shifts depending on the situation and the present 'others' at any given moment in time. While one may experience marginalisation in some instances, they also experience privilege in others, when there is another who is less preferred than themselves. Therefore, while one speaks of the relativity of privilege in this chapter and indeed throughout this thesis, the intersectional elements that place privilege on a spectrum are the same ones that place marginalisation on a spectrum. In this case, privilege is relative to the situation, but also relative to the 'others' in that situation.

5.5.1 The peripheralisation of white Zimbabweans abroad and their reconceptualisation of belonging

Tsuda's (2000) reflection on Brazilian-Japanese return migration to Japan reveals that mobility leads to a re-visitation of one's sense of belonging. Tsuda highlights that social alienation as a subjective feeling of estrangement or detachment from an object, is dependent on an initial identification. Therefore, without prior identification of a specific society as one's 'home' or a source of self-definition, social alienation would not be a truly meaningful possibility (5). This also relates to Ang's (2003) argument as discussed in Chapter Three, on the problems of over-emphasising heritage in diaspora identities. In co-ethnic return migration, the over-emphasis on heritage creates the expectation of belonging to a particular place based on ancestry, creating fertile ground for disappointment and feeling out of place, upon actual co-ethnic return migration. In the case of Brazilian-Japanese co-ethnic return migrants who have negative experiences in Japan in the form of social and economic marginalisation, Tsuda argues that this does not leave them homeless. Instead, it leads to a type of rediscovery of the natal homeland of Brazil, a re-affirmation of the country of birth as their homeland, over the country of ancestry. On this, Tsuda argues that the conceptualisation

of the natal homeland, or the consideration of the natal homeland as home, would not be possible without travel, because only absence from one's country of birth can subjectively reproduce it as a place of nostalgic longing and identification. The similarity between the Japanese Brazilians in Tsuda's study and the white Zimbabweans in my study is that in most cases, particularly for those white Zimbabweans returning to the UK, the two groups are both returning to countries where they are the primary ethnic group and for both, this imagined homeland did not feel like home. My study pushes Tsuda's work further in its finding that this was the case for those with white privilege and UK citizenship.

Marie represents the phenomenon of non-belonging despite having UK citizenship and white privilege, and the subsequent reconceptualisation of her natal homeland as home. Marie, a woman living in South Africa and married to a South African man, grew up on a farm in Zimbabwe. Her mother was British and her father was a second generation Zimbabwean. Her mother very much identified as British. She remembers never understanding it when her mother used to miss the UK at Christmas time because she was homesick. When she grew older, Marie and her family (husband and children), went to live in the UK for a few years. Her husband had received an opportunity to work towards becoming a singer. Upon arrival in the UK, she remembers thinking that this was her mother's home and therefore her home too. After living there for a few years, she realised she could not understand the culture, she did not like the weather. She found it difficult to raise children there, she felt like an outsider and she did not want to live there. For that and other reasons, including the fact that her husband's career as a singer did not take off, Marie and her family returned to South Africa. This realisation came as a surprise to Marie, who had previously thought that she had some claim to the UK and that she somehow belonged there too since it was her mother's home. The experience of having lived in the UK therefore changed the amount of weight she put on

heritage as a determinant of where she belonged, so that, while acknowledging her heritage, she also came to the full regard of herself as a Zimbabwean living in South Africa.

Frida is a representation of the same phenomenon. Frida stresses that:

“I don’t think I’ll ever fit into this country...I’m always the one who would rather go and sit and have a smoke with the Romanians than I would with the English people, cos even at work now, they always say you know, you African people, you know, you don’t know, and I always say, hold on a minute, what are you meaning by “you African people?” I am a heritage here, don’t say I don’t belong here...”

Marie and Frida’s circumstances of non-belonging can be classified on different levels. The unfamiliarity of the culture of the UK and not succeeding in fitting in socially are recognisable in other studies of co-ethnic return migrants such as Tsuda’s. However, there is a second level, which is that of a shift in social positioning and the absence of practical essentials that one was accustomed to, particularly in the case of Marie who is a travel journalist in South Africa, became a Masters student while in the UK, thus shifting social positionality. In terms of raising children, the structures for help in raising children were different from what she was accustomed to in Zimbabwe and South Africa (domestic workers for example).

I argue therefore that social positionality and the absence of practical essentials play a key role in peripheralising co-ethnic return migrants despite the global position of whiteness given to them. I make this analysis within the framework of the role of ‘locale’ in Anthias’ translocation lens in intersectionality, pointing out that the social positioning of white Zimbabwean co-ethnic return migrants, as well as what is locally available to them (including

materialistically) and what is lacking, influences their sense of belonging or non-belonging.

In other words, hardship can result in feelings of non-belonging in the ancestral homeland and nostalgia for the natal homeland.

The non-belongingness of white Zimbabweans in this study and the peripheralisation they experience upon co-ethnic return migration also has a socio-historical background which is tied to whiteness. While Tsuda (2000) explains the marginalisation experienced upon return to the ancestral land as a result of the subjective identification of a place that one identifies as home, I draw on Quijano (2000) to provide an alternative perspective to this subjective identification. On reflecting on the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference's partitioning of the African continent into European colonies, Quijano highlights that the related process of classifying human beings according to race took the form of consistent inferiorisation of non-white races and the reconstruction of Western identities as white, European and American. Quijano argues that this process was predicated on a process of superiorisation of white races. Therefore, while subjectivity in the conceptualisation of the ancestral homeland plays a significant role in the experience of marginalisation, in the case of white Zimbabweans, it is important to place this subjectivity within its historical context. Quijano's stated process of the superiorisation and inferiorisation process of whites and non-whites respectively means that white Zimbabweans find themselves in a pre-defined context in which whites are constructed as superior and belonging to the 'West'. The subjective identification of the ancestral homeland, e.g. the UK, as a place to which white Zimbabweans belong, thus also stems from societal imposition, so that people assign themselves the identity that society expects from them. Of course, in the case of white Zimbabweans, as I have discussed in my previous section on acquiring whiteness citizenship, there is a consciousness of the privileges of that identity that are useful to call upon when they are needed.

This research presents another angle to the discussion of superiorisation/ inferiorisation of human beings by arguing that the imposition of an identity, in terms of identifying white Zimbabweans as superior and belonging to the ‘West’, creates fertile ground for non-belongingness to be experienced upon migration. This happens because of the over-emphasis on race/ethnicity, creating the illusion that race is the primary pre-condition for belonging. This over-emphasis on race overlooks other elements with which race, more specifically, the white skin colour, intersects to place people in positions that are socially peripheralised, including upbringing. Gill for example narrates: “I see the difference between myself and my British friends. They are more easily happy and mind about things I don’t mind about. Perhaps it is related to upbringing.”

The ways in which my interviewees experience non-belongingness also demonstrate that those who practice agency over the socially imposed ‘identity’ are better able to manage their expectations of belonging, both in Western countries, and in countries like South Africa where whiteness is arguably still quite central.

Kendall, a white Zimbabwean woman living in Spain, is an example of agency over the socially imposed identity of belonging to the ‘West’ on the basis of being white. She states:

“I always introduce myself as Zimbabwean. I always find myself saying, hi, I’m Kendall I’m from Zimbabwe...” It depends on peoples’ level of education how they react but I’ve had responses like ...Oh you mean Rhodesia, or “...but you are white”.

The expected mutual exclusiveness between being white and being African or Zimbabwean can be explained by existing racial hierarchies or perceptions of where the white race ‘belongs’ and are consistent with Quijano’s (2000) explanation of constructing Western identities as white. The reactions indicate the societal expectation to identify with the positioning of whiteness.

Kendall explains that while she identifies as Zimbabwean, she feels integrated and comfortable in Spain. She speaks fluent Spanish, has a dark skin tone which is influenced by her Greek heritage which people associate with being Spanish. She mentions that she therefore ‘feels at home’ in Spain. Unlike Marie, Kendall did not arrive in Spain expecting to belong, and the feeling of belongingness took some time. My intention here is not to make comparisons between these two cases, bearing in mind that one is a case of co-ethnic return migration to the UK and the other is a case of immigration to a foreign country, Spain. I do, however, point out the differences to advance my argument that the feeling of non-belongingness may be facilitated by the initial expectation that one belongs to a place by arguing that this expectation, while it is at times imposed on white Zimbabweans by society, can also be rejected at a personal level. The agency to reject this socially imposed identity in turn seems to limit expectations of belonging to the ‘West’ on the basis of being of white skin colour. I will bring up later in Chapter Six how the rejection of belonging to the West is at times used by the white Zimbabweans in my research as a way of instrumentalising transnationalism to navigate out of the social positions that are imposed upon them.

5.5.2 Differential whiteness in relation to the situation, to ‘others’ in the situation and to subjectivity

The reactions faced by Kendall upon introducing herself as Zimbabwean as discussed above can also be seen as invitations to whiteness. The invitation to whiteness or ‘Western-ness’ is relative and shifting, as Anthias (2008) rightfully points out when referring to the shifting positionalities based on intersectional elements. These shifting positionalities in this research are based on elements such as social class, race and linguistic proficiency amongst others.

The experience of Trisha, a young woman living in the UK, presents nuances that demonstrate the classifications within the ‘in group’ of whiteness or Western-ness. These are characterised by perceived social class and language proficiency.

Trisha narrates that while working in a hardware shop in a small town in England, there was often ill-talk about ‘immigrants’ referring specifically to the Polish and the Romanians. When Trisha would indicate that she was also an immigrant, the response she was given was: “...well, at least you speak proper English.”

In this case, proficiency in the English language determines inclusion and exclusion. The intersection of the white skin colour and EU citizenship with poor proficiency in the English language results in exclusion from British whiteness for the Romanian others. Trisha explains that during her time in the UK, she has come to understand that Romanians and the Polish are “the Nigerians of white people”. They are burdened with the stereotype of dishonesty, are known for doing the undesirable jobs and in the British class system, they are generally associated with the lower class. This speaks to Moore (2013)’s assessment of Eastern Europeans’ experiences in the English countryside, which is based on the British class system and binaries in deciding who belongs and who does not. In this case, ‘the ‘scrounger’ stereotype’ (Morris 2013) of the Romanians, because of the socio-economic challenges of

their country which rank them lower (economically) within the EU, could be taken into account as an element that intersects with whiteness to position Romanians on the periphery of whiteness. These elements seemingly intersect with whiteness to position Romanians on the periphery, particularly in a country such as the UK, where classism continues to influence social dynamics and positions in the social hierarchy. On the other hand, Trisha as a post-colonial white immigrant, finds herself at the top of the migrant hierarchy and being granted the position of whiteness.

At the same time, this invitation to whiteness on the basis of being a post-colonial white immigrant is not universal. Frida's experience of having to invite herself to whiteness by challenging being called an African and claiming that she is of British heritage and belongs there demonstrates a different dynamic of exclusion. At the same time, it represents the complexity of white Zimbabweans negotiating between two identities. In the case of Frida, she also emphasises her Africanness, her attachment to the villages in Zimbabwe and the good values of Zimbabwe that she holds onto and which continue to shape her life. As part of the way she identifies herself, she feels more comfortable in the company of more marginalised groups, such as the Romanians, than the English. At the same time, she attempts to negotiate her British identity through claiming her British heritage when her Africanness becomes emphasised in a negative way and when she is told "you Africans don't know anything".

Thus, the specific dynamics of the local context determine the social hierarchy and how individuals' intersectional elements position them on that hierarchy. A vivid quote to explain this phenomenon is that of Balibar and Wallerstein (1991). Balibar's work is seen as foundational for neo-racism and political belonging thinking in Europe in many migration

studies approaches and in leftist anti-globalisation activism (Tudor 2017). On reflecting on who counts as an ‘immigrant’ in France, Balibar and Wallerstein point out:

“More generally, the word “immigrant” is a catch-all category, combining ethnic and class criteria, into which foreigners are dumped indiscriminately, though not all foreigners and not only foreigners. [...] A Portuguese, for example, will be more of an “immigrant” than a Spaniard (in Paris), though less than an Arab or a Black; a Briton or a German certainly will not be an “immigrant,” though a Greek may perhaps be [...].” (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991, 221).

Balibar and Wallerstein’s analysis offers the perspective of breaking down white peoples into ethnicities and showing the different positionalities of those ethnicities, in the same way that my research findings reveal the whiteness of post-colonial white migrants, i.e. white Zimbabweans in the UK, in comparison to non-English speaking whites such as the Polish. While their point speaks to the character of the locale, my research takes it further by suggesting that ethnicity should not be over-emphasised as a main determinant of social positionality. Therefore, while race may be an important determinant of social positionality in Australia, it may be less important in the UK, where class may be more important, and so forth. Sue, who has lived in both South Africa and the UK, points to the preoccupation with class in the UK, while when she talks about South Africa, she focuses on race. Anna, who has lived in both Australia and the UK, points to the importance of the Australian accent to integration in Adelaide, while when she talks about the UK, she talks about her dress code and the way she ‘looks’ as marking her ‘different’.

In addition to differential privilege being something that is determined by social positionality, in turn determined by the dynamics of the locale, my research demonstrates that differential privilege is also determined by subjective experience. Where the same dynamic is a focal point in two different places, the way in which that dynamic is experienced from one location to another is different. The intersectional lens of this research offers this perspective, and the

reflections on the findings in Chapter Six show how context shapes the subjective experiences of individuals. For example, being middle-class in Zimbabwe is experienced differently than being middle-class in the UK. Upon migration, even where it is possible to export one's social class, its subjective experience becomes different. A more vivid way to understand this is through Anna's comment:

“what money can buy me in the UK is not the same as what money can buy me in Zim”.

When intersections are introduced, this experience becomes even more complex and more specific, involving elements such as personal values, meaning, etc.

To support the view on the importance of questioning the classical “race-class-gender” triad as to how much they matter or what they actually mean in a certain place, I draw on Oyēwùmí (2005), who challenges gender studies with a focus on Africa, saying that any “serious scholarship on the place of ‘gender’ in African realities must of necessity raise questions about prevailing concepts and theoretical approaches”.(n.p). This is due to the fact that theoretical concepts of gender in the social sciences have usually been developed with reference to gender arrangements and gender regimes in white middle-class Euro-American social contexts (with nuclear families and a male-breadwinner model). Thus, the construction of “African women” as a group and the construction of “gender oppression” as a relevant form of oppression is, first of all, a theoretical assumption that has to be questioned: “To what extent does a gender analysis reveal or occlude other forms of oppression?” (Oyēwùmí 2005, n.p). Oyēwùmí asserts that “seniority” for example is a more fundamental, but situational and fluid concept of hierarchical and non-hierarchical differentiation in Yoruba societies. This analysis fits within the framework of Anthias' (2008) translocational lens which defines

location as context, meaning and time, so that how much categories matter in a place depends on the meaning that has been given to them as well as the context and the time in that place.

My research expands Oyěwùmí's view by contending that there is an element of subjectivity that plays a role in how much social categories matter. Gill for example, lives in the UK where class is a preoccupation. She, albeit being Zimbabwean, lives a comfortable upper-middle class lifestyle in the UK and is therefore not uncomfortably positioned when it comes to social class. However, what bothers her is friends who are easily pleased by material things and the lack of opportunity to have the kind of space she had growing up. Similarly, Jed, who was based in Geneva and had a good job and comfortable lifestyle there, decided to go back to Zimbabwe. He highlighted that it was a lifestyle decision, where he felt that with a little less than he was earning in Geneva, he could have a better life in Zimbabwe in the sun and freedom. It is therefore not that he was not experiencing whiteness or privilege in Geneva, but rather that he was not experiencing the kind of whiteness that he valued.

In examining the multi-layered transnationalism of white Zimbabweans and differential whiteness, both Gill's and Jed's examples demonstrate that even if the dynamics of the context or the locale position these individuals favourably in the objective sense, there is still a strong sense of attachment to their identities in the natal homeland. Thus, the fact that their social positioning abroad, however favourable, is a different kind of whiteness, and inconsistent with their values as determined by their social positioning in Zimbabwe, makes the individuals still feel a sense of non-belonging. In this sense, my research suggests that in the same way that ethnicity should not be over-emphasised as a main determinant of social positionality, the role of context and the locale should also not be considered in isolation of

the subjective values of the individuals when looking at these particular multi-layered transnationals.

Additionally, on the issue of subjectivity, my findings show that individuals have the agency to transcend the social positionalities that have been assigned to them. Sue, for example, as I will also discuss on the issue of performative transnationalism in Chapter Six, indicates that when she lived in the UK she dressed differently and was therefore not part of the class scrutiny, as it was understood that she was from Africa and therefore was seen as exotic, and exempt from the class system. This performative socio-cultural transnationalism can be seen as a migrant's agency to transcend the social positionalities that are imposed on them by the local dynamics of a place.

Finally, Trisha's experience demonstrates that the post-emigration whiteness upon co-ethnic return, while it can be differential, can also be in a more diminished version, and this can further contribute to feelings of not belonging. Trisha's invitation to whiteness is taking place on the margins of the whiteness as she knew it before, so that in this case Trisha finds herself as a blue-collar worker in a DIY shop, a far cry from the whiteness they knew in Zimbabwe, which was characterised by social and financial privilege.

“...We lived in town and when I was 7 we moved to a farm. For about 5 years we had the farm. At the same time my dad is an electrical engineer so he had a company in town doing that but had the farm doing fruit farming... Life was amazing. I had brilliant friends. We had a social life, we played a lot of sports, typical of private school. I ...travelled a lot ...” says Trisha.

5.6 Re-conceptualising a homeland that no longer exists

My findings in this research lead me to argue that mobility as an element of transnationalism can actually lead to a transformation of one's form of transnationalism, from a transnationalism of belonging to a transnationalism of being. Having 'returned' to their ancestral homeland, experienced discomfort in the form of feeling like an outsider, and re-conceptualised the natal home as the actual homeland, white Zimbabweans may continue in their transnational ways afterwards, also because their transnational social field continues to exist. However, their transnationalism at that point may no longer be considered as a way of belonging elsewhere but simply a way of being. To this extent it does seem that post-emigration transnationalism is significantly different from pre-emigration transnationalism in the way that it is conceptualised and practiced.

Tsuda (2000)'s resolution to the alienation in one's ancestral homeland is the re-conceptualisation of the natal homeland. For some white 'Zimbabweans' herein lies a double dilemma in the form of marginalisation by the ancestral homeland and a natal homeland that no longer exists.

Claire represents the phenomenon of being a transnational of a place that no longer exists as a political entity. She is a woman living in South Africa. Her whole family was born in Rhodesia, but she obtained an Irish passport through an English relative who was born in Ireland. Claire moved to South Africa in 1978 with her family at the brink of Zimbabwe's independence which was finalised in 1980. Her parents were wary of the black rule that would come with independence and thus the move to South Africa. Claire was 15 years old at the time.

When asked about her sense of belonging and relationship with her heritage, Claire reported:

“A lot of us have dual citizenship and retain the generally British values and ways, but would tend to keep quiet about ‘whenwe’² talk as others get fed up with it. The African identity is very much there from the side of the Brits to us and from our side. We are totally not British to them, but our overlapping British ways are merely a curiosity for Brits, who prefer to distance themselves from the unacceptable regime of exploitation and domination, even though they caused colonies, and distance from us due to independence from them in 1965. I consider the British when I lived there to be a hard bunch, distrustful and difficult to befriend even though one of them got engaged to me, but it didn’t work. He may as well have been from Mars. The African influence on us made us better for it, while the source of white supremacy being the Brits, was as potent as ever and regrettably is residual in us as well.”

The dilemma of feeling marginalised in one's ancestral homeland after having conceptualised it as one's 'home' comes across in Claire's narrative and is similar to that of Sue's and consistent with Tsuda (2000)'s analysis as has been discussed. Claire highlights more explicitly the lived experience of perceiving the British as distancing themselves from post-UDI Rhodesia on the moral basis of rejecting the exploitation and domination of the post-UDI regime, without taking cognisance of the role of colonialism in developing the narratives and foundations of this exploitation. In Tsuda's reflection, the dilemma of not belonging to one's ancestral land is resolved by reconceptualising one's natal homeland. Indeed, this

² Whenwe is a term used, for the most part, by white Zimbabweans to refer to whites who refused to make the mental migration from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe and thus still identify as Rhodesians. They are called whenwe's because of their tendency to talk about the good old days of when it was still Rhodesia.

applies to many white Zimbabweans who begin to emphasise Zimbabwe as their home even more after having lived elsewhere, including in their ancestral homelands. However, in this research, I find differences in how this is resolved: there are differences between those who migrated from Zimbabwe after having lived there in the post-independence period and those who left while it was still Rhodesia, and therefore did not actually live in the ‘new’ Zimbabwe. In this case, the difference is not so much the period of migration as it is the opportunity or choice of having mentally migrated from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. For those who emigrated as Rhodesians and do not feel that they can call themselves Zimbabweans, like Claire, the question becomes: what happens to this sense of belonging when one identifies with the natal homeland as home but the natal homeland no longer exists as such?

When talking about moving from Rhodesia to South Africa as a child, Claire says:

“...I need to add that being forced to leave the country as a child who couldn’t make decisions, I never recovered from and never truly assimilated to any other country, so am left hanging to this day, as if in limbo.”

In terms of how Claire identifies herself, she narrates that she has a Rhodesian African identity, but not Zimbabwean and not white. She identifies with Rhodesia because she has not managed to assimilate into the whiteness in South Africa, and yet cannot call herself Zimbabwean. At the same time, she makes conscious efforts to distance herself from whiteness. I will discuss the issue of being non-white or racial treason in more detail in Chapter Seven on how white Zimbabweans engage with whiteness.

On the issue of how heritage and transnationalism are lived out in this case, Uusihakala (2008)'s work on ex-Rhodesians living in South Africa provides an interesting perspective on the subject of heritage, transnationalism and belonging. Uusihakala (2008)'s research looks at ex-Rhodesians in South Africa through a diasporic framework. The element of transnational ways of being and belonging persists in the way of rituals, meaningful artefacts and the sharing of memories as part of the '*whenwe*' community, which Claire expresses that ex-Rhodesians: "tend to keep quiet about '*whenwe*' talk as others get fed up with it."

In Uusihakala (2008)'s work, the capturing of Rhodesia as a place of belonging and homeland escapes geographical definitions and is about a sense of experience grounded in and emanating from place, a shared idea inseparable from the people in that place and the way of life it enabled. In the case of ex-Rhodesians, such a conceptualisation of homeland is ambiguous. Uusihakala (2008) highlights that although a homeland is never just a geographically determinable place, it is still situated and localised, in this case significantly within a territory upon which other people make rightful claims. While the ex-Rhodesians might have decisively made themselves at home and shared a unifying sense of belonging in Rhodesia, the colonial politics of segregation excluded Africans from their ancestral lands, their "places of belonging." Thus, "the problem with Rhodesia" is not only that it does not exist anymore, but that even when it existed, its legitimacy as homeland for the whites could be justifiably contested politically and morally, particularly in this postcolonial moment. This presents a double dilemma of sensing belonging to a place that does not exist anymore as a political entity, and at the same time, realising that the belonging is full of disquiet and ambiguity (*ibid*). Indeed, even among white 'Zimbabweans' in this research, those who identify as Zimbabweans tend to openly distance themselves from those who continue to identify as Rhodesians due to this politically and morally contested identity. Both these

elements are bound to create a unique type of transnationalism. Claire reflects on this ambiguity and elements of this transnationalism when she talks about leaving Rhodesia:

“My African side was learned later in South Africa when I dedicated my life to undoing what all colonisers did. But for all of us who left it was an extremely painful and reluctant move, because we all loved the country fiercely. It was ours, only it wasn’t. If that had been understood and we didn’t colonise but fit in, there would have been no need for the bush war and leaving.”

Without aiming for direct comparisons, it is useful to draw upon diaspora literature for a more in-depth understanding of the non-existent homeland dilemma of transnational Rhodesians, particularly because the ‘*whenwes*’ living in South Africa (also referred to by Claire) identify themselves as a Rhodesian diaspora.

Looking at the Russian diasporas after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Kolstø (1996) brings to light the distinction between diasporas who are diasporas because they are far removed from home and those who are stranded groups of contracted multinational states such as those created in Eastern Europe in the twentieth century - the Hungarian, Serbian and Russian diasporas. The dynamics of diasporas resulting from the disintegration of multinational states differ from those of Rhodesians. However, there are similarities to be drawn to the extent that Brubaker (2000) calls stranded groups of contracted multinational states ‘accidental diasporas’. Here Brubaker highlights that, unlike other migrant diasporas, “accidental diasporas crystallize suddenly following a dramatic and often traumatic reconfiguration of political space” (2). Indeed this description applies to Rhodesians, both those who remained in Zimbabwe after independence (as they found themselves as a diaspora

of the previous Rhodesia while still physically in the same place); and those who had already emigrated, but still regarded Rhodesia as their home, as in the case of Claire.

Kolstø's (1996) typology of possible identities of post-Soviet Union Russians asks important questions that mirror the identity choices or dilemmas of Rhodesians who live a transnational life, between their current host country and Rhodesia, which like the Soviet Union, no longer exists as a political entity. Kolstø's typology foresaw three political options for Russian diasporas after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Two of these include Russians remaining loyal to the historical political boundaries of the Russian state up to and including attempts to resurrect it, and loyalty towards the present and much reduced Russian state, the Russian Federation. This mirrors the options between remaining loyal to Rhodesia and mentally migrating to Zimbabwe.

I argue, however, that whichever option is taken as a political stance is not detached from memory and nostalgia of diasporas. It is my analysis that whether individuals mentally migrate to Zimbabwe or choose to mentally remain in Rhodesia, they can still engage in transnational ways of being which are based on Rhodesia. In this case, the political stance taken serves to show whether the transnationalism that people are engaged in represents transnational ways of being or transnational ways of belonging.

Hence those who consider themselves to be Zimbabwean engage in transnational ways of being in reference to Rhodesia, out of remnant habits of a lifestyle they lived. Indeed, this comes across in the memories of my interviewees, where they reminisce about certain songs from home and phrases that they used as children. The songs they reminisce about are Afrikaans songs that were more common in Rhodesia among the whites than among the

majority Zimbabweans. Yet while these memories are of a life lived in Rhodesia, they reminisce in the context of Zimbabwe as home, as while they chose to make the mental migration from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, they cannot undo the fact that their childhood was lived during the time of Rhodesia.

Meanwhile those who refused to make the mental migration from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe and indeed still consider themselves as Rhodesian, would engage in transnational ways of belonging to Rhodesia through insisting on an identity. In this research, this is observed particularly with Rhodesians in their Facebook group discussions in statements like:

“Rhodesians never die” or “...why can you people not govern yourselves? We should just bring Rhodesia back.”

Uusihakala (2008) finds that Rhodesians in South Africa regard themselves as a Rhodesian diaspora and indeed engage in transnational ways of belonging as they continue to see themselves as belonging to Rhodesia. Other white Zimbabweans who emigrated when the country was still Rhodesia interpret their transnational ways as transnational ways of belonging to Zimbabwe, and not Rhodesia, even though they never actually lived in Zimbabwe. The psychology behind this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this analysis, however, one may suggest that this phenomenon is representative of the disquietness, to some, of Rhodesia as a home, such that it cannot be claimed even in memory.

In *After Yugoslavia: the cultural spaces of a vanished land*, Gorup (2020) collects essays, articles, inquiries and interventions which among other things represent the former Yugoslav cultures and post-Yugoslav spaces, even critically. What remains, therefore, is that in spite of the fact that Rhodesia (as problematic as it was); Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union no longer

exist, the high-level choices of acceptance and mental migration to the new political dispensations are still not detached from lived experiences and memories of the former dispensations, and while the places do not exist as political entities, they exist in the memories of their diasporas. In this sense, broader questions can be asked about similarities between other diasporas and those whose homelands no longer exist in the form that they used to. Below I attempt to analyse this further.

Pasura's (2010) five phases of Zimbabwean migration are based on a timeline of events between colonial Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and the post-colonial era. If the third phase of migration, which was due to the Ndebele genocide (Gukurahundi), and the current fifth phase of migration, which was due to economic hardship and political instability, are considered, a number of events can be traced within this timeline, including the end of the thirty-eight year rule by Robert Mugabe in 2018. It may therefore be argued that the political and social space of Zimbabwe has evolved in the last thirty-eight years and that even Zimbabweans who emigrated in the post-independence era, for example those who emigrated in the third phase, may find that the country no longer exists in the form that it used to.

My suggestion therefore is that from the point of view of the colonisation vs. post-colonisation era, indeed Rhodesian transnationals who regard themselves as diasporas are diasporas of a place that no longer exists. However, in terms of the diasporic experiences of nostalgia and memory, I argue that even without the radical historical shifts such as the formal end of colonisation; the fall of the Soviet Union, the disintegration of Yugoslavia, gradual and sudden changes happen in the political and social spaces of 'home' so that many diasporas have memories of places that no longer exist as they remember them. Therefore, in the case of Rhodesians in this research, transnational ways of belonging to a place that no

longer exists certainly draws parallels with diasporas of radical changes in political spaces such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. However, it arguably also draws parallels with other diasporas of less radical historical events including some of the non-white Zimbabweans for whom Zimbabwe has changed over the years so that the 'home' they remember no longer exists as such.

5.7 Conclusion

This first empirical chapter has examined the everyday lives of white Zimbabweans before they emigrated from Zimbabwe and has thereby demonstrated aspects of the whiteness they experienced in Zimbabwe and the differential and relative privilege attached to that whiteness. This differentialism was based on intersectional elements such as gender and sexuality. The chapter has also examined the role of transnational social fields in determining migration routes as well as their relationship with accidental migration and, in turn, how accidental migration, which leads to transnationalism, is a marker of economic privilege and the privilege of ease of travel which results from whiteness.

The chapter then moved on to a discussion on the conscious acquisition of what I have called whiteness citizenship, referring to the acquisition of official documents, i.e. passports which provide access to the privileges experienced by those who are 'white' because of the identity they represent and the power that identity has because of its position in the global hierarchy of peoples. I have engaged with my findings to examine the intersections between generation and heritage in obtaining whiteness citizenship highlighting that whiteness is conditioned by generation. I have also examined the way in which transnationalism is conditioned by

whiteness, arguing that those who have whiteness citizenship can travel more and thus can incorporate the mobility element into their transnationalism.

In this chapter, I have also engaged with my findings to examine what transnational mobility means for identity and the sense of belonging, highlighting that the sense of belonging to the West is an imposed identity on white Zimbabweans that facilitates the sense of non-belonging upon migration. Further, I have demonstrated that there is some agency among white Zimbabweans to reject this imposed sense of belonging, so that they do not expect to belong to the West based only on their race or ethnicity. My findings have also demonstrated that while macro-level power structures such as immigration policies impose certain social positionalities on individuals, the subjective experiences may be different and more dependent on other embodied elements that might still result in experiencing white privilege. Thus, in the same way that ethnicity and race should not be over-emphasised as the main determinants of social positioning, I argue that the subjectivities of individuals should also be taken into account when examining the role of the locale in determining social positioning. This stems from the findings that white Zimbabwean transnationals, even when favourably positioned according to the local context, still feel a lack of belonging because the differential whiteness they experience does not match their subjective values.

Furthermore, white Zimbabweans also subjectively use socio-cultural transnationalism to transcend the social positions into which contexts and locales force them. This is a point I will discuss further in Chapter Six. Having established that the sense of non-belonging upon migration results in the reconceptualisation of the natal homeland as home, I have engaged with the dilemma of Rhodesian transnationals and diasporas. On this I have looked into the shifts between transnational ways of being and belonging to Zimbabwe and Rhodesia. I have

also argued that while radical events such as the dissolution of political entities such as Rhodesia result in disquiet and accidental diasporas, gradual shifts in political and economic systems also result in cases where diasporas of existing countries may also be diasporas of countries that no longer exist as they remember them.

In the following chapter, I build on these themes to focus more on the post-migration transnational experiences of white Zimbabweans. Here I will further examine the duality and multi-layered nature of white Zimbabwean transnationalism with a strong focus on transnational ways of being and belonging within the context of intersectionality and whiteness.

Chapter Six : Post-emigration transnationalism

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the second component of the multi-layered dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans. The chapter builds on the pre-emigration transnationalism of white Zimbabweans to understand their post-emigration transnationalism. It is with this second step that they become dual transnationals. Drawing on my empirical data, I demonstrate in this chapter the different ways in which whiteness conditions the post-emigration transnationalism of white Zimbabweans. I also examine the intersection of whiteness with other personal characteristics, drawing on the translocational lens to understand the relative social positioning of individuals through context, meaning and time.

In showing the multi-layered nature of white Zimbabwean dual transnationalism, I begin by positing that white Zimbabweans are at the intersection of transnationalism, diaspora and co-ethnic return migrants. Here I discuss the tendencies that make white Zimbabweans a diaspora, focusing on the glorification of home as an objective criterion of diasporas, and how whiteness influences the way in which this glorification of home is experienced and expressed.

I then engage with the different ways in which white Zimbabweans practice their transnational ways of being and belonging. I look into both visible forms of transnationalism and private ones, including the role of embodiments such as accent and language, as well as

socio-cultural transnationalism such as food and dress code. There I demonstrate that post-emigration transnationalism is used as a way of coping with feelings of non-belonging. It is also used in some cases as a way of demonstrating difference. This is in order to resist the social positionalities imposed on individuals by macro-level power structures in the locales in which they find themselves. We see how ordinary people construct the borders of whiteness. Embodied forms of transnationalism are also interpreted differently depending on context, so that differences in accent may either lead to invitations to whiteness or relative peripheralisation.

To further engage with the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans and elements that facilitate or limit it, I look at the frequency of visits to Zimbabwe. There I identify five elements that influence this mobility aspect of transnationalism, namely, length of time abroad; the presence of close family and friends in the natal homeland; emotional coping; geographical proximity and socio-economic status. I bring this discussion to the transnational activities of white Zimbabweans, where I make the connection between home visits and the transnational activities of white Zimbabweans. There I argue that the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, as it is expressed in the activities in which my interviewees engage, can produce narratives that are different from colonial narratives on Africa.

In the last section of the chapter, I conceptualise the white Zimbabwean transnational diaspora. There I argue that the dynamics around whiteness, as presented in my research, may make it challenging for white Zimbabweans to subjectively identify themselves as members of a diaspora, despite exhibiting objective diaspora characteristics. Finally, I reflect on the different locales to the extent possible, specifically the UK and South Africa, and suggest that

the extent to which white Zimbabwean emigrants feel like outsiders also influences the type of dual transnational activities with which they engage.

6.2 The dilemma of multi-layered transnationalism for migrants: Between co-ethnic return migrants, transnationalism and diasporas

6.2.1. Diasporic nostalgia and the glorification of the natal homeland

Portes *et al.* (2007) define migrant transnationalism as a broad category referring to a range of practices and institutions linking migrants, people, and organisations in their homelands or elsewhere in a diaspora.. Transnationalism from below is therefore the creation of a new social space spanning at least two nations and is fundamentally grounded in the daily lives, activities and social relationships of ordinary people (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1992).

This thesis draws on the commonly agreed-upon characteristics of diaspora – in particular, Patterson's (2006) definition of diaspora as a people possessing a collective memory and myth about and sentimental and/or material links to a homeland, which fosters a sense of sympathy and solidarity with co-ethnic diasporans and with presumed kin in the ancestral homeland. These diasporic communities can be as concrete as individuals dispersed from, yet with tangible, ongoing connections to, a given clan in a given village in a homeland or, conversely, as ideological as a construct or myth about a homeland in which specific individuals or even their parents or their grandparents have never visited, much less resided. Amongst these diasporas, there is affinity towards fellow ethnic group members, so that personal and collective identities are often conflated in complicated ways. These diasporas

are socialised around the enduring quality of “racially-based” ethnicity, which affects the core of their identities (1896).

Within the framework of diasporas as identifiable based on objective or subjective criteria (Sökefeld 2006), my research shows that while some individuals may not necessarily call themselves a diaspora, their specific kind of transnationalism objectively positions them at the intersection of transnationals and diasporas.

In this case, white Zimbabwean transnationalism comprises some elements of diasporas, particularly remembering the homeland as an idyllic setting. (I use the phrase ‘some’ here in relation to my above definition of diaspora and will later argue towards the end of this chapter, why the dual diasporism of white Zimbabweans is so complex). As such, Zimbabwe is glorified without reflecting on its negative aspects, and even where its negative aspects are mentioned, there is a tendency to mention them as aspects that can be easily overcome once one is back there – a phenomenon often seen among diasporas. Some of the aspects that may have motivated emigration are now, from afar, reflected on as things that can be overcome. Trisha, for example, says that, because “I am older and wiser now and I’ll know what to do” – on being a lesbian and fearing how Zimbabwean society treats lesbians. Zimbabwean society has not, however, changed significantly over time, and her imagined ability to cope may well be illusory.

Whether or not white Zimbabweans identify explicitly as diasporas, my research shows that they present tendencies that are typical of diasporas. Therefore, whether they are co-ethnic return migrants or dual transnationals, certain tendencies position them at the intersection of co-ethnic return migrants, dual transnationals and a diaspora. One main tendency is the

glorification of the homeland. Below I identify two aspects of this tendency, specifically the glorification of the homeland's nature, culture and social values. In these sections, particularly on the glorification of nature, I refer to the socio-historical roots of whiteness in the construction of nature, arguing that in addition to the glorification of nature being a tendency of diaspora, in this case, the glorification of nature is also influenced by whiteness.

This research finds the tendency to glorify the homeland among both Rhodesian '*whenwes*' and white Zimbabweans. Therefore, some of these diasporic memories are from a childhood that was lived in Rhodesia, even though the interviewees did make the mental migration to Zimbabwe and call themselves white Zimbabweans. We can apply the term '*whenwe*' that is used to refer to those who identify themselves as Rhodesian can also apply to the nostalgia of those who identify as white Zimbabwean.

This section supports my argument by demonstrating that the glorification of the homeland, Zimbabwe, is happening for the second time in the case of white Zimbabweans. This builds onto my discussions in Chapter Two where I discuss that white Zimbabweans can be seen as an imperial diaspora including the reference they make to the Western lifestyle as a model for their own lifestyles and values. Again, in Chapter Five, I demonstrated how the transnationalism of white Zimbabweans is also conditioned by Western heritage. The post-emigration diasporism is thus happening twice, positioning white Zimbabweans as what I am calling dual transnationals.

Glorifying nature

Members of the diaspora often glorify the homeland – and the white Zimbabweans with whom I spoke are no exception. Among my white Zimbabwean respondents, this

glorification of the homeland is represented by a strong glorification of Zimbabwe's nature, as will be presented through narratives from my interviewees below. It is not only a glorification of a homeland's nature which is typical to diasporas, but also the specific characteristic of the glorification of nature – as is the case with my respondents. In the case of white Zimbabweans, in addition to the diasporic nature of their glorification of nature, there is also a colonial aspect of how whiteness affects, and even constructs, nature. This includes nature being an escape from engaging with otherness, in this case, blackness, and with other social aspects of Zimbabwe. It also includes constructing nature as something that is discovered by whites, and dependent upon them to conserve it, disregarding the presence of blacks and their role in that space.

The narratives in this section represent both the diasporism of white Zimbabweans and influence of whiteness in that particular element of diasporism. Nala's reflections represent the glorification of nature as part of dual diasporism in that the under-development of Zimbabwe, which is typically viewed as inferior to Western development, is in Nala's post-emigration phase, seen as something representing purity of a place. Nala, a woman living in the UK, tells her son that "Zimbabwe is not as nice as the UK but it has not been ruined by concrete", alluding to its comparative underdevelopment.

Trisha, on the other hand, is implicitly invoking the role of whites in Zimbabwean nature. The socio-historical roots of land conservation in Zimbabwe are strongly anchored in whiteness and the role that white colonials in conserving Zimbabwean land. When Trisha talks about her life growing up on the farm, looking after animals and how she misses the peace and the space, she is thinking of a space that was shaped by white colonial powers. She wants to return to Zimbabwe as an animal conservationist and live in "the bush".

Many of my other respondents made similar mentions of nature in Zimbabwe: Gill talks about how she misses the space and the sounds of nature growing up on a farm, representing the glorification of nature, in the same way as Marie, Jed and Rob. Marie, living in South Africa, mentioned that if her husband left her or died, she would return to Zimbabwe and go back to the days of sitting on a front porch drinking tea with friends. When she dies, she wants her family to spread her ashes over the Great Dyke.

Jed, now living in Zimbabwe, grew up on a farm in Zimbabwe. He was earlier living in Switzerland, and now reflects that when he lived in Switzerland, he had to wear shoes – whereas in Zimbabwe he enjoyed walking without shoes. He inadvertently refers to differences in development between the two countries. Rob, talking about when he first arrived in Rhodesia as a student in the 1960s says: “I can understand how one might miss the nature. The landscape is different, it was like nothing I had ever seen before. I remember once driving past a kopje and thinking...wow!”

In his ethnographic study of white Zimbabweans post-independence, Hughes (2010) criticises farm-based white Zimbabweans for being more attached to the land and the landscape than to the people among them. I have discussed Hughes’ argument in Chapter Two, as well the way in which nature is constructed with respect to whiteness, drawing from Braun (2003). In my research, the point on attachment to the land and nature comes across in the interviewees’ different interpretations of life in Zimbabwe and what interviewees miss the most about Zimbabwe, with those who grew up on farms strongly emphasising a life of nature, beauty, peace, quietness, wilderness and space. While the historical background of how the spaces that are missed were acquired and retained is problematic, as Hughes (2010) demonstrates,

narratives that demonstrate attachment to landscape and land are not uncommon among diasporas whose previous lives were embedded in those lands.

The diasporic aspect of glorification of nature is strongly embedded in white Zimbabweans' accounts of their Zimbabwean homeland. At the same time, the influence of whiteness on nature is equally clear. In Žmegač's (2010) study, several narratives from participants were about the beauty of their village back in Serbia:

"I can't tell you and remember full of sorrow what and how we left. Yes, all that beauty, all that beauty; that soil of ours, I tell you, it is as loose as soot when we work it. And here, the climate is different, everything is different, the air, and everything. Our Slankamen! Oh, God! Fruška gora! What beauty!..."(8).

Ramji (2006) had similar narratives from his participants who were preparing to move back to India from the UK.

"Madhapur is a beautiful place. Where the fields are lush and green and where the sense of community is solid and strong ... I'm going there to enjoy a simple life again"(650).

The attachment to landscape and the beauty of the homeland is not therefore unique to white Zimbabweans and is, indeed, common among groups that can be defined as diasporas. In this sense, co-ethnic return migrants in the UK, and other white Zimbabwean transnationals in other countries possess some characteristics of a diaspora. The additional complexity of being a dual diaspora perhaps also adds to this glorification of home because of the element of comparison. When individuals were in Zimbabwe, they thought they belonged elsewhere, specifically to the West as I have indicated earlier in this section with reference to my discussion in Chapter Two of this thesis. When white Zimbabweans find themselves in Western countries, my research shows a widespread belief that they think Zimbabwe is more beautiful; its comparative under-development becomes glorified as 'simplicity', representing an almost utopian life. These factors position them as dual diasporas who are glorifying a

homeland for a second time. While they were at the pre-emigration phase, there was glorification of the West; now, post-emigration, there is the glorification of Zimbabwe.

Turning to the pre-emigration phase, we can see the glorification of the West represented in the narratives of Luke and Nala:

Nala, who now lives in the UK, does not experience the UK as a perfect place and misses her life in Zimbabwe. Yet she remembers that as a child, her British grandmother always gave her the idea that everything was better in the UK.

Similarly, Luke, who grew up in Zimbabwe, raised by his British parents and who went to the UK as an adult, always wanted to go and settle in the UK. Luke narrates: “Still, I would hire a Zimbabwean any day, Zimbabweans are very hardworking...” Luke’s glorification of the work ethic of Zimbabweans is representative of diasporic nostalgia. Given that he started off glorifying the UK by always wanting to settle there and then, once there, glorifies Zimbabwe through admiring the work ethic of Zimbabweans, Luke clearly demonstrates duality.

Glorifying culture and social values

The other tendency of glorifying the homeland that positions white Zimbabweans as dual diasporas is the glorification of the culture and social values of the homeland which manifests as the glorification of the past to create a nostalgic culture around a lost home (Ghorashi 2007). Homeland landscapes, culture, values and histories may in reality not be as pure and glorious as they are remembered and described by diasporas. The sense of nostalgia results in the comparison of any negative experiences that the diasporas go through in their host countries, with the perfect situation back home.

Similarly to the glorification of nature, the glorification of the homeland's culture and social values shows the diasporic characteristics of white Zimbabweans. At the same time, the way it is expressed also reflects the socio-historic influence of whiteness, including the limited worldview which the social location of whiteness creates for whites. Specifically, in the case of glorifying culture and social values, what comes across is the lack of acknowledgement of the power dynamics between whites and the *others* and the structural inequalities which positioned the white individuals in a social location where *they* were in a position to decide on how to treat the *others*. It also reflects the mutual construction of whiteness and blackness as discussed in Chapter Two, such that the subordination of blacks in their positions as domestic workers enabled whites to construct themselves as upholding values of fairness and equal treatment of people (blacks) in spite of their social positions.

The power dynamic of being in a position to decide how to treat others and how the subordination of blacks enables whites to construct themselves as fair, is demonstrated by the many narratives of interviewees who expressed that they were “raised to treat people equally in spite of their social class”, a characteristic that according to them is different in other whites they interact with in their host countries. This narrative is particularly common among Zimbabweans in South Africa but also those in the UK.

Several interviewees also express that they missed the ways in which their domestic workforce in Zimbabwe was as “good as family” to them. Some do not acknowledge the power inequalities that made it inevitable that domestic help was always polite and willing to serve, and do not question the conditions that negatively affected domestic workers. Others do reflect on the structural inequalities, but do not reflect on how those inequalities may have translated to the subordination of their domestic workers and the workers’ feelings towards

them; while they viewed the workers as family, there is no reflection on what the experience of the domestic workers might have been.

Frida, living in the UK, narrates about her domestic worker in Zimbabwe:

“...she was like my family. I never saw a difference. The only time I saw a difference was when we had to take her to Lobengula...what was that place...the bus station? That’s the first time I ever remember seeing all black people only. And I always used to say, oh why, me I never want to come to this place again. Why can they not come where I want to go...”

Ella, also in the UK, expresses: “she was like my second mom. My mom was always working a lot, especially after my dad left, so she was my second mom...”

These narratives demonstrate the emotional closeness of white Zimbabweans to those who were subordinate to them, the structural inequalities and power dynamics that shaped the relationship between themselves and their domestic workers and their subjective interpretation of what those relationships represented in terms of the values of the Zimbabwean society and themselves. While this glorification of the social values of the homeland is another tendency that positions white Zimbabweans as dual diasporas, the complexity that surrounds it is also demonstrative of the complexity of the dual diasporism of white Zimbabweans and how the issue of power interacts with privilege and identity.

6.3 Embodied and Visible transnationalism

The glorification of ‘things’ from back home is also demonstrated in the transnational ways of being and belonging and the perception of home-related things such as food, work ethic, social values, nature, pace of life. It is all better back home in Zimbabwe. Having demonstrated in the previous section how white Zimbabweans also present characteristics of a diaspora and therefore are a dual diaspora, in this next section I discuss the transnational ways of being and belonging to identify white Zimbabweans as transnationals in their host countries. I draw on my empirical data to reflect how white Zimbabweans live out their transnationalism, in ways of being and ways of belonging and how whiteness conditions that transnationalism in different ways. The discussions also draw on Anthias’ (2008) translocational framework on intersectionality to examine both the impact of whiteness on their particular transnationalism and the impact of individual intersectional embodiments: ‘Bodies are maps of power and identity’ (Haraway 2004, 37–38). Dunn (2010) states that migration research has always been about bodies, with its fundamental concern being the movement of people across space. At the international level, this involves movement across borders, and it is easier for some bodies to negotiate those borders than it is for others. This unevenness makes embodiment important (1).

Embodiment is about the lived experience of the body in its relation to space, place and social relations (Collins 2010). In addition to being maps of power and identity (Haraway 2004), bodies are fundamental to the constitution of space and the reproduction of social relations (Massey 1999; Collins 2010). Bodies are surfaces of social and cultural inscription, hosting subjectivity, pleasure and pain. They are both private and public, material, discursive and psychical (Longhurst 2005, 91). In migration, embodiment not only facilitates or hinders

border crossing but also affects peoples' ability to be incorporated into locations of origin or settlement.

In the study of transnationalism, paying attention to embodiment through an analysis of transnational subjects as bearers of gender, ethnicity, class, race and nationality, reveals the ways in which transnational spaces are constituted through everyday practices and experiences of individuals, families, communities and states (Collins 2010). In this sense, the intersectionality lens is crucial to understand the outcomes of embodiments in terms of the social positions in which intersectionality places individuals. Anthias' (2008) transnational lens in this thesis enables the analysis to go further and understand not only the social positioning based on intersectionality, but also the shifts in social positioning depending on the context. Insofar, we reach a better understanding of the meaning that is attached to the intersections of embodiments in different contexts and time, incorporating historicity and temporality. Transnational lives are lived in both public and private spaces. Some transnational ways of being in the case of white Zimbabweans are embodied or in the form of nationality and accents, while others are visible in actions that respond to embodiments, such as food preferences and eating habits, home decoration, travel to the homeland and social circles. The transnational ways of belonging seem to be more visible and intentional. This visibility has two main implications. The first is the instrumentalisation of visible and intentional transnational ways of belonging – openly claiming belonging elsewhere - as a means of navigating out of uncomfortable social positions. The second is that this intentionally visible foreignness does not necessarily subject white Zimbabweans to marginalisation. These implications demonstrate that, in situations where the intersections of particular constructs could result in unfavourable social positionalities, the white skin colour

limits the extent to which social positionabilities can move. I elaborate on this point shortly on the discussion on dress code.

Visible and intentional transnational ways of belonging include the use of language to set oneself apart, body politics through dress code, and the refusal to lose some embodied elements, for example, the resistance to changing accent and, when perceived necessary, the open declaration of where one is from. The act of transnationalism for white Zimbabweans, who are, or rather can be, invisible immigrants brings the element of visibility vs. invisibility to light. The less of the transnational ways one shows, the more invisible they can become, particularly in countries where those of white skin colour are the primary ethnicity. This means that as a white immigrant, they may blend in and not have to explain where they come from. This is clear from the ways in which some white Zimbabweans who have chosen to completely assimilate and break ties with the natal homeland, for instance, Tracy, have intentionally stopped visiting Zimbabwe, made efforts to lose the Zimbabwean accent and adopted the accent of the host country, adopted the dress code of the locals and limited the transnational social fields of their children.

6.3.1 The use of accent as an embodied form of transnationalism to navigate social positionality

Accent as embodied transnationalism in belongingness and non-belongingness

It is widely accepted that accent is an embodied element for those who leave their home to elsewhere, and that it is a signifier of difference (Leinonen 2014; O'Connor 2010). O'Connor (2010) identifies accent among Irish immigrants in Australia as an embodiment that is difficult to transcend. In Mirza's research (2013), some of her participants identify their accent as an extension of their intersectional being, an extension of the skin colour as a

Muslim, female, Indian, for example. There are, however, differences in the way that accent is considered. In some cases, as in the case of O'Connor, considering accent as an embodiment suggests that accent is as part of the intersectional being as other embodiments such as race and gender which are taken as markers of where to position a person socially.

In my research, while some white Zimbabweans view their accent as a marker of difference, the way in which accent is discussed by others, is less rigid, in that it is described as something that individuals can easily drop at will in order to assimilate. This is a different view from those who, after many years, view their accent as a barrier to assimilation, as though it were something they had no power to change. In addition to these differences, what comes clear is that there are intersectional elements that determine the extent to which accent is problematic to acceptance. While whiteness may be a seemingly obvious element, other elements also play a role, for example the geographical location of the white individual with a different accent.

Anna, who once lived in Australia, highlights that in Adelaide, you had to speak like an Australian or else you would not be accepted. Therefore, within three months, she had acquired an Australian accent. Tracy, who also lives in Australia, emphasises that very few people actually know that she is Zimbabwean because she speaks with an Australian accent and no longer identifies as Zimbabwean. While accent is therefore embodied transnationalism to the extent that it shows Zimbabwean-ness, it is also embodied transnationalism in that once changed to fit that of the host country, it can, there too, symbolise 'belongingness'.

In these cases, the white skin colour becomes less relevant as a significant embodiment in white-majority countries; fewer elements can mark white Zimbabweans as visibly different

from the white locals once they have changed their accent, such as in the case of Tracy, who says, “I can disappear into the crowd.”

Anna, now living in the UK, speaks about her experience in Australia:

“I went to Adelaide for a while. People swear a lot. I loved it though. I found people helpful but if you stay as the ‘whenwe’ club they get annoyed. I didn’t speak about Zim unless I was asked because they weren’t interested. You had to fit in as an Australian, my accent had to change so quickly I sounded like an Aussie in a month. You have to fit in as an Aussie or get out.”

Meanwhile Tracy, whose family migrated to Australia in the late 1990s, speaks with an Australian accent, feels assimilated and no longer associates herself with Zimbabwe. She indicates that she feels Australian, which is made easier by the fact that her family is also in Australia. When asked, she does not hide the fact that she grew up in Zimbabwe, however, the accent she uses on a daily basis is not a cause for suspecting that she is not Australian.

In this sense, it does seem that while accent for certain individuals is an embodiment that is difficult to transcend, for others it is malleable and they are able to fully adopt a new accent and assimilate in this regard. What is apparent in both cases, whether accent is malleable or not, is that the weight of the white skin colour plays a significant role in influencing the social positioning of white Zimbabwean emigrants in certain contexts where the white skin colour is a primary ethnicity, in terms of perceived belongingness and non-belongingness.

Accent made visible as embodied transnationalism to intentionally achieve differential whiteness

In geographical locations where the white skin colour is not the primary ethnicity, in this case, South Africa, accent, as embodied transnationalism, may be used by individuals to achieve their desired social positioning, or to reject an unfavourable social positioning. The interplay of power, privilege and identity as examined in my research shows that not all those who have the social position of whiteness want to assimilate in their countries of settlement. In South Africa, whiteness is seen as an undesirable social positioning by the white Zimbabweans in my research, because of its association with racism and injustice. These white Zimbabweans therefore intentionally choose not to assimilate into it and to remain visibly separate from it. In the case of Claire in South Africa, accent as a form of embodied transnationalism is used visibly and intentionally to achieve that purpose. Yet at the same time, Claire's case demonstrates that there are specificities and differences that are shaped by the majority race of the host country and my participants' own whiteness. This is because, as I will demonstrate shortly, Claire's intentional efforts to achieve differential whiteness, or explicitly, be identified as a foreigner, still leaves her in a position of being an invisible foreigner and a privileged white person, in comparison to black foreigners in South Africa.

Claire has lived in South Africa for over forty years. She distances herself from South African white privilege and what she perceives as the white supremacist attitudes of white South Africans towards other races in South Africa. She thus refuses to be associated with white South Africa and refers to herself as a Rhodesian African, acknowledging that she left Rhodesia when she was a child. On her accent, Claire narrates that her accent continues to be different from the white South African accent and white South Africans consider it to be "larney" (meaning posh). While this is a barrier to assimilation, Claire is happy that it distinguishes her from white South Africans.

Claire's use of accent to distinguish herself from white South Africans echoes the efforts of many other white Zimbabweans living in South Africa. While others accept that they are now South African citizens, there are still efforts made to identify themselves separately from white South Africans, mainly because of their structurally problematic relationship with race, privilege and inequality. Some white Zimbabweans who have lived in other countries such as the UK also provide examples of how they have openly distanced themselves from white South Africans upon being mistaken for them.

Marie narrates that when she and her husband lived in the UK, they met a couple who heard their accents and mistook them for South Africans. Upon being asked, they responded that they lived in South Africa, but were in fact Zimbabwean. The couple then commented that there was indeed something about them that made them suspect they were different from other white South Africans. Marie took this to be a compliment.

These examples show the dilemma of white Zimbabweans as English-speaking white Africans, in that their accent as an embodied element does suggest that they are Southern African, but does not always locate them accurately. In this sense, individuals respond in either of two ways. Some wish to distance themselves from an accent which they feel represents a group of white people, white South Africans, who still hold on to the remnants of colonialism in the form of privilege, inequality and racism, and accordingly (try to) change their accents. A second reaction is to embrace their Zimbabwean accent and draw emphasis to it once again to distinguish themselves from South African whites. In these cases, accent, as embodied transnationalism, is used visibly and somewhat instrumentalised to navigate whiteness and intentionally achieve differential whiteness.

Specifically, accent is used to reflect transnationalism. This transnationalism intersects with whiteness in the South African context, to produce a differential outcome, but which, in the South African context (where the white skin colour is weighty), is still privileged. Additionally, we see here that historical ties and geographical and cultural proximity impose the third country, South Africa, into the transnational social field of white Zimbabweans, forcing them to react to it in the ways in which they practice their transnationalism, thus, in the way they make visible their Zimbabwean-ness to complement their accent as an embodiment.

Accent as a basis for white privilege based on contextual meanings assigned to embodiments

Participants' narratives on accent also reflect the interactions between the majority race of the host country and participants' own whiteness, in which, while the outcome is still a privileged one, differential whiteness presents in different ways in different cases. The experiences of Claire and Trisha are similar in that they are both exempted from foreignness, however, the underlying reasons for this exemption are different. Looking at these cases through a translocational frame, we see that different social structures (broader economic and political institutional frameworks) and processes (broader social relations in all their complexity, including discourses and representations) make a difference. These structures and processes shape the contexts of the intersection of race and accent, and the resulting outcome. In this case, the social structures and processes are represented by the weight that is assigned to the white skin colour, over other categories in each of these contexts, i.e. in South Africa and the UK.

The experiences of Trisha in the UK and Anna in Australia, on the one hand, suggest that accent is malleable to fit the purpose. On the other, they also show an element of

comparability, particularly in Trisha's account, where she highlights that despite her accent, she is not the unwanted immigrant, when compared to those who speak poor English and are understood as being of a lower social class, as in the case of the Polish and Romanian immigrants.

Trisha narrates:

“...I work in a DIY shop with a lot of typical British people who don't like foreigners taking their jobs. People talk about foreigners coming to take jobs. I'd say I'm foreign and they would say but at least you speak proper English. Sometimes I'd lie and they'd say I have an accent and I'd say I just picked it up. In the end they look at Romanian and Polish as lower class whites. They take any job in masses, the Polish don't have a good name in theft - they are like the Nigerians. They live with 20 people in one house, get benefits for children they don't have. They go around the streets and collect all the metal to get money from it. Romanian gypsies are the same. When you speak English with a European sounding accent you are not seen as an immigrant. ... I can't disappear. My accent has never been strongly Zim because of my mom. If I adopted the accent here I could disappear though. My sister is so posh and so English. I always get asked where I'm from. I refuse to lose the accent so I try so hard to keep it...”

Trisha's experience points to the nuances that allow her to negotiate her way around foreignness in spite of her accent when it is problematic, and at the same time, make efforts to keep her accent to maintain her identity. The insight provided on the Polish and Romanians as the unwanted immigrants largely because of their social class and poor English language

skills is representative of how intersectional differences position immigrants differently. It is beyond the scope of this research to make comparisons between the experiences of white Zimbabweans and other groups of white people who might be on the periphery of whiteness, for instance the Romanians. However, the strong point that is made by Trisha's experience is representative of two main elements that can be analysed through the transnational framework focusing on context, meaning and time.

The first is that the axes of inequality and difference which result in differential whiteness are given *meaning* by power structures and ordinary people in locales that are based on the global hierarchy of peoples. In this hierarchy, as discussed in Chapter Two, as far as language goes, the English language continues to be at the apex. As such, those who demonstrate proximity to this element of whiteness, at least in the *context* of the UK (to which Zimbabwe has a close relationship, as a former British colony) experience more white privilege. The second element is that Trisha's Zimbabwean accent, while a marker of dual transnationalism, also places her in a more advantageous social position, as an accepted immigrant rather than a marginalised one.

This second element is also demonstrated in Claire's experience in the context of South Africa. She noted that, during one of the xenophobic episodes in South Africa when black African immigrants were under attack, she offered to do groceries for some immigrants so that they did not have to go to the shop themselves. She was concerned that their accents would show that they were foreigners, and they would become vulnerable to attacks.

Claire narrates this, despite having indicated that her own accent is also different from that of South African whites. She points out that foreignness in South Africa does not apply to white

people; it is a label for the black African immigrants. Here, one can therefore draw parallels between Trisha's experience of foreignness in the UK and Claire's experience of foreignness in South Africa, and why, in both cases, their own accents are not necessarily markers of foreignness.

Thus, in South Africa, in the context of xenophobia, white privilege may be extended by non-white actors simply on the basis of having a white skin colour. This suggests that the white skin colour is weightier there than in the UK, where white privilege in Trisha's case is extended on the basis of perceived relative social class and language in addition to the white skin colour. I will come back to the implications of this context-based differential whiteness on transnational diaspora activities later in this chapter.

6.3.2. Visible socio-cultural transnationalism: Language as a transnational way of belonging

Related to accent is the element of language. Unlike accent which can be regarded as an embodiment, language seems to be a more intentionally used form of socio-cultural transnationalism, particularly where it is not about the choice of alternative English language words but about using different languages altogether in English sentences. Language as a form of socio-cultural transnationalism demonstrates the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, but like other factors, it also demonstrates the way in which whiteness facilitates that dual transnationalism. In Chapter Two, I discuss the English language as a form of symbolic capital, also extending to the language policy in Zimbabwe, in which English remains the official language as well as the preferred language by locals. These dynamics shape the whiteness in Zimbabwe. As dual transnationals, upon emigration, I argue

that both the whiteness of the homeland and global whiteness shape the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans in the way that it is expressed through language, specifically in terms of the acceptable threshold of language proficiency to be able to claim belongingness to Zimbabwe.

Although none of the white Zimbabweans I interviewed speak either Shona or Ndebele (the two main local languages in Zimbabwe) fluently, all interviewees mentioned using Zimbabwean languages as part of their everyday language abroad. This applies to those who recently left Zimbabwe, as well as to those who have been living abroad for more than ten years. The language used is not limited to Ndebele and Shona words but also includes Afrikaans words that have been integrated into local languages in Zimbabwe. Language is seen as a way of belonging to Zimbabwe but also to Rhodesia. The words that are used by those who identify as Zimbabwean are the same words used by those who identify as Rhodesian. The figure below shows common words between those who identify as white Zimbabweans and those who identify as Rhodesian.

For example, Anna says: “even my brother and his wife use words like ‘iwe’³ and I don’t think you ever stop that. It’s so part of who we are.”

While Claire, who identifies as Rhodesian, says: “...I maintain certain lingo like ‘muti’ and many phrases typical to white Rhodesians.”

In figure 1 below I show recurring words that are mentioned by my interviewees as local Zimbabwean words that they commonly use in their everyday lives.

³ Shona word for ‘you’.

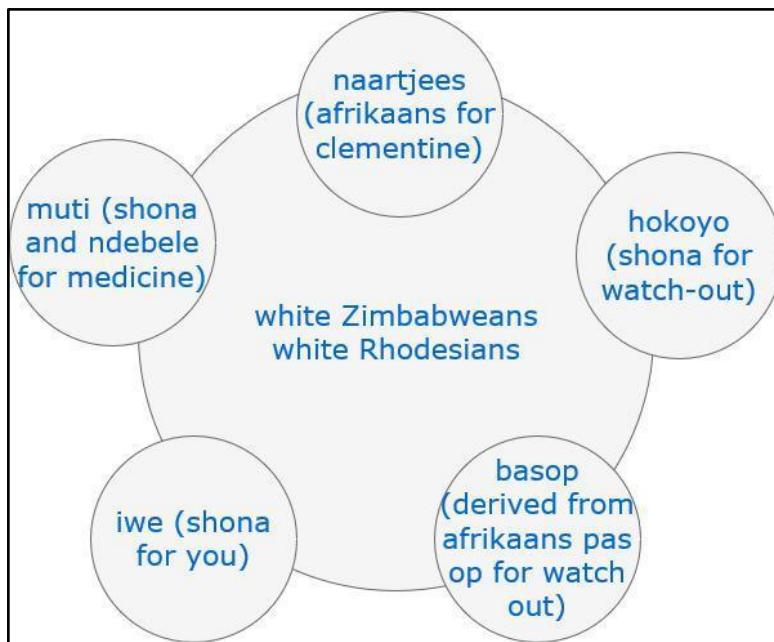


Figure 1: Commonly used Ndebele, Shona and Afrikaans words by white Zimbabweans

White Zimbabweans also pass language onto their children, who are born in the new host country, triggering a kind of second-generation transnationalism and creating transnational social fields for their children. In many cases these children only have loose ties to Zimbabwe, having visited a few times, or never having been to Zimbabwe.

Kendall, living in Spain, narrates:

“My son says I’m not Spanish and that I should go back to my tribe. He is Spanish but he claims his African heritage. He uses words like Muti⁴ and Naartjees⁵.”

Nala, living in the UK, narrates:

⁴ A shona/ndebele term for medicine.

⁵ An Afrikaans word for the fruit clementine.

“ I tell my son a lot of Ndebele and Shona words - huku⁶, nyoka⁷. He knows the capital of my country. I tell him stories of my growing up. I also teach him Tswana words. He listens to the national anthem Nkosi sikelela. I explain to him that Zim is not as nice as the UK but it’s special and untouched and hasn’t been ruined by roads and concrete. He hasn’t been to Zim, only S.A and Kenya. Zim is very similar to Kenya I tell him. I tell him an African story about how the baobab tree became like that...”

Several scholars from the discipline of linguistics have pointed to the problematic nature of language construction as a way of cultural identification (Errington 2007; Gal and Irvine 1995; Makoni and Pennycook 2005). Schneider (2014) highlights that languages as bounded entities marking cultural boundaries have developed historically and are a result of specific discourses. They are central in imaginations of national cultures and are the result of language ideologies that are historically related to national epistemology and colonialism. While Schneider (2014) highlights that in the age of globalisation, nations, cultures and languages are not natural entities, there is also an acknowledgement of the tendency to associate language with ethnicity or nationality. For white Zimbabweans, the use of typical Zimbabwean words is an act of remaining connected to the place, and a source of identity and belonging.

Here I reflect on the proficiency level of the Ndebele and Shona languages of the white interviewees in my research using the framework of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977; 1986) which I have discussed in detail in Chapter Two. As a consequence of colonisation, the

⁶ Shona for chicken.

⁷ Shona for snake.

English language is regarded as a form of symbolic capital in Zimbabwe, which has, in turn, led to it being the official language in Zimbabwe. As such, whiteness in Zimbabwe also means that blacks aspire to speaking English fluently, seeking an English accent and imitating a Western lifestyle, using former colonists as referents. I have discussed this in depth in Chapter Two. This becomes relevant here in that the low proficiency of white Zimbabwean emigrants in the Shona and Ndebele languages is also influenced by this Zimbabwean whiteness. In the homeland, Zimbabwe, English is the official language as well as a goal for those whose native languages are Shona or Ndebele. There is no pressure for those native English speakers to become more proficient in Ndebele and Shona. English is at the apex in the global hierarchy of languages. At the same time, English proficiency does need to be quite high in order for it to be used as a form of cultural capital (Pham and Tran 2015; Park and Bae 2009; Brooks and Waters 2015).

In Britain, instead of celebrating diversity, assimilative cultural demands in the form of language skills, knowledge of national culture and citizenship rituals are the requirements for migrants in recent policy thinking (Statham *et al.* 2005). An inhabitant of an Anglophone country, as in the case of international students in Australia (Pham and Tran 2015) and presumably the UK as well, may find it difficult to claim belongingness based on being able to articulate a few common English words. This is a distinct difference to the experience of white Zimbabweans, who can claim belongingness to Zimbabwe based on the knowledge of just a few Shona and Ndebele words. Yet, as shown by the interviewees in my research, the threshold for proficiency in Ndebele and Shona to be able to use them as a form of cultural capital, and therefore claim belonging to Zimbabwe, and, in turn, a dual transnational, is low. This dynamic therefore facilitates the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans.

6.3.3 Private socio-cultural transnationalism: Food preference as a transnational way of belonging

Much like the use of language, food preferences are seen by white Zimbabweans as a transnational way of belonging to Zimbabwe, as something they do and associate with their belonging to Zimbabwe. Yet, unlike the use of language, which is practiced as a visible transnational way of belonging, food preferences and the social networking associated with food are practiced more privately within interviewees' households and their social networks. It is a less visible form of transnationalism.

Host country cultural differences and similarities in food culture

Food preferences as a transnational way of belonging for white Zimbabweans is a marker of dual transnationalism, but one that also indicates the role of geographical distance and cultural similarities and differences in food availability, the way that food is obtained and the way it is consumed. While there are indeed differences in food culture, for instance the ways in which food is obtained and consumed, there are also similarities in the types of food and in some social activities around food, for instance, street food. As such, the dual transnationalism of those who are further away, and who have less access to Zimbabwean food, is more active in terms of asking friends and family to bring certain foodstuffs for them when they travel to Zimbabwe.

White Zimbabweans miss the types of food they were accustomed to in Zimbabwe and the culture associated with those foods, for example, the ways in which food was obtained, the social interactions around it.

When other Zimbabweans visit Zimbabwe, white Zimbabweans ask them to bring a number of favourite foodstuffs back for them, including Tanganda tea; Biltong, Zimbabwean coffee and Cerevita (a Zimbabwean cereal). The way in which food is missed is however significantly different between those who have settled closer to home, specifically South Africa, where the food is similar and the culture surrounding the ways of obtaining food is relatable, and those who have settled further away, specifically the UK, where some of the preferred foodstuffs cannot be found and where the culture of obtaining food is different. South Africa in particular shares close historical and cultural ties with Zimbabwe, such that certain foods which are traditional to South Africa, for example biltong (dried beef); maize meal-based dishes such as porridge and several other types of cuisine are similar. It is also an important trade partner, hence many products which are found in Zimbabwe are also found in South Africa.

While those in South Africa simply talked about the food habits they continue to maintain, those in the UK talked about the foods they miss.

Tia, living in South Africa, narrated:

“I try to also maintain some culinary aspects because it links me to my past, such as making sadza, and certain meals like mild curry, cheese on toast.”

Lyn, also in South Africa, mentioned:

“I still like my sadza once in a while, South Africans make it differently with salt and everything. I make it the way we make it in Zimbabwe.”

These narratives do not necessarily suggest the unavailability of ingredients or the food that people miss. On the other hand, those in the UK indicated the unavailability of the foods they miss and the culture of obtaining and eating it, that is, “fresh street food”, socialising with vendors on the roadside, specific fast food restaurants, sharing a meal with their domestic workers.

For Nala, in the UK, there were numerous food items she misses: “...I miss oxtail, the smell of mealies on the fire (gochad mealies); chicken flings, carpenta⁸ and gravy with sadza⁹, eating with the maid... Colcom pork; fresh bread from the bakery and getting home putting butter on the bread and a slice of polony on it... Wimpy and Chicken Inn... we used to finish GC¹⁰ on Wednesday and go to my friend’s dad’s shop. I’d pick up a dollar and buy chips we ate with salt and pepper.”

Anna narrates:

“Foodwise it’s hard to break away from your food culture. The way we eat, you want fresh vegetables and not the two-minute meals from Tesco. There’s convenience of easy food but tonight I want a steak and salad. Fresh veg! Even Sundays you have big roast at the pub and a lot of carbs and in Zim we don’t really do this. English grown fruit and veg doesn’t have as much flavour. Tomatoes from the street in Zim have a different flavour. I’d buy my roasted mealies from the side of the road. Nice fire-roasted mealies. Those are things I miss...having a laugh with the vendor on the side of the road... people have great humour.”

⁸ Carpenta is a type of dried fish found in Zimbabwe.

⁹ Sadza is a porridge-like starch made of maize-meal.

¹⁰ GC stands for Girls’ College, a girls only private school in Bulawayo.

The differences between food nostalgia amongst white Zimbabweans in South Africa and the UK highlights the impact of geographical and cultural distance from home. However, it is also important to mention that while those in the UK miss Zimbabwean foods and ingredients, there are a number of Zimbabwean shops in the UK in places such as Luton and in the centre of London which sell many Zimbabwean favourite foodstuffs, as well as South African shops which sell similar food items, for example biltong (dried beef). Recently, these companies have also become linked to Amazon, so that their products can be purchased and distributed to different locations including outside of the UK through Amazon. Crang *et al.* (2003)'s study on transnationalism and the spaces for commodity culture seeks to broaden the concept of transnationalism beyond the narrow confines of specifically ethnically defined communities and to encompass others who occupy the transnational spaces, in their case, contemporary commodity culture. They build on Brah's (1996) idea of diaspora space:

“My argument is that diaspora space as a conceptual category is ‘inhabited’ not only by those who have migrated and their descendants, but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous. In other words, the concept of diaspora space (as opposed to that of diaspora) includes the entanglement, the intertwining of the genealogies of dispersion with those of ‘staying put’. The diaspora space is the site where the native is as much a diasporian as the diasporian is the native” (Brah 1996, 209).

Crang and his colleagues apply this argument to transnationalism, arguing that transnational commodity culture encompasses a range of activities, goods, people and ideas that would not qualify as transnational if the term were restricted solely to ‘an on-going series of cross-border movements in which immigrants develop and maintain numerous economic, political, social and cultural links in more than one nation’ (Mitchell 2000, 853).

While demonstrating this aspect of transnationalism, the transnational activities of white Zimbabweans with respect to food, specifically importing food through social networks, also contributes to highlighting the link between commodity transnationalism and the transnationalism of people. The demand for Zimbabwean products in the UK is driven by Zimbabwean transnationals, including second generation transnationals. Several interviewees indicated that they have introduced their children to Zimbabwean foods, such as biltong and Cerevita, even though their children have only weak links to Zimbabwe in terms of physically travelling there. In a transnational commodity culture, these second-generation transnationals would contribute to creating the necessary demand for commodity transnationalism to take place, whether in the form of friends and relatives bringing back food after travelling to Zimbabwe, or Zimbabwean shops abroad thriving in this business. This transnationalism of people and commodities and the market for commodities is thus driven by Zimbabweans, including white Zimbabweans. These white Zimbabweans are people who spent their youth in Zimbabwe, thinking of England or Europe as 'home', but now as adults think of Zimbabwe as home, and invest time and money acquiring the delicacies they miss from that home. This phenomenon demonstrates the multi-layered nature of white Zimbabwean transnationalism.

Food culture and the complexity of structural inequalities and everyday lives

At the same time, the way in which food preferences are expressed by interviewees reveal other aspects of whiteness in Zimbabwe, including economic status through certain types of food, means to eat at certain places and dual transnationalism through indications of pre-emigration transnationalism based on diets that were influenced by heritage, e.g., by English culture. Magede's (2021) work focusing on the relationship between food consumption and

identity among Zimbabwean in the UK goes in depth into the representations of for instance fast food chains in Zimbabwe, processed foods (such as polony) and links between colonist diets and status (Belk 2000). As this is not the focus of this research, I do not go in depth into the representations of food consumption. However, the above narratives demonstrate a transnational way of being, in term of the routines that people were used to (eating chips every Wednesday) and the social interactions they engaged in around food (eating with domestic workers; socialising with vendors on the roadside). At the same time, the kind of food that is missed, which is associated with a transnational way of belonging, is a combination of ethnic/traditional food (e.g., sadza/maize-meal); food that is typically produced in Zimbabwe, and usually consumed by those of lower economic means, (carpenta). There is also food that is produced in Zimbabwe and consumed by those with more economic means, considered more a luxury and is quite expensive (colcom pork/polony); and also that which can be seen as being quite international or with Western influence (cheese on toast).

Here the literature on food pedagogies can be useful in understanding how food, and food culture as part of the transnational ways of being and belonging of white Zimbabweans, interacts with whiteness. Flowers and Swan (2012) draw on the notion of 'eating the other' (hooks 2001), which expresses that white peoples' practice of eating ethnic food from other cultures is not necessarily demonstrative of learning about the other. In this type of multiculturalism, food is abstracted from any notion of cultural history, colonialism and inequalities. Therefore, whites can eat the ethnic food of the other and still maintain borders and inequalities (Flowers and Swan 2012).

Drawing on this perspective, the narratives around food expressed by white Zimbabweans in my research show the complexity of the structural inequalities and the everyday lives of people. In everyday life, my interviewees indicated that they ate many different types of food, ranging from ethnic food, western food, cheap food or expensive food. In their daily lives, they also engaged with the local culture of obtaining food, such as talking to vendors on the side of the road while buying roasted mealies and eating with domestic workers.

As such, looking back at the notion of ‘eating the other’, my research indicates that my white Zimbabwean interviewees did engage with the culture of the other. However, this engagement does not, in itself, dismantle the structural inequalities that persist between those who sell mealies and those who buy them, nor between domestic workers and their bosses. The more powerful people in those relationships (whites) could choose to engage, while the weaker people have no choice. This too demonstrates the complexity of the transnational ways of belonging of Zimbabwean whites and the way in which their transnationalism is influenced by whiteness in Zimbabwe.

Finally, and to show another angle to this complexity, the fact that some white Zimbabweans are transnationals for a second time, dual transnationals, comes out strongly through the food aspect. Some interviewees note that their diets back in Zimbabwe were influenced by their English heritage and they recognise it as such, albeit quite critically. Frida’s experience demonstrates this. At the same time, Frida emphasises her African-ness and, as shown earlier, now that she is living in the UK, she also mentions that she doesn’t think she will ever fit in with the English. When it comes to food, Frida mentions:

“ ...We had an English upbringing...I remember roast-beef on Sundays, but things like tea...is that English culture or is that something that anyone does. Putting tea on the stove and having it with milk and bread or the 4 o'clock tea with biscuits, is that English culture? I don't know!”

Coming back to the notion of ‘eating the other’, which is characterised by eating the ethnic food of other cultures without learning about that other, I argue here that Frida’s narrative has elements of that concept. In her pre-emigration transnationalism, she states that they had an English upbringing and the English-type of food they used to eat on Sundays. At the same time, based on Frida’s current experience upon emigration to the UK, there seemed to have been no real knowledge of the English culture or interest in it apart from the claim to English heritage. Once again, this shows the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans and how whiteness complicates it. The notion of ‘eating the other’ is typically applied to whites in relation to non-whites, who are the other. But in Frida’s case, the English are the other; the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans in this case suggests that, much as transnationalism and intersectionality can increasingly be applied to analysing whites, the notion of ‘eating the other’ may also be applied to whites, such that these are seen as ethnic groups.

6.3.4 Visible socio-cultural transnationalism: Dress and home decoration as a transnational way of belonging

Body politics in the case of white Zimbabweans is indeed an intentional way to become visible and publicly mark oneself as belonging elsewhere. Once again, it is important to question the effect this has on the social perception and positionality of the individual, based on their other embodied elements.

The Muslim women in Mirza's study, while determined to claim their identity through wearing headscarves, also point to the negative perceptions associated with this in the West. They highlight that their dress code, together with their skin colour and perceived identity as Indian and Muslim, de-individualises them socially. When people look at a white woman, they tend to see an individual, whereas when they look at a Muslim woman, they see a nation (Mirza 2013). Such a phenomenon is representative of the difference in resulting positionalities when traditional dress codes intersect with race. Thus, when these dress codes intersect with white skin, they are perceived as 'hippie-like' and 'exotic', in a positive way, as a marker of individual distinction. When they intersect with races that are ranked lower on the widely perceived global hierarchy of peoples, they result in positionalities that are marginalised, and where people are seen as 'others'.

A more visible form of transnationalism is the ways in which white Zimbabweans dress. The dress code of white Zimbabweans demonstrates how intersectionality positions individuals in their transnationalism. Individuals who grew up in Zimbabwe enjoying the privilege of being associated with the West, and, now as adults in the West, make efforts to be associated with Zimbabwe, as we see from the following.

Sue lived in the UK for a few years while working in a temporary job. She lived in a house with some friends and recalls that she experienced the UK as a classist society, and that the friends she lived with were very focused on class. She, however, was not part of the class scrutiny because she was from Africa and was perceived, as she said, as exotic. She used to dress differently and adorn herself with African ornaments that made her stand out.

Anna has not been living in the UK for very long and points to the obvious differences between herself and the locals. She feels very visible, the way she talks, the way she walks, the way she dresses in her view all mark her as someone that is not from there.

Kendall points out that she wears elephant earrings and things that remind her of who she is. When people come to her house, they comment that they can tell that she is from Africa based on the decorations in her home.

Trisha points out that she wears two necklaces with an African map and has a tattoo of a flame lily, which is the national flower of Zimbabwe. She mentions that she dresses differently from the locals, she maintains her Zimbabwean dress-code which is 'hippie-like'.

Dress code, we see from these examples, can be a visible form of transnationalism. It is an intentional way of declaring one's belongingness and in some cases, instrumentalised to escape being part of undesirable scrutiny, for instance, class scrutiny, or simply to demonstrate who one is. White Zimbabweans' reference to their Zimbabwean dress code as 'hippie-like' or 'exotic' and different from that of the locals, points to an awareness of how this dress code is interpreted or perceived and therefore an intentionality.

My interview questions did not expressly probe dress as a transnational way of belonging and did not explicitly set out to investigate any gender related differences. However, data analysis showed that the element of dress as a visible form of transnationalism is expressed more openly by the female interviewees. Only one male participant, Jed, alluded to body politics when he mentioned his discomfort of wearing shoes all the time in Switzerland, while in Zimbabwe he had grown up never having to wear shoes.

Parkins (2002) edits essays discussing how certain styles and displays of dress have been significant for both men and women's political participation and the formation of their identities as citizens in the book *Fashioning the body politic: dress, gender, citizenship*. The essays shed light into the different ways in which dress has been used as a marker of political views. Other research that highlights dress as visible transnationalism includes the Muslim women in Mirza (2013) who point out that despite the stereotypes about Muslim women in the West, they wear headscarves as part of their identity and to embody what is already assumed about them based on their skin colour. They therefore embrace their religion, embody it and own what it means for them personally.

Further, this phenomenon highlights the role of whiteness in conditioning transnationalism through its hierarchisation of acceptability. In this case, white Zimbabweans are accepted and rewarded socially for being openly transnational and exhibiting their socio-cultural transnationalism. Whereas Mirza (2013) shows that when those who are non-white perform this kind of socio-cultural transnationalism, the resulting visibility brings about suspicions of non-belonging and non-integration in the host country.

6.4 Frequency of visits to Zimbabwe

There are recognisable factors determining the way in which the frequency of visits to Zimbabwe evolve over time. The factors identified in this study that influence the frequency of visits to the natal homeland are, firstly, time spent abroad; secondly, the presence of close family and friends in the natal homeland; thirdly, emotional coping; fourth, geographical

proximity and fifth, socio-economic status. Often the actual frequency or non-frequency of visits is a combination of several of these factors.

The longer people have been away from Zimbabwe, the less they visit. This is related to a number of reasons. Firstly, many white Zimbabweans in my research explicitly state that they have never actually left Zimbabwe, in the sense of permanent emigration. This has been discussed in the previous chapter where I discuss accidental migration, or temporary to permanent migration. In the early years of migration, interviewees often had the status of student, short term employment, tourist, etc. At this point, ties to Zimbabwe were still strong – parents, siblings, and friends. As life took its course, some people, still living abroad, married and had children. At this point, they still visited Zimbabwe frequently, typically once every year and for special events such as weddings, funerals, traditional community walks that they took every year with their families, for example. Over time, some had more children. This increased the cost of travel to Zimbabwe and resulted in less frequent visits. Here, income can be seen to mediate the mobility element of transnationalism.

For Gill, living primarily in the UK, having three children and travelling a lot for her husband's work made it expensive to pay for five plane tickets to Zimbabwe. Much of her immediate family had also emigrated to New Zealand with the exception of her brother. Visiting became more challenging. At the time of the interview, she had last visited Zimbabwe and her brother ten years ago.

The second factor, which is also related to length of time abroad, but is a stand-alone for some cases, is the presence or absence of close family members in Zimbabwe.

Tracy and Rachel moved to Australia with their whole nuclear families (parents and siblings), and therefore only have friends and extended family in Zimbabwe. For this reason, Tracy has never returned to Zimbabwe since they emigrated in the late 1990s.

Sue moved to South Africa and used to visit Zimbabwe frequently, also given the proximity from South Africa. Later her parents passed away. After their death, she continued to visit her extended family and live in the house she had inherited from her parents. After a while, she sold the house.

“I also sold the house my mom was living in, in Bulawayo so I didn’t have a physical home to go to. I had lots of step family and relatives but I didn’t have a base, a mom and dad home.”

For some therefore, emigrating with their families removes a major incentive to visit Zimbabwe frequently if at all. For others, the absence of close family is also related to time. Years pass, loved ones pass on and visits to the natal homeland gradually become less and less, in some cases shifting from as frequent as every year, to not having been to Zimbabwe in the past ten years at the time of the interview.

The third factor is related to emotional coping. Some white Zimbabweans who emigrated recently and who still have a home and close family and friends in Zimbabwe find it very difficult to adjust to their new life abroad. At the same time, they have strong reasons for being abroad, like looking after a sick parent, and feel that they have no choice but to be there. They therefore intentionally avoid going back to Zimbabwe because they fear they would never return to their new host country.

The fourth factor is geographical proximity. When close family and friends are present and there is no intentional emotional avoidance, those living in South Africa still visit more often than those in Europe and Australia.

The fifth and most cross cutting factor is the socio-economic status of the individual. For some, financial means was a restraining factor while for those with financial means, such as Gill's friend, Amy, even geographic distance did not stop them from visiting at least once a year. Financial means is not only related to the cost of travel but the cost of staying in Zimbabwe. Gill for instance remarked that in spite of the travel costs, the last time she went to Zimbabwe, her brother who lives there was struggling financially and they therefore spent a lot of money during their stay there. Amy, on the other hand, despite having two children, despite the geographical distance of the UK, has enough means to travel to Zimbabwe every year and also highlights that her family in Zimbabwe is still comfortable and well-off.

The financial aspect of frequency of visits therefore shows differential whiteness among white Zimbabweans abroad. Further, it demonstrates how those who have managed to maintain stability in terms of their type of whiteness in Zimbabwe and their type of whiteness abroad practice transnationalism differently. Gill for example came from a family that could sustain itself, emigrated and married in the UK, and lives a reasonably comfortable life with a husband who is well paid and travels a lot. However, even if travel to Zimbabwe were possible despite the expense, the money they have to spend there, given the deterioration of her brother's financial means (deterioration of whiteness) in Zimbabwe, becomes limiting to her transnationalism.

Amy, on the other hand, comes from a well-off family in Zimbabwe that has managed to maintain its well-off status. She herself in the UK is married to a well-off husband and can

afford to travel to Zimbabwe with her children despite the travel costs. When in Zimbabwe, they do not have to sustain her family there because they have managed to maintain their socio-economic status. In this way, the whiteness of the participants themselves and that of those in their transnational social fields back home in Zimbabwe, conditions the participants' transnationalism upon their own migration.

6.4.1 Home visits and transnational activism – transnationalism through careers, talents and being

Earlier in this chapter, I highlighted the intersection between acts of transnationalism and diaspora, demonstrating the glorification of home as a part of diasporism. A second component that shows an intersection between transnationalism and diasporism is that of involvement with diaspora organisations and organisations with a focus on work in Zimbabwe. The work consists mainly of marketing Zimbabwe positively, once again playing into the tendency of diasporas to glorify their home country. Many white Zimbabweans in my research engage in transnationalism which expresses a strong identity with their natal homeland in different ways. Interestingly, in some cases, the objects of attachment in the natal homeland (the indicated values of the individuals in terms of what they miss most and what was central to their lifestyles before emigration) shape the transnational activities of individuals. In this case, white Zimbabweans use their talents, social fields, resources and memories to conduct transnational and diasporic activities.

Trisha, while in Zimbabwe, lived on a farm and spent her youth looking after animals and volunteering at an animal orphanage. When talking about going back to Zimbabwe, she mentions that she would like to go back and live in 'the bush'. While in the UK, Trisha works

as an animal conservationist, a field in which she did her university studies. Her career was inspired by her having grown up in Zimbabwe. She is also a writer who writes about her growing up in Zimbabwe. She writes about nature, space and growing up on a farm with the freedom and community she had around her and looking after animals. She plans to return to Zimbabwe, live in the wild and pursue her career as an animal conservationist.

Several white Zimbabweans in this study who are writers have used their talents to write about Zimbabwe. Gill is a writer who supports a UK-based charity organisation that helps children in Zimbabwe by writing promotional articles and reports for them. While travelling to Zimbabwe for personal reasons, she has also used her visits to observe the charity's work in Zimbabwe and write about it. During her travels to Zimbabwe, she also takes photographs which she uses in her writing to show the positive characteristics of the country. Amongst these are the kindness of people, generosity in spite of hardship and the beauty of the landscape. In this case, her physical visits to Zimbabwe therefore feed into her writings on the country.

Marie is a travel magazine writer living in South Africa. When she visits Zimbabwe, she writes tourism articles on the country to promote it. She lived in the UK for a number of years, during which she pursued a Masters' degree. Her research investigated the experiences of white Zimbabweans in the UK and she has written several reflective articles on her findings and views.

Bob is an academic who has written several books on colonisation and the land issue in Zimbabwe. Dave, from time to time, writes for newspaper columns and online platforms on Zimbabwe's political and legal issues. Stan's work is displayed on the website of his

transnational NGO, and he works on sustainable land use and water management technologies in Zimbabwe and other countries in Southern Africa.

These transnational activities, which are carried out following physical visits, are potentially transformative of the ways in which Zimbabwe is viewed externally in terms of its nature and perceived positive value systems that are showcased in the writings of these individuals. They are also transformative to the extent that the showcasing of the on-the-ground impact of civil society work that is done by NGOs in the UK working in Zimbabwe potentially attracts funding to the charities they are involved with to enable them to continue their work, as in the case of Gill. This also applies to the NGO work done by Stan within Zimbabwe. Based on the virtual space within which some of these transnational activities take place, they can be regarded as virtual activities, thus, virtual transnationalism.

However, in the case of those who live outside of Zimbabwe (Gill, Trisha, Marie and Bob), their content is greatly influenced by what they observe when they physically travel to Zimbabwe. Thus, the influence of the mobility element of transnationalism, the photographs they take, the on-the-ground research they do, and the cultural comparisons they make with their countries of settlement are key to facilitating this form of transnationalism. That mobility element of transnationalism, as discussed in the previous section, is to some extent conditioned by post-emigration whiteness and does vary based on differential whiteness, as they are subject to the factors that affect the frequency of home visits as discussed above.

At the same time, these transnational activities are also influenced by pre-emigration whiteness, including closeness to nature, for those who grew up on farms, and socio-economic privilege which enabled travel to beautiful touristic places in the country. Home

visits to Zimbabwe can be infrequent. Trisha for example had not been to Zimbabwe in more than five years. This however does not diminish the potential impact of her blog in spreading a positive image of Zimbabwe externally and internally, and showing the patriotism of white Zimbabweans. In fact, her blog is a reflective blog, based mainly on her childhood memories of growing up in Zimbabwe. To this extent, one could argue that the frequency of visits to the home country may not always be central to the transformative potential of transnational activities.

For a number of white Zimbabweans with only weak social ties with the natal homeland, transnational social fields with the natal homeland are maintained through memory, communication, engagement with literature, storytelling, social media groups and not too strongly from frequent travel back to Zimbabwe. The image portrayed by some of the white Zimbabweans who engage in transnational activities, which is a positive marketing of Zimbabwe, is therefore based on the Zimbabwe they have in their memories; those memories can reflect a particular perspective of Zimbabwe that is based on pre-emigration experiences of whiteness.

Whether these activities are mostly based on memories from pre-emigration whiteness, or travel to or living in Zimbabwe, white Zimbabweans draw on their dual transnationalism to portray Zimbabwe through the lens of white privilege. For example, the beauty portrayed by Marie in her travel magazine may be based on holiday places that are visited by those with financial means. The Jacaranda tree-lined streets of Harare that are beautiful and dreamlike in Gill's blog are found in the higher income neighbourhoods of Harare rather than in poverty-stricken high-density areas. The life of animal conservation and zoo-keeping that Trisha

portrays could be more accessible to white children and not so much to non-whites in Zimbabwe, for example.

These portrayals do not engage with the politics, structural inequalities and social dynamics of Zimbabwe and indeed are an outcome of a dual transnationalism that is conditioned by whiteness. Yet it can also be argued that this outcome of the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, which as I have demonstrated throughout previous chapters, is characterised by complexity which includes privilege but also inclusion, exclusion and a struggle for belongingness. In terms of how this translates to these transnational activities, I argue that this dual transnationalism plays a role in portraying a side of Zimbabwe or Africa that is neither the one of the white superior who finds a place in Africa as explored by Pilosof and Boersema (2017) and others after the land redistribution programme, nor is it the typical narrative of the poverty-stricken and troubled continent which other writers (e.g. Wainana 2005) have portrayed vividly.

Rather, the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, which involves the intersection of whiteness and nationality, brings them to produce narratives which can make them powerful ambassadors of Zimbabwe as a nation, in spite of the fact that they do not manage to transcend whiteness. Therefore, I suggest that while whiteness conditions the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, this dual transnationalism in return, also conditions whiteness by shedding light in some of its dark areas, the narratives of Zimbabwe being a case in point.

Earlier, in Chapter Two of this thesis I discussed the problematic views about Africa as a monolithic entity, and colonial views of Africa as 'the bush'. It is my argument based on the

data in my research, that the globally imposed social positioning of white Zimbabweans as ‘belonging to the West’ (albeit problematic), combined with their dual transnationalism and dual diasporism which drive their transnational activities in relation to Zimbabwe, reproduces them as actors who are able to drive a different representation of ‘Africa’ within the world of whiteness. Where in Chapter Two of this thesis I highlight the old white narrative of Africa as ‘the bush’, and the way whiteness constructs nature as part of colonialism, here the transnational activities and diasporic memories of white Zimbabweans, driven by their duality, depict Zimbabwe as a safe place they call home.

“In the UK when I say I’m Zimbabwean people look at my arms. I’m asked if I’m Australian. It gets so exhausting. I’ve been asked if I’m Spanish, New Zealand, Polish. When I say I’m from Zimbabwe they say, ‘but you’re white?’ . Then I have to explain that you do get white Zimbabweans. Then I go into educating them. I ask do you get black people in England and then I compare it to getting white people in Zimbabwe. I don’t get uncomfortable with identity, I just get bored. I just educate people...” says Trisha.

6.5 White Zimbabwean Transnationals as a diaspora

6.5.1 Conceptualising the white Zimbabwean transnational diaspora

At the beginning of this chapter, I highlight that the transnationalism of white Zimbabweans in some cases places them at the intersection of transnationals, co-ethnic return migrants and diasporas. I discuss the co-ethnic return migrant experiences of white Zimbabweans, with specific reference to those in the UK. I discuss the diasporism of white Zimbabweans through the diaspora tendencies they exhibit, specifically, the glorification of the homeland. I proceed

to show that white Zimbabweans are transnationals through discussing their transnational ways of being and belonging. To conclude this chapter, it is important to engage further with what the transnational ways of being and belonging mean for the diasporic experiences of white Zimbabweans.

At the beginning of this chapter, I highlighted the glorification of home as an element of white Zimbabwean multi-layered transnationalism that intersects with diasporism. I also re-articulated my definition of diaspora which, among other things, includes identification with the race/ethnic group from the ancestral home. In the section above, I added another component to this diasporism, in the form of involvement with transnational and diaspora organisations. Now I will discuss the several layers of complexity with the possible diaspora making of white Zimbabwean transnationals in the context of whiteness and through looking into transnational and diaspora activities at an organisational level. This contributes to my overall argument by showing another dimension of how the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans is complicated by whiteness.

If the ethnicity element of diasporic identification is to be considered in isolation for the sake of this particular analysis, white Zimbabweans find themselves in a dilemma not so much because they are racialised as white, but because of what that racial category represents in terms of privileged social positioning in a country like the UK and given the colonial history of Zimbabwe. Moreover, the duality of their diasporism is quite complex. In the first instance, they are imperial diasporas of the ‘West’ in Zimbabwe, based on affiliation with colonial settlers and on the social imposition of whites in Africa as belonging to the West (Quijano 2000).

Using the same logic of Quijano, black Zimbabweans in the UK affiliate themselves with the African diaspora, also based on the hierarchisation which produces a social imposition of those who are black as belonging to Africa and the common histories as discussed through Gomez (1998) above. Yet the subjective experiences of white Zimbabweans, of missing home, of feelings of not belonging to the West as has been discussed throughout this chapter and in Chapter Five, positions them in a space of practicing acts that resemble a diaspora. The complication then, is how white Zimbabweans can fully become a diaspora within this intersectional space, of being white Africans, who are not Europeans, but possess European identity documents, and in some cases, are awarded privilege based on their whiteness, which includes official identities as co-ethnic return migrants in Europe. A more detailed investigation into this question could be interesting for future research. I pick up on this point again in the concluding chapter, Chapter Eight, but touch on this complexity here.

Firstly, the accounts of white Zimbabweans in my research do not point to white Zimbabweans subjectively identifying themselves as a diaspora, with the exception of Rhodesian ‘whenwes’ who clearly identify themselves as the Rhodesian diaspora. Yet, as discussed throughout this thesis so far, the transnationalism and diaspora experiences of white Zimbabweans, which are characterised by white privilege, differentiate their experiences from those of black Zimbabwean diasporas (Pasura 2010). This, however, does not mean that commonalities or shared experiences do not exist. McGregor (2007) looks into the abject spaces occupied by the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK through the experiences of marginal and undocumented immigrants. Marginalisation as a result of being undocumented is also experienced by some white Zimbabweans in the UK, as well as acts of othering based on perceptions of foreignness.

Trisha, for example, whose Dutch passport turned out to have been inappropriately issued and was frozen after she had emigrated to the UK, found herself occupying odd jobs usually relegated to ‘immigrants’ to make a living.

Ella reports that she has had racist experiences in the UK, where after leaving a pub at night with friends, a group of British people were harassing them and screaming that they should return to their country. She suspects this was based on their accent.

This picture, particularly for those in the UK, resembles that of the black Zimbabwean diasporas in many ways, as their experiences are captured by McGregor (2007) and Pasura (2010).

That white Zimbabweans abroad can also be described as living a diasporic transnational life is a plausible argument based on the narratives of this research. At the same time, there are differing degrees to which white Zimbabweans join the diaspora activities of Zimbabweans. This is representative of how the politics and tensions of the home country are often imported into countries of settlement and shape diaspora relations there. Crush *et al.* (2016) argue that white Zimbabwean diasporas in South Africa do not engage with diaspora organisations for several reasons, including not wanting to invest in development work as they would consider that as supporting the current regime. They also suggest that white Zimbabweans in the diaspora were stripped of their citizenship and thus find no reason to engage in matters of a country that disowned them.

Beyond this politics, my research shows that what makes their particular transnationalism and diaspora experiences different from those of other Zimbabweans who identify with the

greater black diaspora can be explained through Anthias' (2008) transnational framework of intersectionality.

Specifically, the power structures under which these white, Anglophone diasporas are living makes their experiences somewhat distinct. Pasura (2010) for example highlights that the concept of Zimbabweans in the UK as a kind of reverse colonialism in the sense of reverse migration does not apply to white Zimbabweans because of their pre-existing dual nationality. Further, in spite of white Zimbabweans also being political and economic migrants in the UK, Australia, Spain and South Africa (in this case accidental migrants whose return is hindered by the political and economic climate of Zimbabwe), the language of 'migrant' and 'refugee' is largely applied to specific groups of people who are typically non-whites (for example, black Africans and other non-white diasporas) and some of those who fall on the periphery of whiteness (for example the Romanians).

The peripheralisation of white Zimbabweans as has been shown in the examples above is highly contextual and dependent on specific local dynamics. While some of it can be seen in the UK experiences, less of it is experienced in contexts such as South Africa, Australia and in this case, Spain. This is due to what can be seen according to the transnational framework as their social positionality which results from the intersection of their other characteristics with whiteness, and meanings of whiteness in those contexts. Therefore, even given white Zimbabweans' characteristics of diasporas, these broader dynamics around whiteness may make it difficult for them to identify as a Zimbabwean diaspora. As such, while their dual transnationalism is multi-layered and includes elements of co-ethnic return migrants and diasporas, it is likely that their own subjective identification as diasporas is challenging. Indeed, in my research, the diaspora characteristics of white Zimbabweans are

derived from an objective identification of them as diasporas and not based on their own subjective identification as such.

6.5.2 The role of the local context in diaspora making

To the extent that diaspora-making is a search for community based on where people come from, there are visible differences in the diaspora activities of white Zimbabweans in my research depending on where they are.

In terms of staying in touch with other Zimbabweans, those in South Africa are quite active at a very social level. This involves having dinners once a month with friends from high school; making sure that when one takes an Uber, the driver is a Zimbabwean because they think (black) Zimbabweans are more trustworthy than (black) South Africans; greeting waiters and waitresses in Shona because they know that most waiters and waitresses in Cape Town are Zimbabwean; speaking to the Zimbabweans at the construction site at work because one can hear from their accent that they are Zimbabwean. These efforts demonstrate efforts to reach out to fellow Zimbabweans socially, at an individual level in search for community.

White Zimbabweans in the UK, while active socially, are more activist in their diaspora engagement and their activities go beyond individual socialising into seeking to engage with the nation itself. The Zimfest celebrations, even with the underlying problems associated with them as discussed in Chapter Four, are an example. Other engagements that surfaced in my interviews include writing articles to help charities working on Zimbabwe to fundraise for their work; volunteering for a Zimbabwe animal conservation project; visiting an imprisoned Zimbabwean who was the daughter of a Zimbabwean political activist; volunteering at

migrant centres in the UK; and the act of actually giving up on life in the West and moving back to Zimbabwe in spite of its economic problems, with the aim of using one's skills to benefit the country in some way. Some of these engagements can also be considered as part of the migration for development rubric.

Based on the narratives of the interviewees, I suggest that these differences are related to differential whiteness based on context, to the extent that they correlate with, among other possibilities, how settled or comfortable white Zimbabweans feel. South Africa is still recovering from the remnants of apartheid and remains characterised by economic inequality along racial lines. White privilege is still visibly intact and the distribution of the population in residential areas strongly reflects the racial segregation of apartheid. While white Zimbabweans express their disgruntlement with race relations and white privilege in South Africa, it remains that they are beneficiaries of this privilege, albeit unwillingly. While they are hyper-visible as a race, they experience continued structural and social privilege. This is represented by the experience of Claire, as discussed earlier, who recognised that whites are invisible foreigners and therefore not targeted, e.g. xenophobic attacks that target black foreigners do not target white foreigners. On this basis, white Zimbabweans have settled into South Africa relatively easily.

Whiteness in the UK appears to be more nuanced than in South Africa, with social class playing a bigger role in determining insiders and outsiders. Where the majority of the population is white, white skin becomes less important as the ticket to privilege, and other factors such as accent, nationality and social class become more salient. The existence of other white immigrants, for example Eastern Europeans who are somewhat marginalised, makes the whiteness space more contested. The history of whiteness in the UK as reflected

on by Bonnet (1998) and discussed in previous chapters illustrates this. My research suggests that the feeling of being an outsider in the UK is stronger than in South Africa for white Zimbabweans. This might explain the differences in the ways in which community is sought so that while in South Africa it is for social purposes, in the UK it is more activist, more based on identifying oneself with one's natal homeland in response to being perceived or perceiving oneself as an outsider.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the post-emigration transnationalism of white Zimbabweans as complex, cutting across the status of immigrants characterised by different reasons for migration; transnationals, co-ethnic return migrants and diasporas. I have examined the diasporism of white Zimbabweans, arguing that whiteness conditions the way in which that diasporism is expressed, specifically, the glorification of the homeland through the love for nature and social values of the homeland. Later in the chapter, I build on this by bringing this together with diaspora and transnational activities of white Zimbabweans. Here I have suggested that transnational activities of white Zimbabweans, which involve marketing the country, may be based on the limited perspective of white privilege and do not manage to transcend whiteness. Nevertheless, they may be powerful in showing a different perspective of Zimbabwe within white spaces. Therefore, where historically, whites focused on a narrative of Africa as 'the bush', in their re-identification and reconceptualisation of Zimbabwe as home, white Zimbabwean dual transnationals and dual diasporas are pushing a narrative of Zimbabwe as a place they call home.

On transnational ways of being and belonging, I have demonstrated how whiteness facilitates favourable social positioning when it comes to aspects of transnationalism as practiced by those at the intersection of white and foreign, as in the case of dress code and language. My engagement with language, has shown the role of macro-level power structures and colonisation in determining English as a language with symbolic power. I argue that this has facilitated the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans by lowering the threshold for proficiency needed in local Zimbabwean languages to be able to claim belongingness and therefore facilitated their dual transnationalism.

I have argued that certain embodied forms of transnationalism such as accents are used to navigate social positionality in order to distance themselves from forms of whiteness that are associated with racism and injustice, as in the case of South Africa. Drawing from the translocational lens, I have argued that the weight that locales give to the white skin colour should be considered in order to understand the limitations of the other variables such as class. In post-colonial locales such as South Africa, the migration of white Zimbabweans in my research show this dynamic in several ways, such that even when they claim foreignness, they still experience white privilege.

In this chapter, I have also reflected on the complexity of white Zimbabweans becoming part of the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK, arguing that the intersectionality between being white African, non-European whites with some white privilege makes it difficult for them to negotiate their way into the Zimbabwean diaspora, even if they may feel a part of it. As such, while their dual transnationalism is multi-layered and includes elements of co-ethnic return migrants and diasporas, it is likely that their own subjective identification as diasporas is

difficult. Indeed, in my research, the diaspora characteristics of white Zimbabweans are derived from an objective identification of them as diasporas and not a subjective one.

Finally, I have more broadly reflected on whiteness in the UK and whiteness in South Africa through engaging with my findings on the transnational diasporic activities of white Zimbabweans in South Africa and in the UK. On this, I have suggested that whiteness in South Africa as the interplay of power, privilege and identity is relatively more pronounced, hence white Zimbabweans in South Africa benefit from its comfort and therefore engage in transnationalism and diasporic activities socially. I suggest that in the UK, whiteness may be more nuanced, more influenced by factors such as class, nationality and status. Thus, white Zimbabweans in the UK may experience more feelings of non-belonging, and therefore engage in transnational diasporic activities which I have interpreted as being more activist.

Chapter Seven: Engaging with whiteness

7.1 Introduction

The preceding empirical chapters of this thesis have focused on demonstrating the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans and the ways in which whiteness both facilitates and complicates it. This was, first, through pre-emigration transnationalism experiences in the homeland in Chapter Five. The following Chapter Six on post-emigration transnationalism follows white Zimbabwean emigrants on their migration journeys to understand the complexity of their dual transnationalism and how their whiteness evolves to influence that duality.

To complete the story emerging from this research, this final empirical chapter brings together the pre-emigration and post-emigration experiences of white Zimbabweans to shift from looking through the lens of experience to looking through the lens of consciousness, in other words, how those experiences are consciously processed and interpreted by white Zimbabweans. Indeed the chapters on pre and post-emigration transnationalism have been interpreted through transnationalism and intersectionality and translocationality analytical frameworks. This final empirical chapter, while continuing to incorporate these frameworks, leans more heavily on whiteness literature to complete the picture of what happens to whiteness at a more conscious level, in the way that white Zimbabweans explicitly engage with it.

As such I discuss the findings of my research on this theme, building on properties of whiteness that have been developed by other scholars. In particular, my findings shed further light on the invisibility of whiteness to white individuals (Owen 2007; Dyer 1997; Kincheloe

et al. 2000; McIntosh 1988). While, as mentioned in Chapter Two, whiteness is hypervisible in Africa (Steyn 2005), this hypervisibility is from the perspective of blacks, and whiteness continues to be invisible to whites given its embeddedness in social and other structures. My findings show that whiteness becomes visible to white Zimbabwean emigrants upon migration, demonstrating the different ways in which this visibility happens.

My findings also show that white Zimbabweans portray whiteness as providing a racialised social location (mentioned earlier in this thesis, I take it to mean social positionality), which limits the worldview of white individuals (Frankenberg 1993; 2020; Owen 2007). Here I build on this by showing the paradox of whiteness when it intersects with other factors such as dual transnationalism in my research. I show that in the case of white Zimbabweans, this social location, in combination with their duality and transnational ways of being and belonging, can shift old narratives of Zimbabwe from the colonial narratives of 'Africa the bush' to 'Zimbabwe my home'. This development is evidence of a destabilisation in colonial whiteness.

7.2 The visibility of whiteness

My research builds on existing literature, arguing that whiteness is invisible in that I demonstrate that whiteness becomes visible at a key moment of change - in this case, migration from Zimbabwe abroad. Migration provides the conditions for the social positionality of whites to shift, meaning that it provides conditions for whites to experience other forms of whiteness, thus rendering the phenomenon of whiteness visible to them.

Below I will discuss the different ways in which my research demonstrates that whiteness becomes visible to white Zimbabwean emigrants.

7.2.1 The visibility of the privilege provided by whiteness citizenship

In Chapter Five, I refer to whiteness citizenship, which I describe as the acquisition of Western passports that give access to white privilege as experienced by those at the top of the widely perceived global hierarchy of peoples. Drawing on Harpaz (2019), I show that white Zimbabweans made conscious efforts to obtain EU passports, knowing the kinds of privilege those passports provided, and also knowing that not possessing whiteness citizenship excluded individuals from that privilege.

In many cases, whiteness conditioned transnationalism because white Zimbabweans instrumentalised their transnationalism to obtain whiteness citizenship. They dug into their heritage and got in touch with near and distant relatives who could facilitate obtaining European passports to make it easier for them to travel and settle elsewhere. These efforts point to a consciousness or awareness of whiteness, here in the sense of a privilege accorded those in majority white countries.

Where white Zimbabweans did not have European passports, or whiteness citizenship, many became aware, despite their white privilege in Zimbabwe, how that lack of citizenship positioned them in a less privileged position. Being detained at airports when travelling on a Rhodesian passport; being denied a visa to enter Dubai on the basis of a Zimbabwean passport - these examples, and my interviewees' reactions to these situations, demonstrate a process of learning about the power of whiteness citizenship as well as the disadvantages of not having it.

It was through the steps involved in the process of emigration, visa processing, travelling and even settlement, that whiteness, beyond that to which they were accustomed, became visible to white Zimbabweans. Through this emigration process, they became exposed to, and learned about, the power of whiteness citizenship and what could be seen as global whiteness, all beyond their contextual whiteness, incorporating substantial privilege, in Zimbabwe.

7.2.2 The visibility of the weight of the white skin colour

In previous chapters of this thesis, I have shown that several elements such as socio-economic status intersect with whiteness to produce differential privilege, which at times locates individuals at the centre of whiteness, and at times on the periphery. I have also shown in Chapter Six that certain locales attach great importance to the white skin colour, so much so that other intersecting variables have limited impact. My findings also show that upon migration, the shifting social positionalities of white Zimbabweans and the challenges of immigration locate them in a space where they compare themselves to fellow immigrants. The feeling of not belonging, or feeling like an outsider, facilitates comparison with fellow outsiders. Upon comparison, white Zimbabweans find that their white skin colour consistently gives them relative privilege over those who are non-white. This too is a process by which whiteness becomes visible to white Zimbabwean dual transnationals.

Kendall, in Spain, talks about the hardships suffered by black foreigners in Spain and reflects that while she is a foreigner herself, she is often mistaken for British or Spanish and is accepted as a local. In her view, her white skin colour and her accent help her to be accepted more than would be the case for a black Nigerian with a strong Nigerian accent.

Tracy, in Australia, regards herself as someone who is seen as a local, and also mentions that she knows that someone of colour may not manage to disappear into the crowd like she can.

In Chapter Six, in my discussion on accents as an embodied form of transnationalism to navigate social positionalities, I discussed the experience of Claire, who mentions that while she is not South African and her accent is different from that of white South Africans, she is not regarded as an immigrant because she is white. Marie in South Africa also expresses that whites in South Africa are not seen as immigrants and are never the target when xenophobic attacks break out, which target black immigrants. Here, too, both Claire and Marie demonstrate a recognition of the power of whiteness, which they did not recognise while still living in Zimbabwe.

Even those who have been on the margins of whiteness, for example Trisha who found herself stateless, still describes the Polish as the ‘Nigerians of white people’, alluding to the fact that there is a peripheralisation that happens within the zone of whiteness, which is separate from the one that happens towards non-whites.

My findings, exemplified by these quotes, demonstrate that, while whiteness is not based on mere skin colour, the white skin colour still matters. Therefore while several studies show that whiteness can be accumulated through acquiring the interests, values and social practices of those who are racialised as white (Owen 2007; Zhao 2019; Shaker *et al.* 2022) my research builds on the work done by studies such as Udh and Singh (2018) that argue that the white skin colour continues to be significant. I do this by showing in this study that, when all other factors that intersect with whiteness have positioned an individual on the periphery of

whiteness, it is the white skin colour that still positions that individual within the border of whiteness.

7.2.3 The visibility of the whiteness in the host country and retrospectively, in the homeland

The experiences of dual transnationalism, including feelings of not belonging, the comparison with non-white immigrants, and the awareness of whiteness citizenship all contribute to whiteness becoming visible in the host country for white Zimbabwean emigrants. However, beyond this visibility, the narratives of my participants show that from the host country, white Zimbabweans do begin to reflect on the racism in Zimbabwe, where they have not reflected on it or perceived it before emigration. Several of my participants, whose narratives I will discuss below, in addressing the limited perspective of the social location of whiteness, report that they did not perceive racial segregation in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. These statements are made upon reminiscing on Zimbabwe or colonial Rhodesia and comparing the ‘goodness’ of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe to elsewhere, in this case, mostly South Africa, where to the participants, racial segregation and discrimination are obvious and unacceptable. I argue that this is not a question of whether racial segregation in South Africa is objectively worse or more pronounced, but rather an illustration of how, upon migration, issues of white privilege and racism become visible for the first time to these white Zimbabweans.

This visibility of whiteness is not only limited to seeing the whiteness in the new/current host country but can also work retrospectively, where people begin to understand what was going on in the place that they left behind, the homeland. Marie’s experiences with white

Zimbabweans in the UK is an example of how the whiteness of the homeland can become visible once an individual leaves that homeland.

Marie, who lives in South Africa, lived in the UK for a few years. During her stay in the UK, she pursued a Master's degree and focused her Master's research on the experiences of white Zimbabweans in the UK. What struck her from interviewing white Zimbabweans was the level of trust they had in confiding in her as a fellow white Zimbabwean. With this level of trust, her interviewees gave testimonies that revealed strong racist views on black Zimbabweans and until that moment, Marie had never perceived the racism of white Zimbabweans/Rhodesians while living in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the transnational experiences of white Zimbabweans lead them to engage retrospectively with racism in Zimbabwe and reflect on racial relations in a way that they had not done prior to emigration.

7.2.4 Conceptualisation of Cultures

There is also a broader type of visibility of whiteness upon migration, which, while it is personal to individuals, makes substantial contributions to the deconstruction of whiteness as a coherent and universal way of being. The experiences of white Zimbabweans upon migration create perceptions of other white cultures. When individuals emigrate, they reflect on the differences between their own culture and that of other white cultures.

On reflecting on whiteness in Zimbabwe during the interview, Dave says that colonial Zimbabwe, like colonial South Africa, united the different nationalities of white people under a common umbrella of racial superiority based on being white. He points out that in a country such as Zimbabwe, while nation building of the black peoples was facilitated neither by the colonial governments nor the post-independent governments, the 'white community' did

experience some form of facilitated unity through the process of awarding white privilege and emphasising racial superiority. To that extent, according to Dave, there was a kind of ‘white community’ in Zimbabwe, held together by this notion. Thus, there was a sense of ‘homogeneity’ among white Zimbabweans, albeit an artificial one. One can relate this to the concept of ‘*communitas*’ as developed by Turner (1969) to describe the camaraderie between those who are the focus of a ritual, although Turner frames this in the context of a marginalising ritual.

The findings of my research show that upon migration, camaraderie begins to be sought on the premise of nationality (Zimbabwean-ness); diasporic nostalgia; similar worldviews and culture based on coming from a similar upbringing; similar preferences and habits; a shared political and economic history; migration challenges; homesickness; etc. Kendall recalls watching a television show during her early years of living in Spain, in which there was a (black) Zimbabwean woman. After the show, she wrote down the name of the woman who was in the show and searched for her out of curiosity, since it was the first time she had seen a (black) Zimbabwean in Spain. Luke, a British-Zimbabwean man who owns a company in the UK, intentionally does not employ Rhodesians because he says they are racist. He says he would rather employ black Zimbabweans. These examples show a shift from the camaraderie that was perceived on the basis of race as was facilitated in Zimbabwe in colonial times. Here the basis for the ‘*communitas*’ as defined by Turner (1969) begins to lean more towards marginalisation rather than privilege. Those who were previously thought of as ‘one of us’, or ‘fellow white people’, begin to be recognised as ‘the others’. Individuals therefore come to discuss white cultures to some extent as different cultures that can be interrogated separately from their own.

In Chapter Two, I argued that white privilege in Zimbabwe is based on the greater source of whiteness, of which white Zimbabweans see themselves as a part. Here, my findings show that upon emigration, when white Zimbabweans become dual transnationals, they move away from this type of whiteness. Rather, they begin to see their own Zimbabwean white culture as separate from that of the greater source of whiteness, or from other whites that they encounter on their journeys. This is another aspect of the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, by making whiteness visible and triggering a process of seeing white ethnicities for white Zimbabweans, which, in turn, contributes to shifting the whiteness of white Zimbabweans. This phenomenon becomes particularly clear as narrated by Anna and Nala.

Anna narrates:

“My dad emigrated to Australia. So I was hopping to Australia and to my brother in Geneva, so not many trips. Dad was born in England and mom was born in Scotland so I had my British passport. I don’t identify as British at all. Having grown up as a bush girl, it’s a different culture. Europeans have a different understanding of life than what we know. The people at where I’ve moved to in a semi-detached house, the neighbours are so friendly and came over with a present for my dog. But they are different with a different upbringing. They don’t understand what we’ve had. I watch the way the kids behave and things that go on. Some things would never happen in Zim.”

On Afrikaaners, Anna narrates:

“I got married before my 21st birthday to an Afrikaans guy. Worst mistake of my life. I don’t like judging people but the Afrikaaners are really hard”

On Australians, she narrates:

“I loved Australia. Weatherwise it’s Zim kind of weather. Culturally we are very different from the Australians. Just because we speak English and we have white skin doesn’t mean we are the same. Australians are rough people. I went to Adelaide for a while, people swear a lot. I loved it though.”

Nala narrates the following about children in the UK:

“You’d get a smack if you were naughty [in Zimbabwe]. Here you can’t do that with the children because you’ll be reported to social services. Discipline is lacking in children, that’s where you get all the problems. I miss the care-free upbringing. I don’t think there was child exploitation in Zimbabwe. You could go down to your friend’s place and come home before dark. Here you are worried about traffic, people on drugs, psychopaths. That wasn’t there in Zimbabwe. You were watched and you were looked after.”

The observation of differences between the different white peoples also challenges the ‘normalcy’ of whiteness. Where people behave differently from white Zimbabweans’ usual culture, their behaviour is perceived as different from what Zimbabweans usually regard as ‘normal’. For white Zimbabweans, their social positionalities become specific to their own dual identities and the tools they use to navigate those social positionalities. These tools – language, accents, dress code, etc. – are, in turn, conditioned by their identities as white Zimbabwean dual transnationals and dual diasporas, as demonstrated in Chapter Six. I argue that this breaks whiteness apart, whereas colonisation, and myths of racial superiority, had united it into an artificial whole, at least for white settlers in Africa. Bhabha (1994) refers to this disruption as the ‘intervention of the third space enunciation’ which makes the structure

of meaning and reference an ambivalent process (37). Bhabha sees this enunciation as breaking the mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily framed as integrated (*ibid*).

7.3. The limited worldview from the social location of whiteness

A limited worldview can be clearly seen from both interviews and from participants' blog postings and travelogues; they regard Zimbabwe from the social location of whiteness, in that they talk about a natural beauty to which only people of a middle or upper socio-economic status would have access. They also exhibit limited views on racial discrimination. However, ironically, inherent in this limited worldview, their writings also contribute to destabilising colonial whiteness in that they challenge the narratives that had been perpetuated in colonial whiteness. I reflect on their implications on the narratives of Zimbabwe, taking further the discussion that I started in Chapter Six in section 6.5.

7.3.1 Unquestioning diasporic nostalgia as a result of the limited worldview

Assumptions made about the experiences of others

One noticeable trend in my research was that white Zimbabweans viewed their own experiences in Zimbabwe as ordinary and applicable to everyone. This came across as making strong assumptions about the general experiences of others, reflecting their view based on what, in their experience, was the norm. This speaks to the standardisation of whiteness, of the experiences of whiteness becoming the contemporary. It does, however, also provide examples to a key aspect of whiteness as situating white individuals in a social

location that provides a particular or limited perspective on the world (Owen 2007; Frankenberg 1993; 2020).

I argue that this limited perspective of the self and world contributes to the standardisation of whiteness, at least for the subject white individuals. I also argue that this limited perspective plays into the dual diasporism of white Zimbabweans by shaping nostalgic memories that are unquestioning of the environment beyond the realm of whiteness as it was experienced in Zimbabwe. It results in diasporic memories that generalise individual experiences that are shaped by whiteness, as representations of the social reality of the country. I have already alluded to this in Chapter Five.

Sue's narrative provides an example of this assumption of the experiences of others as being similar to one's own experiences. On reflecting on her experience after the University of Cape Town (UCT) and her journey towards permanent migration from Zimbabwe, Sue narrates:

“After university I went to the UK for a year, as everyone does.”

Here Sue assumes that everyone goes to university, and that everyone goes to the UK after university or at some point. This is a perspective that is derived from the point of view of privilege. This includes financial means to travel; a transnational social field that sees one accommodated upon arrival; the privilege of being received on the terms on which one is travelling, i.e. to be received as a tourist, a temporary worker, a student, etc. The understanding of 'everyone' in this case therefore refers to those who have this privilege. In Chapter Five, I argued that the 'accidental migration' – the shift from temporary to permanent migration – of white Zimbabweans shows the element of white privilege clearly

through whiteness citizenship and economic privilege, among other things, facilitating the initial travel. Here we see that there is additionally the assumption, from the social location of whiteness, that these conditions are normal and apply to everyone, or, in other words, that the experience of those who are privileged is representative of the experiences of everyone.

Participants also revealed assumptions made about the thoughts of people of colour and their reactions to the racial ills of the past, both in the past and in the present. Of course there is the element of the glorification of home, as is common with diasporas (Ghorashi 2007) and, as I discussed in Chapter Six. But this glorification of home in some cases reveals a limited perspective of the true experience of the ‘others’ who are the people of colour. Chapter Two provides background on the living and working conditions of domestic workers in Rhodesia and early Zimbabwe, highlighting that they lived under racist and patriarchal conditions. Yet some white Zimbabweans who grew up in Rhodesia and those who grew up in Zimbabwe take a different perspective on what life was like for their domestic workers and how those domestic workers think today. As noted in Chapter Six, Ella notes that her nanny was like her second mother. Kendall, who grew up in Rhodesia, does not perceive that there are any racial tensions in Zimbabwe. She narrates:

“When I go home to Zimbabwe I hang out with my former nanny and there are no issues about the racism of the past.”

Some of these assumptions and perceptions, on the other hand, are typical of diasporic glorification of home and have also been observed by McIntosh (2006), who makes similar findings in her research on white Kenyans. McIntosh finds that white Kenyans make claims to Swahili being their natural mother tongue because of having been raised by black native nannies, with a reinforcement on their strong/maternal relationship with their nannies.

McIntosh suggests that this tendency may be a possible political act of proving legitimacy and connection to the black natives, overlooking the power dynamics between black and white people, more so in an employer-employee relationship and even more so during colonial times. Furthermore, on reflecting on the present, the assumption that the previously oppressed black domestic workers do not hold onto the racism of the past may also suggest a limited view of the world beyond white individuals' privilege. As such they may fail to see the potential trauma of their domestic workers that may have been caused by racial discrimination and long-term subordination.

Pilossof (2009) also comments on this tendency in the critique on the writings of white Zimbabweans. Pilossof draws upon the work of Chennells, Coetzee and Hughes to highlight the silence about the place of the black farm labourers in the nostalgic narrations of the 'pastoral idyll' of white farmers. Pilossof comments not only on the tendency to connect more with the landscape than the black people found on that landscape, but about the paternalistic or maternalistic way in which the farm labourers and domestic workers are referred to in the books that Pilossof reviews. The labourers are presented as having had no problems, issues or worries. They are presented as "happy, industrious workers who were always content under their benevolent white employer" (630).

We can thus see that the diasporic memories of white Zimbabweans and their perception of their own experiences in relation to those around them are conditioned by whiteness. While on one hand, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, some get the opportunity based on their dual transnationalism to reflect back on their lives in Zimbabwe and start to understand the racial relations, others continue to reflect on their lives in Zimbabwe and practice their dual transnationalism and diasporism from a limited perspective of whiteness.

Limited views on racial discrimination

Linked to assumptions made about the experiences of others, some interviewees' accounts of how they experienced or perceived colonial Zimbabwe were not consistent with what is generally understood about colonialism in terms of racial discrimination and segregation.

Nala narrates:

“Never was I ever faced with racism or hate in Zim. Not in my face or indirectly, but never ever in my face. I’ve experienced racism in SA and in Dubai. When I went from boarding school from Botswana to Cape Town, I never knew anything about labels, or brands, no Jewish, Muslim, Christian. In SA I knew straight away, you’re a white person, the white people, the Afrikaans people, the Englishmen. I knew straight away in the school that she’s Muslim etc.”

Sue narrates:

“When I was a kid in Zim, I don’t remember any official apartheid. People were not segregated in terms of black and white. The war was on and there was a lot of security. Until I was 18, I had been to all my schools and all of them were integrated. I was at school with black, white, coloured, Indian from grade 1. I didn’t have an idea of segregation. When I came down to Uni in ’84, apartheid was still active. I’d heard about it but hadn’t understood it. I bumped against it when I invited non white friends to go to the beach and they would tell me they weren’t allowed on the beach. I didn’t understand. If we went on the train, they’d go to a different carriage. It was so weird for me. I’d never experienced it. People’s reactions when I was friendly with people of colour, people would make nasty comments. Thankfully it didn’t last too

long while I was there, but the mental attitude was still very much there, even today. I have old school friends around for dinner and some of my neighbours, I can see them raise their eyebrows.”

Bob only arrived in Rhodesia as a student in the 1960s and was later deported back to the UK by Ian’s Smith UDI regime for his political actions, returned to Zimbabwe after independence. He has a different recollection of Rhodesia in the 1960s and 1970s:

In university, he realised his colleagues with black skin were segregated. There was a special law passed for black students to live on campus. Corridors at university were marked ‘white only/ black only’. He played football in black areas and cricket in white areas. There was a black student who was good at sports and he made white friends and black students didn’t like him. In the white farming scene, there was a sense of district and white farmers being close to each other for security. There was a lot of economic engineering to make sure that white farmers were successful. In the 60s, there was a curfew and’around 5 or 6pm, black workers had to get out of town and go back to the reserves. Town was only for the whites and servants and workers were mostly invisible to the masters. They looked after children, cleaned the house and didn’t have to think about much more.

The accounts on the absence of racial segregation and racism in colonial Zimbabwe are inconsistent with the historical background of the policies and structural racism of colonialism as I have discussed in Chapter Two. In addition, there is a distinction between the perception of racial segregation of those who were born and raised in Rhodesia, and in this case Bob, who went to Rhodesia for the first time as a student from London.

The case of white Zimbabweans and Rhodesians who never perceived racial segregation and discrimination in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe can be explained by the limited worldview imposed by the social location of whiteness upon white individuals. I suggest that given that the interviewees were not the subject of discrimination, it is not surprising that they may not have noticed what was happening to others around them. In this sense, their specific social location and the experiences it gave them would have provided a limited perspective of the world around them. Simoes da Silva (2011) interestingly refers to historicising the personal or personalising history to describe the way in which social and cultural location may lead to a generalised narration of historical events, where individuals' personal experiences are taken to represent national historical circumstances. Therefore, white Zimbabweans not having noticed racial segregation because of their social location, can be reflected upon by individuals as there not having been any racial segregation in Rhodesia.

Pilossof (2009) observes a similar limitation of perspective when it comes to racial discrimination in the writings of white Zimbabweans. For example, Pilossof refers to Peter Godwin's book: *Mukiwa: A White Boy in Africa*, in which the "children grow up in a wondrous rural setting, blissfully unaware of the war and the racism of the settler state in which they live, until dramatic enlightenment is forced upon them at the time of independence" (633). Notwithstanding the problematic relationship and monolithic reference to 'Africa' in this and several other writings that Pilossof examines, Pilossof presents here the tendency for distorted or limited perceptions of what Rhodesia and racial discrimination were about and at the realisation of its truth, a tendency for self-forgiveness and unquestioning nostalgia.

On this point, I argue that whiteness plays into the dual diasporism of white Zimbabweans, so that the dual diasporism is characterised by a glorification of the homeland that is based on a limited perspective of the reality of the homeland. I have discussed this in detail in Chapter Six. Here it is also worth mentioning that the lack of perception of the racial discrimination in Zimbabwe is also represented by the narratives in my research that link the prosperity of white farmers to their hard work. Gill, who grew up on a farm, attributes the success of their farm to her father's hard work, in isolation of the structural support provided by the Rhodesian government. Similarly, Frida, who had her farm in Zimbabwe taken away as part of the land redistribution programme, does not reflect on the conditions under which white farms in Zimbabwe were acquired by white settlers when she talks about the absurdity of the land redistribution In Zimbabwe.

In Chapter Six I have reflected on the impact of whiteness on the diasporism of white Zimbabweans and how it complicates the potential process of white Zimbabweans becoming a part of the greater Zimbabwean diaspora in a place like the UK. There I suggested that the intersectional space of being Zimbabwean, but not black, and being white, but not European, however with white privilege, makes it difficult for white Zimbabweans to claim that they share similar experiences with the black Zimbabwean diasporas, as pointed out by Pasura (2014). At the same time, black feminist activists, including bell hooks and Toni Morrison highlight that while whiteness is invisible to whites, it is visible to non-whites. Indeed, black Zimbabweans are very much aware of the whiteness and racial discrimination in colonial Zimbabwe and the version of it that persisted post-colonisation. I therefore draw the conclusion that the lack of a common understanding of Zimbabwean history between black Zimbabweans and the white Zimbabwean emigrants who suggest that there were no racial

tensions in Zimbabwe may make it even more difficult for white Zimbabweans to become a part of the greater black dominated Zimbabwean diaspora.

7.3.2 The social location of whiteness, dual transnationalism, dual diasporism and the re-writing of narratives on ‘Africa’

Among white Zimbabweans in my research are also those who acknowledge the racism and whiteness of colonisation. Many of these participants are those who are based in South Africa.

Claire narrates:

“I may be different to your other respondents due to my complete and utter rejection of colonialism, racism and white supremacy that dogs white people and particularly flourished in Rhodesia. Those who left when or before I did will be very different as well and those who left more recently may have tried harder to fit in and be Zimbabwean and African. My African side was learned later in South Africa when I dedicated my life to undoing what all colonisers did. But for all of us who left it was an extremely painful and reluctant move, because we all loved the country fiercely. It was ours, only it wasn’t. If that had been understood and we didn’t colonise but fit in, there would have been no need for the bush war and leaving. But as white people we just can’t help it can we? We have to take over and know better than others, only we don’t know better. We basically tried to create a mini-England with subordinates who did everything for us. And as migrants of which most of us are now, the diaspora is bigger than who remained, we continue to largely have that mentality unless we make an effort to admit it was all wrong. But most won’t. Most maintain their privilege and

defend what they did, therefore always trying to keep the upper hand and that they were once lords and ladies of something.”

From Claire’s narrative, it is clear that some white Zimbabweans are keen to distance themselves from whiteness. This is also demonstrated by other participants’ actions, for instance, Bob, whose anti-colonialism activism got him expelled from Rhodesia by the Ian Smith government before he later went back to Zimbabwe after independence. It is also demonstrated by the legacies of others, outside of my participants, for instance Terrence Ranger who I have mentioned in Chapter Four as a white Zimbabwean who formed the British Zimbabwe Society. This Society still exists in the UK and holds an Annual Research Day for the Zimbabwean diaspora every year. Ranger established the society to counteract the widespread and negative UK press coverage on black governance in Zimbabwe after Zimbabwe’s independence.

Claire’s perspective and that of others mimics that of neo-abolitionists. Neo-abolitionists believe that once those who are racialised as white have come to understand the centrality of whiteness, the next step is to refuse the advantages and privileges associated with whiteness and thereby abolish it (Owen 2007). Owen cautions that there are multiple problems with the strategy of neo-abolitionists. They presume that whiteness can be refused like a gift and overlook the fact that whiteness does not function in a single dimension (*ibid*). Rather, it colonises and infects all aspects of the social sphere, hence its role as a structuring property of all spheres of society (*ibid*). On this, Garner (2007) provides a useful example using the situation of non-union employees. Garner points out that if one is a non-union employee in an industry where the union negotiates more advantageous conditions, one will still benefit from

the advantages, whether or not one campaigned for the conditions, voted for them or even wanted them.

Neo-abolitionists, according to Owen, also presume that with self-conscious effort, whiteness is something that is readily recognisable and identifiable such that it can be singled out to be refused. They also presume that whiteness is fundamentally, if not exclusively, a social identity, and as such it is in the power of whites to refuse it. Owen argues that its systematic embeddedness in the social world makes it so that micro-critiques and refusals, or race treason (Ignatiev and Garvey 1996) are insufficient to disrupt its power to reproduce racial domination.

Indeed throughout this research I have demonstrated the complexity of whiteness, its systematic embeddedness and how it influences the macro-level power structures that also condition the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans. However, my analysis of the transnational activities of white Zimbabweans challenges any suggestion that individual acts of rebellion against whiteness are insignificant. I argue that while they may not make recognisable differences at the systematic level, they may make differences at the social level. The transnational activities of white Zimbabweans, as I have discussed in Chapter Six, can make contributions, however small, to shifting narratives of places that were previously written about through the lens of colonial whiteness.

In Chapter Six, I discussed the transnational activities of white Zimbabweans, specifically those who write blogs, books, editorials, NGO websites and articles for travel magazines based on Zimbabwe. In my examination of material written by six of the white Zimbabweans in my research, I note that indeed there are elements of a social location that are influenced by whiteness.

The aspect of closeness to nature comes back again and again, in phrases such as: “not too far...but greener” and memories of growing up in Zimbabwe “surrounded by a beauty I cannot explain, one that you need to visit, breathe and feel.”

However, the writings make claim to Zimbabwe as home. They include reviews of Zimbabwean films; reviews of books written by other Zimbabweans, reflections on visits to Zimbabwe. They comment on the political turmoil in Zimbabwe, separating it from how they feel about the country: “wounded, weary and wonderful”.

They describe Zimbabweans as “courteous and kind”.

They write about life in Zimbabwe with family, friends and animals. They write about belonging, saying that they will always be Zimbabwean even though they have not lived there for a long time.

The essence of these writings does not fit with that described by Pilossof (2009) in the research on books written by whites on Zimbabwe. Pilossof uses a vivid description quoted from Wainana (2005) to capture the essence of the writings of whites about Africa. Here Wainana’s sarcastic piece offers advice:

“Some tips: sunsets and starvation are good
Always use the word ‘Africa’ or ‘Darkness’ or ‘Safari’ in your title ... Note that
‘People’ means Africans who are not black, while ‘The People’ means black Africans
... Never have a picture of a well-adjusted African on the cover of your book, or in it, unless that African has won the Nobel Prize. An AK-47, prominent ribs, naked breasts: use these. In your text, treat Africa as if it were one country...Don’t get bogged down with precise descriptions. Africa is big...fifty four countries, 900 million people who are too busy starving and dying and warring and emigrating to read your book. Africa is to be pitied, worshipped or dominated...”

Taboo subjects: ordinary domestic scenes, love between Africans (unless a death is involved), references to African writers or intellectuals, mention of school-going children who are not suffering from yaws or Ebola fever or female genital mutilation.”(n.p)

The blog writings of white Zimbabwean emigrants present a very different picture of Zimbabwe. These emigrants, whose duality makes them claim their belongingness to Zimbabwe, write pieces that are specific and more grounded in everyday living and cross over into the ‘taboo subjects’ that Wainana mention above. While, they do possess the elements of diasporic nostalgia that reflect the social location of whiteness as it is shown by Wainana including texts on animals; sunsets, they also comment on politics, days out with family and friends, local movies, books and local food. These depictions make some contribution to shifting the impression of Africa that has been created by those in colonial whiteness social locations, and as pointed out by Wainana above.

These writings, which are expressions of transnational ways of belonging of white Zimbabweans, shift the narrative from Africa as a monolith to describing a specific location, i.e. Zimbabwe; from Africans as ‘too busy starving and dying’ to writing about their own daily lives among other Zimbabweans. While these contributions are at a micro-level, and may not change the systematic embeddedness of whiteness, I argue that they are still significant in terms of shifting the colonial narratives of those who were ‘No longer European, not yet African’ (Coetzee and Bethlehem 1990) who wrote of Africa, the bush. These narratives, written by those who are ‘Zimbabwean but not black, white but not European’ rather write of Zimbabwe as their home. Therefore, while the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans is in some ways complicated, and in some ways, facilitated by whiteness, it also, in turn, has itself complicated whiteness in many ways, as discussed here.

7.4 Conclusion

In Chapter Seven, I have demonstrated that the experience of migration and the resulting dual transnationalism make certain structural and cultural aspects of whiteness visible to white Zimbabweans. At the structural level, the advantages of whiteness citizenship become clear, based on travel requirements they face and the clear advantages of high value citizenship. At the cultural level, white Zimbabweans compare themselves with non-whites in their countries of settlement and become aware of the weight of the white skin colour in positioning them within the borders of whiteness. Within this border, there are limits in the extent to which intersections of individual constructs peripheralise those who are white, in comparison to other immigrants.

The visibility of whiteness through dual transnationalism also means that white Zimbabweans begin to reflect on racial inequalities back in Zimbabwe. Their earlier social location of whiteness in Zimbabwe had not enabled them to see these racial inequalities prior to emigration from Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the experiences of exclusion faced by white Zimbabweans in different locales as they travel, bring them to the understanding of themselves as an ethnic group. This recognition is a shift from having regarded themselves as being a part of the greater group of whites, which colonial narratives had encouraged them to imagine.

In this chapter, I have also demonstrated that the limited social location of whiteness, while it limits the perspective of whites, also produces a paradox through its destabilisation of colonial whiteness. In this way I build on the notion of the social location of whiteness which limits the worldview of whites as a functional property of whiteness (Owen 2007). I do this

by demonstrating that when combined with dual transnationalism, with part of the duality an identity from the Global South, duality can work through the social location of whiteness to destabilise whiteness. I make the suggestion that micro-level acts of destabilising colonial narratives of Zimbabwe have some significance at a social level, even if they may not necessarily erase whiteness at the systemic level.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Research

8.1 Overview of the research

This thesis has explored the transnationalism of white Zimbabwean emigrants. It has argued that upon emigration, white Zimbabweans become what we might call dual transnationals, and that this dual transnationalism is facilitated and complicated by whiteness in several ways. It has demonstrated the many ways in which whiteness facilitates the dual migration of white Zimbabweans, drawing from the structural, economic and social privileges that have remained as remnants of colonialism, as they apply to white Zimbabweans and as they are also part of the global level structures. These ways in which whiteness facilitates transnationalism include the power of factors such as citizenship in the process of migration, which intersect with whiteness and result in different social positions for white Zimbabweans. In spite of the different social positions of privilege, which I have referred to as differential whiteness, I draw the conclusion that the white skin colour remains significant. However, while this remains the case, I also demonstrate that it carries more weight in certain locales, such as South Africa, than in others where the white ethnicity is in the majority, such as the UK, where issues of social class, accent and language become more salient than does white skin colour alone.

Looking at the individual lives of white Zimbabweans, the thesis has demonstrated that in some cases transnationalism is instrumentalised to escape unfavourable social positions imposed on white Zimbabwean emigrants on the basis of accent, language and Africanness. At the same time, transnationalism is also practiced to make up for feelings of non-

belongingness and a sense of loss, or nostalgia. Some practices, such as nostalgia and the glorification of home, place white Zimbabwean emigrants at the intersection of diasporas, co-ethnic return migrants and dual transnationals, even as they possess what I have called here whiteness citizenship.

I have demonstrated the different ways in which diasporism and dual transnationalism are complicated by whiteness, while also drawing the conclusion that dual transnationalism in turn, also complicates whiteness, deconstructing it, making it visible to white Zimbabweans in different ways, and leading to shifting colonial perspectives and narratives of Africa. Here I have engaged with some key functional properties of whiteness, such as invisibility and the social location which limits white individuals' perspective, to demonstrate how migration facilitates the visibility of specific aspects of whiteness. I also suggest, finally, that the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, as expressed in some of their transnational activities, positions white Zimbabweans as powerful ambassadors of Zimbabwe because of their identification with it as home. As such, while they do not succeed in breaking out of the social location of whiteness, the social location of being African, but not black, and white, but not European, however with white privilege, leads them to bring in different narratives of Zimbabwe that are quite different from the colonial narratives. I will elaborate on this later on this as an area for future research. In this thesis, I have drawn from the translocational lens on intersectionality.

In this final chapter, I will conclude the thesis by addressing how my findings can be interpreted in broader academic debates. I will highlight the theoretical contributions of the thesis to debates on transnationalism and whiteness in the context of

migration. I will then suggest potential ways forward through avenues for further research in these areas of study.

8.2 Contributions to Migration and Whiteness studies

In this thesis, four key elements have characterised my research, namely colonisation of Zimbabwe as a manifestation of white supremacy; migration and transnationalism; individual experiences during these journeys as influenced by intersections of individual constructs and the racialised transnational space in which migration occurs. To analyse these interrelated elements, I have drawn on a range of concepts, which have been useful in developing my overall argument. Drawing on the concept of whiteness as the interplay between power, privilege and identity (Pilosof and Boersema 2017), I have argued in Chapter One that each of these elements means something different in every context. Thus, their interplay results in social positionalities that are specific to locales, so that whiteness as it is experienced in Zimbabwe is not positioned centrally, but yields economic and social privilege on the basis of persisting power structures set up during colonial times. This is different from whiteness as it is experienced in the UK, where class plays a role in defining whiteness among whites, and different from South Africa, where it is more structural and hypervisible. This thesis has taken us through these different experiences of whiteness through the eyes of white Zimbabweans.

In applying a translocational lens on intersectionality, I have demonstrated the shifting social positionalities of white Zimbabwean emigrants in different locales. These shifting positionalities are a result of the interplay of context, meaning and time. In other words, as highlighted in Chapter Three, they are the result of how the structures and processes of a

particular locale (which, I argue in this thesis, are racialised and therefore organised by whiteness) have made meaning of the intersecting characteristics of an individual within the temporal dimension.

Through the narratives of my interviewees, my thesis demonstrates that individual constructs of migrants intersect to produce a certain outcome. That outcome becomes the social positionality of an individual through the following process. In order to map what this social positonality is in a given locale, we have to look into the interplay of context, meaning, and time. Context, being the social structures and processes in a locale, is racialised and therefore conditioned by whiteness. Context interplays with the meaning that its social structures and processes (also through representation and social organisation), make of the individual intersections of the migrant within a temporal dimension. The outcome of this process is the social positionality of the migrant. Through demonstrating the relationship between these elements in this way, I hope to have made contributions to studies at the intersection of whiteness and migration.

The experiences of Zimbabwean emigrants in Europe, Australia and South Africa can be seen as demonstrating what happens at the meeting point of the position of the sending country in the global hierarchy of nations (Tsuda 2010), and the position of individuals in the global hierarchy of peoples (Mignolo 2006). Tsuda (2010) argues, in an analysis of co-ethnic return migration experiences of Japanese Brazilians in Japan, that co-ethnic return migration experiences are influenced by the geopolitical and economic position of the sending country as well as by global racial hierarchies. In this thesis, I have examined those who come from a country that is on the lower end of the global hierarchy of nations (Zimbabwe) but are, as individuals, highly ranked in the global racial hierarchy (white). Intersectionality here is

therefore applied at the level of the global power structures, so that the final social positioning of individuals depends on the intersections at this macro level and how they interplay with the intersections of individual characteristics and embodiments at the micro level. Beyond this, the experiences of my interviewees reveal their everyday struggles and perceptions, bringing in a strong element of subjectivity when it comes to the experience of privilege. Privilege in itself therefore does not shield individuals from feelings of non-belonging, nor from having to engage with who they were and who they have become through the process of emigration.

In the field of migration studies, within a broad political science approach, the thesis brings to focus the element of migration directionality. Migration studies largely focus on the migration from 'poorer' regions to more affluent ones. This focus tends to be on less privileged migrants. Scholars such as Kunz (2016) point out that this is a gap in migration studies, in that there is little research on the experiences going the other direction, from richer countries to poorer ones, and on privileged migrants from poorer to richer countries. My thesis thus contributes to literature by discussing the experiences of migrants who are privileged by race, class and in some cases, citizenship. However, I do not limit the lens to one of the three directions, that is, from poorer to richer countries, from richer to poorer countries, or intra-regional migration between countries of similar economic wealth. We can gain insights throughout the process of multi-directional and circular migration.

These migration processes demonstrate that dimensions of whiteness are also revealed during the journeys themselves, for example, through visa application processes, visa requirements (to anywhere) and transit experiences, in addition to the experiences upon arrival and settlement. My research shows that transnational ways of being and belonging are practiced

before and during journeys as well as after settlement and, further, that the whole process of migration, before, during and after, regardless of destination, are grounds in which the dimensions of whiteness are reflected.

This thesis, in drawing on the experiences of those who have emigrated to richer countries, demonstrates how the construction of whiteness, which is designed to exclude those who are outside of the border of whiteness, also creates grounds for the exclusion of those who are within that border, albeit on different grounds. Mignolo (2006) argues that at border posts, one is not denied entry on the basis of being objectively poor, but rather on the grounds of religion, skin colour, language, nationality, or other indicators of colonial and imperial differences which, in turn, imply poverty. My research demonstrates that these indicators cannot result in distinct zones of whiteness and non-whiteness, even if they are designed to privilege those who are white. Rather, they also create conditions which place those who they aim to group into the zone of whiteness at the periphery of whiteness. This phenomenon occurs because, in certain ways, those in the zone of whiteness possess elements that intersect with those who are outside of it. Examples of these as discussed in this thesis are holding Zimbabwean nationality, being homosexual or being female, all characteristics which rank low on the widely perceived global hierarchy of peoples created by colonialism, which is not only based on race but is also patriarchal and heterosexual (Grosfoguel *et al.* 2015)

Scholars such as Leonardo 2002 and Owen 2007 have argued that individual acts of denying whiteness will not abolish whiteness due to its entrenchment in power structures and deep socio-historic roots. These scholars argue that for whiteness to be moved, it needs to be addressed at a structural level. Throughout this thesis, I argue that white Zimbabwean emigrants are characterised by a complex and multi-layered duality, which I unpack through

their transnational experiences. In my research, I find that writing is one of the common transnational activities in which white Zimbabwean emigrants engage.

In Chapter Seven, I reflect on the writings of the white Zimbabweans in my research. This includes blogs, personal websites, travel magazines and writings for charity organisations whose work focuses on Zimbabwe. I suggest there that the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, combined with their social location as whites, when translated to their writings has the potential to gradually, even if to a limited extent, shift colonial narratives on Zimbabwe. Writers such as Wainana (2005) refer to colonial tendencies of writing about Africa, pointing to the tendency to write about Africa as a monolith without specific locales, and as dominated by wilderness and bush. The sentiments of whites are reserved for wild animals which are seen as characteristic of Africa and are given first names. Such writings on Zimbabwe are also critiqued by Pilossof (2009). Zimbabwe has been written about as an unspecified place in 'Africa' and as an addictive 'bush' to which the fish eagle can beckon whites to return, as implied in books such as Peter Rimmer's 'Cry of the fish eagle'.

Yet I have shown in this thesis that there are different writings about Zimbabwe. My research shows that some transnational white Zimbabweans, identifying present-day Zimbabwe as their home, whether or not they live there, write about it differently. They write about a specific place called Zimbabwe, with family, friends, movies and literature. This, I argue, represents a shift from colonial narratives of Zimbabwe as an unspecified and wild place somewhere in Africa. This has implications both in terms of moving beyond colonial narratives of Africa, but also, on an individual level, shows that the ways in which white Zimbabwean emigrants engage in transnationalism and think of Zimbabwe as home is

different from the ways in which it was thought of as home prior to the experiences of migration.

While it does not manage to transcend whiteness, this re-conceptualisation creates shifts in the way that Zimbabwe is spoken and written about, and these shifts are a reflection of internal shifts in individual identification or shifts in subjectivities. It is therefore worth taking the discussion forward to ask the question on whether the migration experiences of white Africans are a practical way in which small shifts in subjectivities take place and what this means for the erasure of whiteness.

8.3 Contribution to studies on co-ethnic return migration and transnationalism

In this research, I use the term ‘whiteness citizenship’, which I have drawn from my research to refer to conscious efforts to obtain Western documents/passports in order to access the full white privilege of freedom of travel without scrutiny and restrictions. The combination of the experience of obtaining whiteness citizenship and self-identifying as a transnational or diaspora whose ancestral home is the real home, whether by choice or by social imposition, has implications for white Zimbabweans when they emigrate to Europe. It most particularly has implications for those who emigrated to Britain, expecting to feel at home and were administratively welcomed as British citizens based on their passports, but soon experienced feelings of exclusion and non-belonging, upon the realisation that they could not relate to the culture and lifestyle of the host country. This exclusion and non-belonging of co-ethnic return migrants is a well-studied area in co-ethnic return migration literature (Tsuda 2000; 2003; 2010; 2013; Asscher and Shiff 2020; King and Christou 2011).

I advance these insights in two ways. The first is that I demonstrate how transnationalism is instrumentalised to transcend experiences of exclusion in co-ethnic return migration. The second, which follows the first but which I consider to be a novel contribution to this area, is that of dual transnationalism. My research demonstrates that some white Zimbabweans are transnationals before they emigrate from Zimbabwe, due to their ancestry. They therefore practice transnational ways of being and, or transnational ways of belonging while living in Zimbabwe. Upon migration, be it co-ethnic return migration in the case of those emigrating to their ancestral homes, or emigration to elsewhere, white Zimbabweans tend to experience a need for a sense of belonging and nostalgia for home. They therefore begin to engage in transnationalism to address this need, but now becoming transnationals in relation to Zimbabwe. As such, they become transnationals for a second time, hence, dual transnationals.

I take this argument further by showing that whiteness plays a role in defining the necessary effort and form of dual transnationalism. On this I describe several elements of social and cultural transnationalism, which manifest as body politics, food habits and language. Specifically, my thesis demonstrates that one of the remnants of colonialism and subcomponents of the global hierarchy of peoples is a hierarchy of languages, in which the English language is at the apex. As such, former colonies, such as Zimbabwe, have adopted an education system which emphasises the English language, creating a diglossic relationship with English as the language of instruction in education, the language of the media and the language of politics, thus, an official language, while local languages are used primarily in social and informal settings (Hungwe 2007). Consequently, white Zimbabweans do not have to invest too much in learning Shona, Ndebele or any of the other languages spoken by the

black majority. Yet, it is the knowledge of Shona and Ndebele words that white Zimbabwean emigrants refer to in their claim to belonging to Zimbabwe. As transnationals abroad, white Zimbabweans who speak basic words in Ndebele and Shona are able to draw on them as symbolic capital (Bourdieu (1977; 1982) to claim belonging to Zimbabwe. On the other hand, English as a means of symbolic capital demands more from speakers than a few basic words. Rather, speakers adopt Western comports - accent, gestures, and the internalisation of Western culture when speaking English - in order to acquire sufficient symbolic capital to qualify for certain spheres of whiteness (Pham and Tran 2015) and to gain the confidence of the consumers in those spheres (Rajan-Rankin 2018). Here I bring in the notion of dual transnationalism by showing that for duality to be possible, the conditions for belonging have to be able to be achieved. The case of white Zimbabweans suggests that whiteness makes this belonging, at least in the objective sense, more possible.

Finally, although existing research on the Zimbabwean diaspora highlights the fragmentation of the diaspora along lines of ethnicity, social class and even race in the UK (Pasura 2008) in South Africa (Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera 2016) and even globally (Chikanda and Crush 2018), there is little research on white Zimbabweans themselves. My research contributes to filling this gap on white Zimbabweans who have left Zimbabwe, looking at them as diasporic transnationals, with aspects of co-ethnic return.

Diaspora politics is complicated and oftentimes the politics of the home country is imported into the host country, affecting diaspora relations there. Crush and colleagues (2016) argue that white Zimbabwean diasporas in South Africa do not engage with diaspora organisations for several reasons, including not wanting to invest in development work as they would consider that as supporting the current regime. They also suggest that white Zimbabweans in

the diaspora were stripped of their citizenship and thus find no reason to engage in matters of a country that disowned them. My research further develops Crush *et al.*'s (2016) work in that I suggest that white Zimbabweans in the UK, because they feel more excluded, may be more activist in their diaspora and transnational activities than those in South Africa. My research has suggested that since white privilege is prevalent in South Africa, white Zimbabweans in South Africa may settle more comfortably and thus have less need to seek out those from their homeland.

My research makes a contribution to this discussion by suggesting that while politics plays a role in diaspora relations, there is, in the case of white Zimbabweans, the more complex factor of whiteness, which hinders the process of becoming part of the diaspora. I suggest that the distorted perspective on historical race relations in Zimbabwe, as presented by white Zimbabweans in this research, can inhibit them from becoming part of the greater Zimbabwean diaspora, which is predominantly black. The social location of being white creates a lack of common understanding of Zimbabwe's history, where from the perspective of many white Zimbabweans, there was neither real racial tension nor discrimination in Zimbabwe. According to that perspective, black people were respected and worked as happy employees who were well looked after and were part of white families. This perspective separates white Zimbabwean emigrants from the black Zimbabwean diaspora and the greater black diaspora whose bond is based on a common history of oppression, of which colonialism and racial segregation is an integral part.

A second complication that I suggest exists with respect to white Zimbabweans becoming part of the Zimbabwean diaspora, is that not all white Zimbabweans regard themselves as a Zimbabwean diaspora. Some regard themselves as a Rhodesian diaspora, thus, a diaspora of a

place that no longer exists as a political entity. This group of people is commonly known among white Zimbabweans as *whenwe(s)*, referring to those who cannot let go of the past. For white Zimbabweans, this presents a dilemma. This research finds that those who regard themselves as a Zimbabwean diaspora are inclusive of white Zimbabweans who only ever lived in Rhodesia and emigrated before independence. Thus, as much as they have mentally migrated to Zimbabwe and regard themselves as Zimbabwean, their fondest memories, which serve as the basis for their glorification of the homeland (as diasporas tend to do), are memories of Rhodesia, thereby also rendering them *whenwe(s)*. There are of course references based on more recent memories of Zimbabwe due to frequent visits to family and holiday. However, these dynamics demonstrate the complexity and multi-layered ness of the dualism of white Zimbabwean transnationals which makes certain spaces challenging to navigate.

8.4 Future Research Paths

My research has laid ground work for future research in a number of areas and identifies four areas for future research in particular.

The research has revealed that the emergence of a Zimbabwean diaspora of white Zimbabweans, joining the greater black-dominated Zimbabwean diaspora is an area for further research; my research has shown that, despite challenges, some white Zimbabweans do feel that they are part of the greater Zimbabwean diaspora. Another promising area for research is a comparative analysis of the integration in countries of co-ethnic return migration between post-colonial co-ethnic return migrants and co-ethnic return migrations based on ancestry without national-level ties. Such an analysis could also take an intersectionality

focus with an aim of understanding the weight that language carries in such an integration process. This would be another aspect playing a role in distinguishing the integration experiences of these two types of co-ethnic return migrants. A third area for further research is that of white foreigners in South Africa. Research that looks into poor white foreigners in South Africa and the way they experience xenophobia would further shed light on the boundaries of whiteness in migration. Finally, further research on reverse dual transnationalism would build on my contributions to transnationalism through demonstrating the dual transnationalism of white Zimbabweans, and be another promising area. Below I elaborate further on these areas for future research.

The becoming a diaspora of white Zimbabweans, joining the greater black dominated Zimbabwean diaspora

In this thesis, I have highlighted that white Zimbabweans are generally not considered as a third ethnic group (in addition to the Shonas and the Ndebeles) among the Zimbabwean diasporas in the UK, for instance when discussing ethnic divides among the diaspora. I make the suggestion that, while white Zimbabwean emigrant experiences are in some cases those of a diaspora, there are challenges to their becoming a part of the black-dominated Zimbabwean diaspora. Among these challenges, I argue that the lack of a common understanding of Zimbabwe's historical race relations is one. I argue that they occupy an intersectional space as white Zimbabweans, who are not Europeans, but in some cases are awarded privileges based on whiteness which include official identities as co-ethnic return migrants in Europe. I argue that this positions them differently from black diasporas. However, I do not elaborate on this question as it is not the focus of this research.

A more detailed investigation into the process of white Zimbabweans becoming a diaspora could be interesting for future research. Such a study could take forward some of the insights in this thesis. For instance, I suggest that the transnationalism of white Zimbabweans in the UK has a more activist dimension than that in South Africa, which has a more social focus. I suggest that these differences may be determined by the comfort levels of migrants. In South Africa, whiteness as it manifests in society creates visible privilege on the basis of skin colour. As such, white Zimbabweans may find it easier to integrate and enjoy the benefits of whiteness. In the UK, whiteness is more nuanced, interrupted by dimensions such as class. As such, the feelings of lack of belonging can be more intense, leading white Zimbabweans to feel like a diaspora and to be more active in their transnationalism. One could therefore expect that white Zimbabweans in the UK, for example, may be more interested in becoming part of the greater diaspora than those in South Africa due to the differing social positionalities in these contexts.

White foreignness in South Africa

I also argue in this thesis that context is a limited factor in determining the shifting of social positionalities based on whiteness. Here I argue that, in South Africa for example, the white skin colour shields white Zimbabweans from being labelled as foreigners, despite their efforts in distinguishing themselves from white South Africans and emphasising their Zimbabweanness. This view could be challenged by looking at marginalised and poor white foreigners in South Africa, something that is beyond the scope of this research. As such, a study on the experiences of poor white foreigners in instances of xenophobic violence could shed valuable insights to the issue on the boundaries of whiteness in migration.

Reverse dual transnationalism

Finally, in this thesis I make the argument that whiteness becomes visible for white Zimbabwean emigrants. I also highlight in Chapter Seven that there is the question of to whom this initial invisibility/ visibility applies. In this research, two participants expressed that they were aware of the racism and white privilege in Zimbabwe. The first was Bob, who had immigrated to Zimbabwe in the 1960s as a student and was struck by the racial segregation at school. The second was Stan, who was born and raised in the UK, and also immigrated to Zimbabwe as an adult. However, all other participants, who were born and raised in Zimbabwe, did not feel that there was racial segregation, even when they were growing up in Rhodesia. Therefore, while there is the argument that whiteness is mostly invisible to those who are white, this phenomenon supports my argument that migration, because of its presentation of new forms of whiteness to the migrant, makes whiteness visible to that particular migrant. Thus in the case of Stan and Bob mentioned above, I argue that, given that they were coming into Zimbabwe as adults who grew up in the UK, they could see Zimbabwean whiteness more clearly than those who had been born and raised in that type of whiteness. Here my argument applies then to white Zimbabweans leaving Zimbabwe, but also to white Zimbabweans returning to Zimbabwe.

The phenomenon that I describe in this thesis, of being transnational before emigrating from Zimbabwe, can be seen as a cycle that repeats itself. For example, white Zimbabweans abroad who are raising their children in a transnational social field also emphasise their Zimbabwean heritage to them. Therefore, that generation can also be regarded as transnationals (with Zimbabwe as part of their heritage) before emigrating from their current home countries abroad (e.g. Spain), much as their parents were transnationals (with Europe as part of their heritage) before emigrating from Zimbabwe when they were young. The way in

which Zimbabwe is presented to these children who grow up abroad is dream-like and mirrors the experiences of children of Greek transnationals abroad as discussed by King and Christou (2014). King and Christou demonstrate that the memories of Greek second-generation transnationals, before returning to live in Greece, are based on warm family welcomes and sunny holidays, and that are not adequate preparation for moving back and dealing with the daily challenges of living in Greece. An interesting angle for further research is an investigation into whether and how white Zimbabweans with this profile, namely those who grow up in a Zimbabwean transnational social field, practice their transnationalism when they emigrate to Zimbabwe. How visible/invisible is Zimbabwean whiteness to them and what are their general transnational experiences? Such a lens could provide fruitful comparisons to the transnational experiences described in this research, from a generational perspective, from a 'post-colonial' perspective which is even further down the line and from the perspective of migration, transnationalism and dualism in the other direction, that is, from richer to poorer countries. Overall, my research has contributed to several fields of literature, and provided the basis for a wide range of potential future research topics.

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Appendix A: Participant Information

Interviewee no.	Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Sexuality	Born in Zimbabwe- Yes/No	Country of settlement at the time of interview	Heritage/Ancestral background
1	Dave	M	65-70	Heterosexual	Yes	Zimbabwe	British (Scotland)
2	Stan	M	60-65	Heterosexual	No	Zimbabwe	British
3	Bob	M	70-75	Heterosexual	No	UK	British
4	Jed	M	35-40	Unknown	Yes	Zimbabwe	British (English and Scottish)
5	Gill	F	45-50	Heterosexual	Yes	UK	British
6	Kendall	F	45-50	Heterosexual	Yes	Spain	Greek/Irish
7	Marie	F	45-50	Heterosexual	Yes	South Africa	Greek/Irish
8	Claire	F	50-55	Unknown	Yes	South Africa	British
9	Sue	F	45-50	Heterosexual	Yes	South Africa	Dutch/Irish
10	Trisha	F	30-35	Lesbian	Yes	UK	Dutch/German/ British
11	Nala	F	35-40	Heterosexual	Yes	UK	British
12	Anna	F	40-45	Heterosexual	Yes	UK/Australia	British (English and Scottish)
13	Tracy	F	45-50	Unknown	Yes	Australia	British/Irish
14	Christie	F	45-50	Heterosexual	Yes	UK	British
15	Luke	M	30-35	Unknown	Yes	UK	British
16	Tia	F	45-50	Unknown	Yes	South Africa	British
17	Lyn	F	45-50	Unknown	Yes	South Africa	British
18	Iris	F	50-55	Lesbian	Yes	UK	British
19	Katie	F	30-35	Heterosexual	Yes	Zimbabwe	British
20	Amy	F	50-55	Heterosexual	Yes	UK	Irish
21	Frida	F	50-55	Lesbian	Yes	UK	Greek/British

22	Ella	F	50-55	Lesbian	Yes	UK	British/Irish
23	Rachel	F	30-35	Unknown	Yes	Australia	Dutch/German/Irish

Appendix B: Research on white Zimbabweans/Rhodesians

- Invitation to interview

Dear...

I trust that you are well.

Firstly, please pardon me for this unsolicited email. My name is Zdena Middernacht, and I am a young Zimbabwean woman based in Belgium. I am pursuing a PhD with the University of Kent, Brussels School of International Studies. I am conducting research on the migration experiences of white Zimbabweans, their lives in their host country and their relationship with their home country. I am particularly interested in the experiences of white Zimbabweans and Rhodesians living abroad. I came across your name while looking at the XXXXX/ I was referred to you by xxx and thought you could perhaps be able to contribute to my research by sharing your experiences.

I would very much be interested in talking to you to learn about your experiences as they would be very valuable to my research. The conversation would be confidential and I would not mention your name in my thesis. I may quote you directly but I would use a pseudonym such that the quotes would not be traceable back to you. I would also be happy to share the actual thesis with you at the completion of my PhD, should you be interested.

If you would be interested in having a chat, kindly let me know and I would be happy to give you a call. It's also possible to talk through Skype if that works for you. I know that it would have been better to meet in person but as I am based in Belgium, I would only have the possibility to travel to XXX. Kindly let me know if you would be interested in contributing to the study and what method of communication you are most comfortable with.

If you agree to participate, I will send you an informed consent form to kindly complete before our interview.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Best regards

Zdena Middernacht

PhD (Candidate) International Relations
University of Kent
Brussels School of International Studies
Boulevard Louis Schmidt 2A
1040 Etterbeek
Brussels
+32 488 575 613

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided by the researcher on (date)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	Select only one of the following:	
	• I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised.	<input type="checkbox"/>
	• I do not want my name used in this project.	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Participant:

Name of Participant Signature Date

Researcher:

Zdena Middernacht  03/05/2018

Name of Researcher Signature Date

Appendix D: Interview Guide

Hi. Thank you so much for agreeing to take part in this research. My name is Zdena Middernacht, and I'm a PhD student at the University of Kent. I'm a xx year old Zimbabwean woman, based in Brussels. I've been living here since xxxx and am married here with x kids. Before that I was studying in xxx and before that I studied and worked in xxx. Now I am here in Belgium doing a PhD in International Relations, focusing on the migration experiences of white Zimbabweans. As part of my research, I'm talking to different people to learn about their lives in Zimbabwe as whites, about leaving Zimbabwe and what life has been like along that journey. So again, thanks for your willingness to share your story with me. I was referred to you by xxx, so of course if you also know other white Zimbabweans who would be happy to speak with me I would appreciate being connected to them as well but we can talk about that later. For now, as part of ethical practice, I would just like us to go through the consent form I sent you to get your verbal consent to the interview. Then I'll ask you to introduce yourself and tell me about yourself. After that I'll ask you some follow up questions. With your permission it would be helpful for me to record our conversation. Would that be ok with you? Otherwise, I can take notes by hand. If you have questions at any point, please feel free to ask me. Do you have any questions at this point?

Verbal consent from participant.

Narrative questions:

1. Introduction of the participant: Can you tell me about yourself in general, who you are, your age and where you live and work?
2. Can you tell me about your life in Zimbabwe from growing up to leaving the country and what led to that?

Semi-structured follow up questions

Questions about life in Zimbabwe and leaving Zimbabwe

Which country do you live in currently?

When did you leave Zimbabwe and how long have you been in this country?

What brought you to the decision to leave Zimbabwe?

What was your life like in Zimbabwe? (Growing up, school, work, etc)

What is your heritage/ancestry?

Do you still visit Zim? How often?

Do you still have family/friends there?

What would you say you miss the most?

Questions about your new country

Could you tell me about your life in your new country? (What do you do for a living, how is your social life, what you do for fun, the challenges you face)

What would you say you like the most about your new country?

What do you like the least?

How do you identify yourself? Do you identify as e.g. British, Zimbabwean, both, none of these or something else?

How do you feel about this identity?

Do you interact with other Zimbabweans in your new country? (friends/social media groups/organisations etc?)

What are your feelings about the racial interaction between Zimbabweans abroad? Would you say you interact with both black and white Zimbabweans?

What aspects of your Zimbabwean lifestyle would you say you try to maintain?

How do you feel generally about living in your new country as an immigrant? Could you say you could just blend in and look and feel like a local or are there elements that you think make you stick out as a Zimbabwean. If so which ones and if you blend in as a local, why do you think that is so?

Anything else you'd like to mention?

Appendix E: Examples of memos from events attended at research design stage

1. Notes based on presentations: Seminar on Refugees as development actors organised by ECRE, the Danish Refugee Council and Maastricht University in Brussels in March 2014
2. Notes based on conversation with some participants: Diaspora for African Development conference in June 2014 in London, organised by Comic Relief
3. Reflection during European Parliament event in Brussels on the future of Zimbabwe in 2014

It's usually easier to work with umbrella org. than with individual organisations.

When looking @ umbrella org the qst is what institution is working for the umbrella org or what's their agenda.

Civic Relief

Diaperna partnerships from discourse to practice.

Civic Relief - danger to orgs that work in partnership w/ home country organisations.

- diaperna orgs don't know how to navigate funding structures.
resources are limited &

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Diaspora seminar
Refugee diasporas as development
agents.

Turner & Kleit (2013) - diaspora
prescribed as 'agents of
change'!

In general among larger /
NGOs / govt diaspora are
incorporated in development
- the most successful diasporas are
those aligned in existing NGOs,
hence no added value.

Cooperation w/ refugee camps
is avoided because of fear of
politicization. Due this also avoidance
of politicization affect the formation
of a refugee diaspora in the 1st
place i.e. the recognition of
these immigrants as refugees.

Bridges programmes

- Social, educational, economic integration of asylum seekers & migrants.
- Formed in 2002 - asylum dispersal in Glasgow.
 - UK rises to 3m
 - 3m asylum seekers peak in UK.
- ↳ The Zimbabwe Association
 - campaigning against asylum detention
 - legal aid.

- Not only dispersal crops relating to migrants issues; also locally funded crops.
 - ↳ collaboration in dispersal camps!

Works

Farsight - consulting
- research

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**Reactive transactionalism
- How much of it is happening
@ 3rd diagonal level.

