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Makombe, Eric Kushinga

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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF TOWN AND COUNTRY INTERACTIONS: A STUDY ON THE CHANGING SOCIAL LIFE AND PRACTICES OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS IN COLONIAL HARARE AND GOROMONZI (1946-1979)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

Supervisor: Dr. Muchaparara Musemwa
Co-Supervisor: Prof. Clive Glaser

Eric Kushinga Makombe

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa
2013

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. It is submitted for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any other degree at any other university. Where I have consulted the published work of others, I have properly acknowledged them and I have not copied any author or scholar‘s work with the intention of passing it off as my own. All the interviews and informal conversations that have been conducted for the purposes of this research report have also been cited correctly and I have not passed off any of my informants work, suggestions and quotes as my own. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a doctoral research degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Signed:…… **Date**:……

Eric Kushinga Makombe

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the changing social life and practices of rural-urban migrants who migrated to colonial Harare (then known as Salisbury) from several rural reserve areas such as Kunzwi, Chinyika, Seke, and Chinamhora in the Goromonzi District in a period spanning over 30 years from 1946 to 1979. The study aims to capture autonomous, plural and contextual transformations in both the rural and urban spaces emanating from, or because of increasing rural-urban interaction. This challenges conventional interpretations of rural-urban migration and examines the role of material culture, associational life and livelihoods in African social transformation and engages with the possibilities of independent agency of Africans and cultural reconstruction. I propose that in much the same way as the colonial state, the African colonised people constructed alternative discourses that shaped their daily realities and identities. This was partly as a form of resistance against the state or other power holders but principally in pursuit of individualising and seizing various contexts in attempts to bring about the cultural elements preferred, and the social relations wished for. I contend that while one of the defining features of twentieth-century Africa was, undoubtedly, the growth of cities and the accompanying transformations in urban life; such change has largely been treated under several other accounts such as the emerging African elite, the rise of nationalism and trade-unionism. This study, however, posits that the unprecedented multiplication of rural-urban linkages in colonial Zimbabwe, more so, in the decades following the end of the Second World War, calls for a separate interrogation of how subaltern classes transformed or reframed their own social environment. The thesis, therefore, contributes to the scholarship on rural-urban interactions by foregrounding the social history analytical framework through exploring how those who traversed between the rural and urban spaces transformed their own socio-spatial environments and livelihoods. By elevating urban-based rural migrants into the investigation and analysis, the study shows that colonialism and "modernisation" were not the only forces shaping the lives of the African colonised people. The aim is to reconstruct the inner workings of an indigenous community for which colonial rule was but one (though important) thread in the fabric of social life. This brings into analytical space the lives, goals and transformations of those who experienced the complex and often-contradictory effects of migration in colonial Zimbabwe daily and restores the inner workings of the socio-cultural systems emanating thereof.

DEDICATION

I wholly dedicate this thesis to the Loving Memory of my Dear Grandmother, Idah Banxa aka Mbuya Banxa, who passed on during the course of my studies – Thank you so much Mbuya for showing us the path of love and humility – Rest in Peace.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS and ABBREVIATIONS

AID	Agency for International Development
ANC	Assistant Native Commissioner
APA	African Purchase Areas
AVA	African Voice Association
AVS	African Village Settlements
BSAC	British South Africa Company
BSAP	British South Africa Police
CAFU	Central African Film Unit
CASO	Central African Statistical Office
CBD	Central Business District
CLA	Cattle Levy Act
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
CNL	Commissioner of Native Labour
COL	Centre of Location
CSO	Central Statistical Office
CYL	City Youth League
DAA	Department of African Administration
GNP	Gross National Product
GRJ	*Guta ra Jehova* (City of God)
LAA	Land Apportionment Act
LDO	Land Development Officer
LHA	Land Husbandry Act
LTA	Land Tenure Act
LUD	Liquor Undertaking Department
MCA	Maize Control Act
MIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
NAD	Native Affairs Department
NAPO	Natives Adultery Punishment Ordinance
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NC	Native Commissioner
NCA	Natives Councils Act
NDP	National Democratic Party
NPTC	Native Production and Trade Commission
NRA	Natural Resources Act
NRB	Natural Resources Board
PEA	Portuguese East Africa
PNC	Provincial Native Commissioner
RF	Rhodesian Front
RICU	Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union
RSA	Repressive State Apparatuses
SCC	Salisbury City Council
TAF	Tax Advice Forms
TILCOR	Trust Land Development Corporation
TTL	Tribal Trust Lands
UAAC	Urban African Affairs Commission
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

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Glossary of Terms

Agnatic - related or akin through males or on the father's side

Agro-silvo-pastoral balance – a measure of the ecological carrying capacity of land indexed against the grazing capacity of the veldt and the stock population

Amasiganda - one-man musicians

Bira - all-night ritual

Chibharo - forced labour

Chigwadara - quarter-evil (cattle) disease

Chisheki-sheki - packaged opaque beer

Chisi - the day that the ancestors declared a day of rest when no agricultural work was done

Effective rainfall - is the sum of climatic factors expressed in one practical term after incorporating the reducing effects of excessive falls resulting in runoff, percolation and the effects of temperature

Feja-feja and chabuta – gambling games played in beerhalls and other recreational sites

Hakata - divining bones used in diagnosing the causes of illness

Kuchona – to go away/migrate and never return

Kumagobo - the place of hard work (*lit.* a field littered with tree stumps)

Kumusha – rural home

Kunosunza - famine-induced journeys to go and work in lands of plenty in search of food for the family

maBrandaya – name used by Southern Rhodesian Africans in reference to immigrants from the northern territories of Nyasaland (Malawi)and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)

Mahumbwe - a game of familial role playing

Majoki and *mabhonirokesheni* - sarcastic slurs used in reference to youths that had been born and bred in the cities and regarded to have lost their social identity

Majoni - municipal policemen

Makoronyera - produce thieves or spivs

Makoti - a newly introduced bride within the extended family

Mapoto - refers to consensual arrangements whereby a man and a woman cohabit without payment of *roora* (bride-wealth)

Maricho - short-term livelihood driven chores

Masaka (Parties) - named because some of the *Masaka* parties took place inside hastily erected hessian sack (i.e. masaka in Shona) enclosures.

Mashave - alien spirits

Matrilineal - inheriting or determining descent through the female line.

maZezuru - name used by immigrants from the northern territories of Nyasaland (Malawi)and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in reference to Southern Rhodesian Africans

Mhondoro - guardian spirits

Morgen - a unit of measurement equal to about 2 acres

Musi we chembere - second day of the week/Tuesday

Musi we chishanu - fifth day of the week/Friday

Musika - vending market

Mutongoro and *mubvamaropa* - herbal concoctions ingested by infertile women in order to restore fertility

Nhemura – cattle culling or destocking

Nhimbe or *hoka* - communal work parties

Nhuta – tumours/cancer

Njovhera– type of venereal disease

Patriarchy - a form of social organization in which authority in the family, clan, or ethnic group is male based and descent is reckoned in the male line, with the children belonging to the father's clan or tribe.

Patrilineal - inheriting or determining descent through the male line.

Patrilocal - having or relating to a marriage pattern in which the couple lives with the husband's family

Pfonda – "traditional" dance performed in Seke communal lands

Private locations - areas of land owned by speculative or absentee landlords, of either European or Asiatic extraction, on which African families lived near large towns while the men commuted to work in the towns on a daily basis.

Rondavel - A traditional round African building, usually with a thatched roof

Roora – bride-wealth

Rukwa - charm dug into the house's foundation to protect property

Sabhuku – Headman

Shebeens – "illegal" liquor outlets

skokiaan aka “chi-one day” – “illegal” opaque beer brew that matures after a day

vadzimu - ancestral spirits

Vapostori (the Apostles) – church members belonging to the Southern Rhodesian Gospel of God Church

Virilocal - living with or located near the husband’s father’s group

Zango - protective charms placed on children to ward off evil spirits

NOTES ON NOMENCLATURE

Colonial Zimbabwe was renamed several times during the tenure of British colonial rule from 1890 to 1980. When the colony was first occupied by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) it was simply referred to as Rhodesia. However, when the British government issued the Order in Council in 1898 Rhodesia was recognised as Southern Rhodesia after the BSAC was granted further permission to occupy the Northern Territories and Barotseland that became Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland besides the original demarcation of colonial Zimbabwe.[1] Despite this, Southern Rhodesia continued to be referred to as Rhodesia as this name assumed a quotidian use throughout the country's colonisation and the colony officially reverted back to this name in the 1966 constitution following Northern Rhodesia's independence in 1964. The colony was again briefly renamed Zimbabwe-Rhodesia in 1979 following the Internal Settlement that the Rhodesian Front government of Ian Smith signed with a minority African party under the leadership of Abel Muzorewa.[2] However, even with this knowledge the thesis liberally refers to the colony as either Rhodesia or Southern Rhodesia because this agrees with the names by which the colony was referred during most of the period under investigation (1946-1979) and for reasons of linguistic variation. The term "colonial Zimbabwe" is used *loosely* in the introduction to give the reader perspective.

In line with an Amendment to the Interpretation Act in 1962 the word "African" was given the same definition as "Native" and various posts that had used the word "Native" were renamed so. Again in line with the new Southern Rhodesian Constitution Order in Council (1961) that came into force on the 1st of November 1962 under Section 92 that defined a "tribesman" as:

> ....a person who, under tribal law and custom, is registered as a member of a community under the control or leadership of a chief appointed and holding office under the law for the time being governing the appointment of chiefs;

the areas previously classified as Native Reserves were renamed as Tribal Areas or Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) which was formally adopted with the passage of the Land Tenure Act (LTA) in 1969. However, in an attempt to avoid terminological confusion the thesis uses the term "reserves" throughout because this is the term that assumed a quotidian use among the

[1] Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s – 1930s", in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial period to 2008*, eds. B. Raftopolous & A. Mlambo, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), 58.

[2] Joseph Mtisi, Munyaradzi Nyakudya and Teresa Barnes, "War in Rhodesia, 1965 – 1980", in *Becoming Zimbabwe*, 163.

Africans staying there [as *maruzevha*] and the term is actually still in use today. The term is also more accurate, as the areas were designed and functioned as labour reserves.

I have also opted to use the more neutral abbreviations such as "LHA" when referring to the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 not simply out of a disdain for the term "Native" as it was used disparagingly during the colonial era but also because once the Interpretation Act was passed the Act's name mutated into the African Land Husbandry Act. So using "LHA" evades any time-specific conflicts. The same reasons apply for my use of DAA: Department of African Administration as opposed to DNA: Department of Native Administration.

The Native Affairs Department (NAD) was reconstituted in line with the recommendations of two Commissions of Enquiry (that is the Robinson and Paterson Commissions) which recommended dismantling the NAD as it had been set up (as the sole ministry responsible for all issues African) and reassigning some of its roles to other line ministries.[3] However, most of the responsibilities the NAD had held before 1962 were reconstituted in the newly formed Ministry of Internal Affairs. The office of the Native Commissioner was collapsed and some of the responsibilities that had previously been the sole responsibility of the NC were integrated into the newly created post and office of the District Commissioner whose mandate was not solely on African affairs but the *district* as such.

Until 1970 the currency of Rhodesia (and previously Southern Rhodesia) was the pound (£), which was kept at par with the pound sterling. The pound was divided into 20 shillings (s). The shilling in turn was divided into 12 pence (d). In February 1970 Rhodesia changed its currency to Rhodesian Dollars pegged at the conversion rate Rh$2 = £1.

The Harare Township was a municipal location designated as such in 1907 and after some years of being referred to simply as the Salisbury Native Location it was renamed the Harare African Township in 1946. However, in April 1982, the capital of the newly independent Zimbabwe – Salisbury - was renamed Harare and the Township renamed Mbare (after a local Shona chief). But, owing to the time period covered in this study, the use of the term "Harare" without the preceding adjective "colonial" will be directly referring to the Municipal Township. The term "colonial Harare" is used *loosely* in the introduction to give the reader perspective.

[3] SR: Report of the Commission appointed to Inquire and Report on Administrative and Judicial Functions in the Native Affairs and District Courts departments. Chairman Sir Victor Robinson, Salisbury: Government Printer, 1961.

The term Chitungwiza has two applications in the thesis. The first of which refers to the ancient name of the region or district (*dunhu*) that was located between Salisbury (now Harare) and the farming town of Beatrice (54 km from Salisbury). The second refers to the conglomeration of townships and locations (that is Zengeza, Seke, and St. Mary's) that was founded in the late 1970s bordering the Seke Reserve. However, the thesis explains the specific application in instances where the use is not contextually clear.

Owing to phonological confusion, the settlers of European or English descent often found it difficult to pronounce some Shona consonants and vowels and as such certain Shona names would often be misspelt in official reports (for example Seke would be cited as Seki and Chinamhora as Chinamora) because the officials would attempt to transcribe the names as they pronounced them. This thesis therefore only cites the misspelt names and terms when quoting directly from colonial reports and correspondence and during citations of the said reports.

Seke –Seki [*sic*]

Chinamhora –Chinamora [*sic*] sometimes as Chindamora [*sic*]

Murehwa – Mrewa [*sic*]

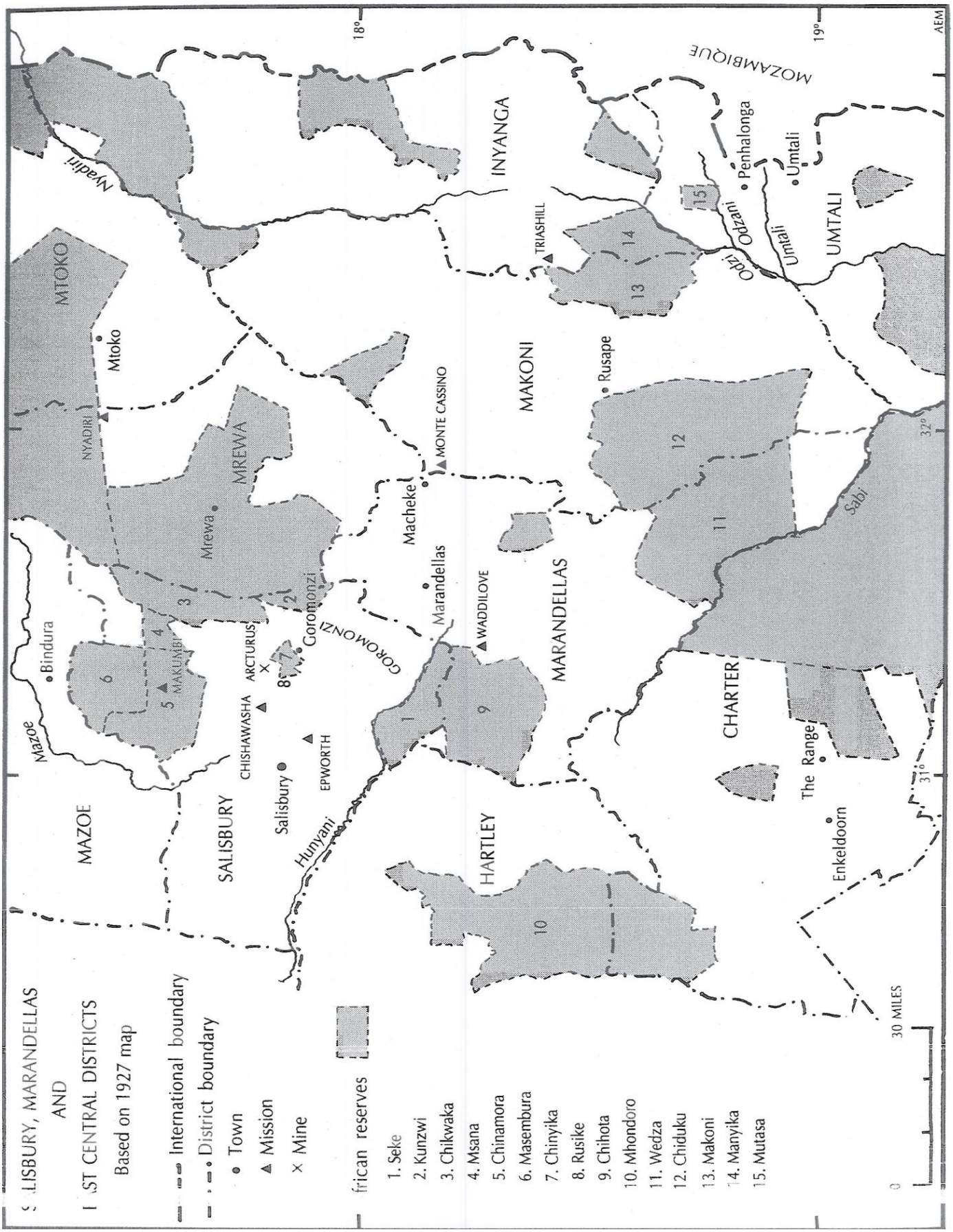
Chihota – Shiota [*sic*] or at times as Chiota [*sic*]

Harare – Harari [*sic*]

Mhondoro - Mondoro [*sic*]

Hwedza – Wedza [*sic*]

Map 1: Salisbury and Goromonzi Districts and other Mashonaland Districts



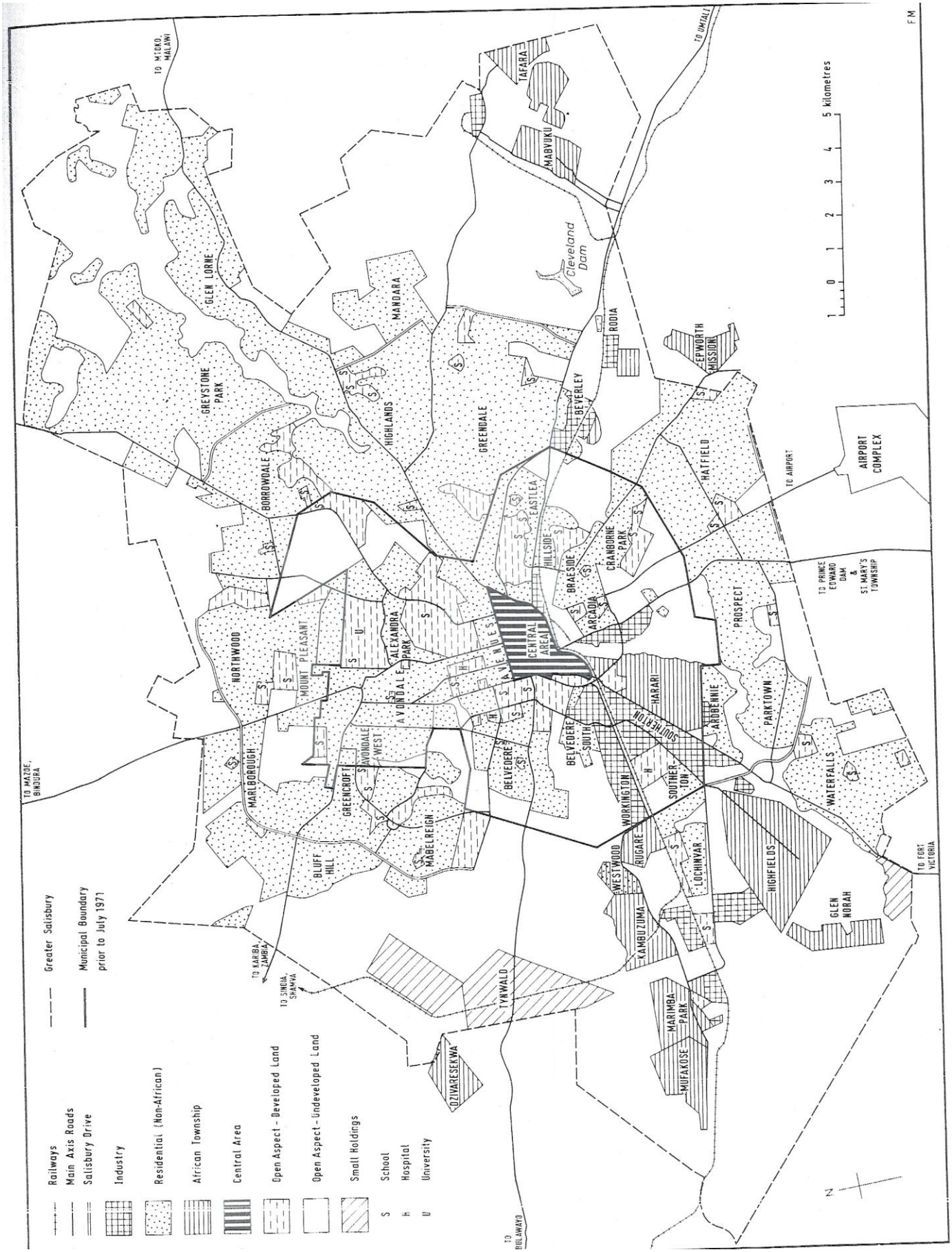
Source: Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe: 1870-1939* (Harare: Baobab Books, 1992), x.

MAP 2: HARARE (FORMERLY SALISBURY) AND SURROUNDING TOWNS



Source: http://geology.com/world/zimbabwe-map.gif

MAP 3: LAND USE IN GREATER SALISBURY



Source: *Salisbury: A Geographical Survey of the Capital of Rhodesia*, eds. G. Kay and M. Smout (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), 27

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF TOWN AND COUNTRY INTERACTIONS:

AN INTRODUCTION

This study explores the changing social life and practices of short-distance rural-urban migrants who migrated to colonial Harare (then known as Salisbury) from several rural reserve areas in the Goromonzi District such as Kunzwi, Chikwaka, Chinyika, Seke, and Chinamhora in a period spanning over 30 years from 1946 to 1979.[1] These reserves formed an interspersed *arc* around Salisbury extending from the north-east to the south-east of Salisbury within a general distance not exceeding 60 miles (96 km) out of Salisbury's Central Business District (CBD). (See Maps 1-2) The thesis further examines the effects of the attendant human interactions on the spaces these migrants lived. I investigate this against the backdrop of human exchanges that entailed intra-national rural-urban migration, itinerant trade, commuting, knowledge production and transfer between Salisbury and Goromonzi.

The case study area itself was specifically chosen because it is a geographical unit that powerfully reveals the various dimensions and dynamics of intra-national migration that I seek to explore. The Goromonzi District had agro-ecological characteristics and proximity (to Salisbury), which set it and other urban hinterland rural districts (like Mazowe) apart from the more outlying and farther rural districts of Southern Rhodesia. Salisbury and Goromonzi were also administratively linked: Goromonzi was a sub-district of Salisbury up to 1949 when it attained full district status under a full and substantive Native Commissioner (NC).[2] Out of this and because of their close proximity both Salisbury and Goromonzi continued to experience the implementation of colonial programmes specifically designed to control the movement of people between the two areas.

Salisbury was founded in the last decade of the 19th century - but only after displacing the local inhabitants to the borders of what would make up urban Salisbury. In a couple of decades, however, Salisbury had grown to become the industrial and commercial hub of the colony of Southern Rhodesia surpassing its predecessor cities like Fort Victoria and Bulawayo. By the 1940s Salisbury was displaying metropolitan features with an area of

[1] The term "colonial" embraces a range of political, economic and social forces that were coterminous with the colonisation of Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1980. These include European rule and administration itself, missions, taxation, cash cropping, biomedicine, labour migration, white settlement and racialised discourses of power.

[2] NAZ (i.e. National Archives of Zimbabwe) S1618, 1951-1953, Quarterly District Reports, 1951.
Up to 1949 the Goromonzi District was under the NC for Salisbury and an Assistant NC was directly in-charge for the district.

influence that went as far as attracting migrants from Nyasaland (now Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique). However, the rural areas within the immediate fringe of the city – of which Goromonzi is a part - provided the greatest number of migrants to the city and acted as a more immediate hinterland to the city. Salisbury's status as the administrative, political and commercial capital of Southern Rhodesia also presents several strata on which the rural-urban interactions occurred.

Admittedly, while these human socio-spatial interactions were hardly novel by the 1940s, what was new and important for social relations was the intensity and rate at which labour, goods, and other signifiers of modernity were now able to circulate through space. The spread of mass media, city editions of newspapers, retailing, and schools hugely expanded and sped up the flow of materials and meanings and granted new potency to consumption and lifestyle changes. In the same manner, the African social affiliations fostered mobility between urban and rural areas. This contributed to the close ties between urban migrants and their rural areas of origin shown by frequent visits and cash remittances to the rural areas. This was aided in no small part by advances in transport that led to a greater space-time compression between the rural and urban spaces.

In the same vein, the post Second World War period is an important historical marker as it signals the height of planned modernisation. During this time, state intervention in African land use increased. For instance, as Chapter 2 reveals, the state enforced the amended Land Apportionment Act (LAA) and the Natural Resources Act (NRA) of 1941. However, confidence in state planning in the 1940s and 1950s did not confine itself to African rural areas. The rapidly expanding urban economy in post-war Southern Rhodesia spurred on the settler state to develop more comprehensive policies for African urban areas. These efforts culminated in the Natives Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act (AUAARA) of 1946.

Furthermore, the post World War II stimulant to the economy created increased labour demands and rural migration to Salisbury increased substantially. This saw Salisbury's African urban population expanding rapidly and more than doubling every decade.[3] The people of Goromonzi, despite intense feelings of loyalty to their rural villages, moved in large numbers to the cities in the 1940s. Therefore, there is an empirical justification for a study

[3] M.A.H. Smout, "Urbanisation of the Rhodesian population", *Zambezia* **4**/2 (1976); N. D. Mutizwa-Mangiza, "Urban centres in Zimbabwe: intercensal changes, 1962-82," *Geography* **71**/2 (1986).

such as this coming from the unprecedented multiplication of rural-urban linkages in colonial Zimbabwe, especially, in the decades following the end of the Second World War. By the 1950s and 1960s a sizeable number were living, or had lived, in urban centres. By the 1970s urban life had indeed been a lived experience for most Goromonzi dwellers.

Such a context exposed the newer migrants to the city to new urban and evolving cultures, which marked their social lives and leisure activities, as well as their work. While adapting the *old*, they also absorbed *new* influences from the foreign cultures they met and mixed with in the city. By the 1950s Salisbury was also characterised by a "culture of protest," as railway and industrial workers developed labour militancy and its civic-cum-quasi-political movements became a model for other urban centres in Southern Rhodesia.[4] This, in turn, would inform various other linkages. Apart from the transfer of people, through commuting and migration, other forms of spatial and human interaction arose, such as the flow of information, social ideas, goods and tastes.[5]

I have chosen to end this study in 1979 because of many policy shifts following the country's independence in 1980. The post-colonial state rationalised the multi-centred pattern of territorial engineering it inherited at independence and set up a single demarcation with one urban and rural administrative centre for each unit.[6] The rights to the city were extended to *everyone* regardless of race, permanent employment, gender or residency and home ownership was widened to include occupants of formerly public owned rental housing stock. Further, there was a coordinated drive towards permanent residency when settlements like Kuwadzana and Budiriro were erected to the south of Harare.[7] The right to employment was no longer race based and added security in the form of compensation and social security presented an urban context that was not as unstable or unwelcoming as before.[8] In the 1990s a deepening economic crisis set-in because of a mismanaged and disarticulated economy and the globalisation menace revealed itself.[9] It should also be noted that migration dynamics

[4] Michael O. West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe 1898-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).
[5] D.A. Preston, "Rural-urban and inter-settlement interaction: theory and analytical structure," *Area* **7**/3 (1975).
[6] A.H.J. Helmsing, "Transforming rural local government: Zimbabwe's post independence experience," *Environment and Planning C; Government and Policy*, **8** (1990).
[7] K.H. Wekwete, & C.O. Rambanepasi, (eds.), *Planning Urban Economies in Southern and Eastern Africa*, (Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1994).
[8] N. D. Mutizwa-Mangiza, "Local Government and Planning in Zimbabwe: an Examination of recent changes, with special reference to the provincial/regional level" *Third World Planning Review*, **8**/2 (1986).
[9] P. Bond, *Uneven Zimbabwe: A Study of Finance, Development and Underdevelopment*, (Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc. 1998); A.S. Mlambo, *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: The Case of Zimbabwe, 1990-1995* (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1997).

took on new characteristics following independence and the end of the armed struggle because of the broader political context, besides simply the labour or migration policy. Political independence for Zimbabwe and majority rule, were important factors shaping migration patterns and influencing decisions taken by migrants to move to the city. The post-independence period is therefore best isolated from the pre-independence era for heuristic reasons to accord each due attention, while acknowledging the continuities and discontinuities between these two periods.

The case study area raises the urban-rural social sphere as a single unit of investigation with the objective of exploring the changing socio-cultural contexts and livelihoods of the inhabitants against state attempts to regulate the interaction of rural and urban spaces. This brings into analytical space the lives, ideals and transformations of those who experienced the complex, and often contradictory effects, of migration in colonial Zimbabwe and restores the inner workings of the socio-cultural systems emanating from this. This also presents a detailed historical enquiry on the effects socio-spatial human interaction had on local areas and individual lives. The study contends that the societal transformations of, or through, migrants reveals a complex interplay between consumption and socio-cultural practice, the urban and rural divide, and the flow of people and the role of the state. This cannot be collapsed into any fixed narrative such as modernisation or colonialism.

The thesis therefore employs the use of the migrants' experiences as a crucible for examining how their attachment to rural places manifested in various cultural and social expressions within the spaces they traversed. The study, simultaneously, privileges migrant agency and action in shaping their environment to show how migrants from the subaltern classes in Salisbury coming in from the Goromonzi District reworked the *modernisation* and *development* agenda to their advantage.[10] The multilateral interactions occurring in the urban and rural spaces constitute subaltern efforts to alter and take control of various contexts to bring about the cultural elements they preferred and the social relations they wished for. The study however, recognises that these interactions involved far more than simple economic

[10] Subaltern in its simplest can be defined as referring to those persons who are socially, politically, and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure. This study therefore assigns the subaltern *tag* to this grouping of rural immigrants to denote both a peripheral subject position arising out of colonial marginalisation, as colonial subjects, and second-class "citizens", but also out of their occupations as blue-collar workers, informal traders, etc.
See: Spivak, G. C. "Can the Subaltern Speak", in B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin (eds.) *Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, (London and New York, Routledge, 1995), 24-28; Guha, R. (ed.) *Subaltern Studies 1*: *Writings on South Asian History and Society*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982); _____, *Subaltern Studies 11*: *Writings on South Asian History and Society*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983).

strategies and issues of material well-being. Instead, it views migrancy as primarily a lived human experience and social phenomenon with a complexity that cannot be captured in universalised and simplified definitions that *essentialise* reality.

Through an analysis that focuses on everyday tasks of earning a living, on local social practices and life strategies, the study examines how migrants understood, negotiated, and transformed the social structures that impinged on their lives. This presents an analytical focus on local agency which does not privilege state visions and ways of doing things. Instead, I give more attention to the ways in which people organised their lives, engaged in social and economic relationships, organised space and (re)produced places locally. This again is informed by my argument that the urbanising experiences of everyday life were never brought under the complete control of colonial-hegemonic regimes.[11]

The study does not, however, concentrate on employees *qua* employees, migration, and wage labour but on the rural-urban migrant population intrinsically in order to foreground the diversity of social life in the rural-urban social sphere. This is grounded in the *dualistic* perspective championed by scholars of the New Urban Sociology that the city represents not only the production process but also reproduction (that is consumption and residency).[12] This means accepting that the city contains a crucial social arena beyond the gates of the workplace: family, recreation and culture, etc.[13]

Because of the spatial interdependence between Goromonzi and Salisbury, the impact of town life extended well beyond the boundaries of the city into the broader fabric of Goromonzi rural society. This interdependence increasingly resulted in a more uniform style of life and socio-cultural and economic organisation. This informs the central premise of the thesis that the forms of interaction through people (such as vegetable vendors, labour migrants, migrant wives, schoolchildren etc.) traversing the rural and urban spaces were

[11] Hegemony refers to a "social and cultural consensus, albeit shifting, contested, and underpinned by coercion, which allows for the dominance of a ruling class". The theory of hegemony was developed by the Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci recognized that "social power is not a simple matter of domination on one hand and subordination or resistance on the other" but of the dominant group having to seek consent from those it rules" but he also conceded that hegemony is "always underpinned by the threat of violence". This implies that in maintaining its hegemony the ruling class employs both force and consent each depending on the prevailing circumstances.
Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-76* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2000), 6; S. Jones, *Antonio Gramsci*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 3 and 50.

[12] Tsuneo Yoshikuni, "Black Migrants in a White City: A Social History of African Harare 1890-1925" (DPhil Thesis, UZ, 1989), 8.

[13] See: Paul Maylam and Iain Edwards (eds.), *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996).

progressive and resulted in a blurring of spatially, temporally and symbolically distanced rural and urban everyday ways of life. This is founded on an understanding that such socio-spatial interactions entailed "projects of transformation" either by individuals or societies. In these "projects of transformation" new identities were forged and existing orders challenged or in some way changed.[14] In equal measure, these socio-spatial interactions transformed subjectivities and perceptions of place.

To this extent, and following Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan's terminology, I see Goromonzi rural-urban migrants as "rural cosmopolitans".[15] During their lifetime they moved back and forth, between different (rural and urban) locations, straddling diverse political or cultural worlds, and using to their advantage expertise learned from one social context in another. Therefore, labour migrants, migrant wives and others who traversed the supposed rural-urban divide were part of a travelling culture that exposed them to diverse worlds of association, goods, desires and signification. Cosmopolitanism, as Turino proposes, refers to a "specific form of cultural formation and constitution of habitus that is translocal [i.e. the connection between place/community (space) of departure and space of arrival] in purview" meaning the life-paths, ideas, etc. open to such people are "not specific to a single or a few neighbouring locales, but rather are situated in many sites".[16] As innovators, these "rural cosmopolitans" did not only unsettle categorical boundaries between rural and urban or "traditional" and "modern", but also, as bearers of new or different styles, values and practices, they continually transformed the social spaces they occupied.

In advancing rural-urban migrants as cosmopolitan in their cultural effect and in their centrality to developing *modern* political subjectivities and regimes of production, I do not, however, discount other "modernising" agents. For instance, Ndlovu-Gatsheni has aptly described colonial education and missionary influences as purveyors of the "commodities of Empire".[17] Instead, I propose, in line with South Asian and Latin American scholars of

[14] F. Osella, & K. Gardner, "Migration, Modernity and Social Transformation in South Asia: An Introduction," in *Migration, Modernity and Social Transformation in South Asia*, eds. Osella, F & Gardner, K (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004), xl.

[15] V. Gidwani, & K. Sivaramakrishnan, "Circular Migration and Rural Cosmopolitanism in India," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* **37**/1-2 (2003).

[16] Tom Turino, "The Middle Class, Cosmopolitanism, and Popular Music in Harare, Zimbabwe" in *Leisure in Urban Africa*, eds. P.T. Zeleza and C.R. Veney, (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003), 323.

[17] Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s – 1930s", in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial period to 2008*, eds. B. Raftopolous & A. Mlambo, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), 43. See also: Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2002) and Articles in J.A. Dachs (ed.) *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1978), by N.M.B. Bhebe, "Missionary Activity Amongst the Ndebele and

subalternity that modernity occurs at various levels and is not confined to Europe. Therefore, the rationalising effects we see in societies and assign singularly to European modernity are, in fact, the functions of a Eurocentric discourse that has collapsed geographically differentiated processes of modernity into a unitary historicist account.[18] Put differently, the meta-narratives of this Eurocentric discourse *discontinue* as *truth* but simply as privileged discourses that deny and silence competing dissident voices.[19]

This study is inspired by a growing literature on the social and cultural history of migrancy in southern Africa. But unlike some of the recent works (discussed below), this work tries to examine the role of material culture, associational life and livelihoods in social transformation and engages with the possibilities of independent African agency in socio-cultural reconstruction. Indeed, while the study on the phenomenon of intra-national migration is not novel, there is still little description and case sensitive analysis in the Zimbabwean literature about the effects this has on local areas or individual lives. "To grasp both urban and rural histories, and to pay special attention to the relationships between the two" as Yoshikuni (who himself focused on a different context and mostly on male labour migrants to Salisbury before 1925) warns "poses a formidable conceptual and empirical task. But only by addressing the task in such a way will we be able to do justice to the dualistic world in which many African people lived and still live".[20]

Kalanga" and C.J.M, Zvobgo, "The Influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Southern Rhodesia: 1891-1923"; J. L. Comaroff & J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier: Volume Two* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); I. Schapera, :Christianity and the Tswana", *Journal of Royal Anthropology Institute*, **88**/1 (1958).

[18] See: P. Chatterjee, *The nation and its fragments: Colonial and postcolonial histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); F. Coronil, *The magical state: Nature, money, and modernity in Venezuela* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); W. Mignolo, *Local histories/global designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[19] See: Gyan Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, **32**/2 (1990).

* Discourse refers to historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories and beliefs, and represents the site where meanings are contested and power relations determined.
See: Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Tavistock Publications, 1972); _____ *Power/Knowledge*, translated by C. Gordon (New York: The Harvester Press, 1980); Megan Vaughan, "Colonial Discourse Theory and African History, or has Postmodernism passed us by?" *Social Dynamics*, **20**/2 (1994); Belinda Bozzoli, "The Discourses of Myth and the Myth of Discourse," *South African Historical Journal*, **26** (1992).

[20] Tsuneo Yoshikuni, "Notes on the Influence of Town-Country Relations on African Urban History before 1957: Experiences in Salisbury and Bulawayo" in *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's Urban History,* eds. B. Raftopolous and T. Yoshikuni, (Harare, Weaver Press, 1999), 123.

In trying to address the above the thesis uses a social history approach that Thompson, writing in the early 1960s, described, simply, as "historical enquiry with social concern".[21] However, social history writing has grown to cover the broad range from local to global, from personal to structural totality. The socio-historical approach allows the research to focus on context and is suitable in searching for a historical explanation. It also correlates the extrinsic and intrinsic aspects. It gives the otherwise multivalent cultural, sociological, historical, creative-genetic, literary and aesthetic approaches a common epistemological base. It affords the research a wide canvas for the description, interpretation and evaluation of the subject matter. Put differently, the socio-historical approach is comprehensive without being eclectic and as a methodological approach it provides a qualitative dimension specifically designed to examine how experience is assigned meaning.[22]

Social history writing does not privilege a single determinant above the idea that ordinary men and women are active in creating their own identities and politics - that is: agency.[23] In other words, socio-historical writing is chiefly concerned with people's experiences, interests, emotions and behaviour and legitimises them as historical (even historic) subjects and agents.[24] Social life is thus ideally suited for analysis given the extraordinarily deep attachments that migrants from Goromonzi to Salisbury had with their place of origin.

This study therefore, employs a subaltern interpretation of the data which I recognise as a tool to untangle and explore pedagogies of liberation, self-craft and self-narration of subaltern classes.[25] This takes full account of the voices and subdued knowledge(s) of previously silenced voices that government policy had variously tried to control, contain, influence or simply ignore. Such an analytical approach helps to avoid making colonialism and modernisation the primary defining point of reference despite the histories of external influence and intervention. Thus, the subaltern perspective moves away from what Maurice Vambe has termed the "dominant thesis approach", the most overworked of which is Marxist-Leninist criticism which got stuck in "flogging the colonial horse".[26] This approach

[21] E.P. Thompson cited in D. M. MacRaild, & A. Taylor, *Social Theory and Social History*, (Palgrave Macmillan 2004), 9.
[22] See: Cynthia Kros, "Considering the legacy of radical/ social history in South Africa," *African Historical Review*, **39**/1 (2007); P.N. Stearns, 'Social history: Present and future,' *Journal of Social History*, **37**/1 (2003).
[23] W. Johnson, "On agency," *Journal of Social History*, **37**/1, (2003).
[24] Stearns, "Social History," 9.
[25] For further insights on the subaltern perspective consult: Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak; R. Guha, (ed.) *Subaltern Studies 1;* _____, *Subaltern Studies 11*.
[26] M.T. Vambe, "The Poverty of Theory in the Study of Zimbabwean Literature," in *Versions of Zimbabwe: New Approaches to Literature and Culture*, eds. R. Muponde and R. Primorac (Harare: Weaver Press, 2005),

from *below* also allows one to detect nuances in the processes in question and transcend elite interpretations and representations of subaltern experiences.

My thesis also employs the notions of social practice and life strategy that have been put to effective use by Guy and Thabane and Bozzoli, among others, to *read* the consciousness of these rural migrants to the city.[27] Practices refer to "an ensemble of techniques, skills and stylised choices embedded in a population at a time and sustained through mechanisms of transmission".[28] Maloka argues that life strategy

> ....allows one to see Africans as 'real' agents intervening actively in their [*own*] lives in an effort to get access to basic necessities such as jobs, food, shelter, clothing, education, and health facilities; and to confront misfortunes such as sickness, death and destitution. At the same time, 'life strategy' is inadequate as an analytical tool if it presupposes that all aspects of human action are a product of a conscious strategy. The simple truth is that human beings need not have an explanation for everything they do.[29]

In any case, intra-national migration was specific to a range of historical as well as cultural and economic conditions and this suggests a salience of something called "modernity" in the lives of those who migrated to the cities.[30] Thus, as Ferguson has convincingly demonstrated in the case of labour migrants to the Zambian Copperbelt, "the very prospect of mobility itself constitutes what modernity stands for in the lives of these migrants i.e. ideas, hopes and dreams of something *modern* or cumulatively different and aspirations for *progress*

97; S. Chinodya cited in T. Ndlovu, "The Family as a Contested Arena: Voices of Discontent in Charles Mungoshi's Works in Shona and English" (PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2011), 261.

[27] Jeff Guy, and Motlatsi Thabane, "Technology, Ethnicity and Ideology: Basotho Miners and Shaft-Sinking on the South African Gold Mines," Journal of Southern African Studies, **14**/2 (1988); _____, "Basotho Miners, Oral History and Workers' Strategies," in *Cultural Struggle and Development in Southern Africa*, Ed. P. Kaarsholm (Baobab Books, Harare, 1991); Belinda Bozzoli (with M. Nkotsoe), *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900–1983*, (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 1991).

[28] D. Little, "Mentalites, Identities and Practices," University of Michigan-Dearbon (n.d.), 7.

[29] Eddy Thshidiso Maloka, *Basotho and the Mines: A Social History of Labour Migrancy in Lesotho and South Africa, c.1890–1940*, (Dakar, Senegal: CODESSRIA, 2004), 5.

[30] In the most general sense "modernity" is a historical process entailing institutional and cultural transformations associated with the development of capitalism, but by no means coterminous with it, and simultaneously global and local in orientation. The wider notion of "modernities" therefore refers to a number of often overlapping-socially located discourses which try to apprehend and direct the processes of modernisation and "development". Hence, in a contextual sense, modernity refers to an iconography of "present" or "recent" times, something that evokes a sense in one's disposition of being "modern" and to see visions of the "modern" and distinguish them from those that are "old".
See: P. Wagner, "Modernity, capitalism and critique," *Thesis Eleven* **66** (2001); M. Featherstone, "Travel, migration and images of social life," in *Global History and Migrations*, ed. G. Wang (Boulder Co. Westview Press, 1997), 259ff; J. Kahn, "Anthropology and Modernity," *Current Anthropology*, **42**/5 (2001); James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

continually appealed to in people's economic endeavours, political projects and identity crafting".[31]

My framing, therefore, like the approaches adopted by Ferguson, Maloka and others, adopts a qualified perspective that presents structure and agency as inextricably intertwined. This in no way denies the subaltern agency but recognises the contingent nature of the subject and that everyday social relationships are not autonomous of the state. As Butler points out, "No subject is its own point of departure".[32] Individual subjects experienced and *grasped* life within a wide-ranging and material context. Put differently, the individuals and collections of urbanites or peasants under investigation did not build or decide the anatomy of rural-urban interaction in as far as themselves. They, in fact, made up parts of the rural and urban continuum. Their decisions and actions were, therefore, conditioned by others who also made up parts of that particular sphere - and often had different, sometimes clashing, interests and perspectives. So, agency was framed in complex historical circumstances that must be analysed and understood as such.

To this purpose, I will pay heed to Hobsbawn and Abrams' corrective that studies of events, action, and consciousness must be united methodologically with studies of structures (which include economies, class structures, families and political institutions).[33] I, therefore, incorporate two oppositional ideas, that are: Mitchell's concept of "enframing" and Myers' notion of "reframing".[34]

In white settler territories, *enframing* involved domestic architecture and other socio-spatial engineering policies that fixed a distinction between inside and outside, ostensibly to separate personal from public space, rural and urban, "modern" and "primitive" etc. *Enframing* also entailed breaking up the colonial city by excluding the African urban masses from central services. The authorities imposed such physical organisations of space to produce social spaces that were conducive to the smooth operation of colonial power. This also preserved a visible hierarchy of spatial order that subject people were supposed to accept. Those holding

[31] Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity* cited in Arjan de Haan, "Calcutta's Labour Migrants: Encounters with Modernity" in Gardner and Osella, 191.
[32] Judith Butler, "Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of 'Postmodernism'," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, eds. J. Butler and J. Scott, (London: Routledge Press, 1992), 9.
[33] E.K. Hobsbawn, "The Revival of Narrative: Some Comments," *Past and Present* **86** (1980); P. Abrams, "History, Sociology, Historical Sociology," *Past and Present* **87** (1980).
[34] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Garth A. Myers, "Colonial and Postcolonial Modernities in Two African Cities," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, **37**/2-3 (2003).

power acted as both the *container* and created the *container* to manage the *contained*. *Enframing* thus encompasses the use of what Althusser has referred to as Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) that is apparatuses of state coercive power, that enforce direct behaviour and includes the police, the army, criminal justice and the prison system.[35] But it also includes spatial design as a political instrument of social control in reproducing existing social relations.

The state and other authorities, however, often lacked enough capacity to "enframe" and this in most cases gave birth to spaces that were largely "reframed" by the colonised, although within the constraints of harsh governmental systems.[36] *Reframing* assumed various formats and forms such as superimposing autonomous forms of family life, ignoring state directives and controls and reassigning various land use patterns all towards integrating distinct socio-cultural patterns on to space. From these efforts, the colonised could connect with others elsewhere from within and without the city and leave their *own* imprint on the urban geography and socio-spatial relations between rural and urban areas. In essence, *reframing* came about in the performative and normative practices of everyday life seen through the re-appropriation of mass culture, that is traditions, language, rituals, law etc. in everyday situations.[37] *Reframing* was also located in the successful inflection of counter-hegemonic meanings on colonial establishment values and systems.

This study therefore recognises the overlapping control and influence of state policy and attitudes. But it still upholds the historic agency, autonomy and individuality of ordinary Zimbabweans to negotiate, question and inflect meaning into the realities of their everyday lives. In this, the thesis demonstrates the partial nature of the colonisers' claims that, in turn, created avenues for subaltern expression. This suggests that rural-urban migrants, drawn in from the Goromonzi District in this case, an area felt to have harboured the poorer and the least privileged strata of colonial society, were not passive victims of the forces of history.

Themes in the History of Rural and Urban Interaction

The analysis of societal transformation brought about by the interrelationship of rural and urban society in the twentieth century has been topical in South and Central African research

[35] Louis Althusser, *Essays in Self-Criticism*, (London: NLB, 1991), 81.
[36] Myers, "Colonial and Postcolonial Modernities in Two African Cities."
[37] See: Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. (Translated by Steven Rendall). (University of California Press, 1984).

agendas for several decades now and has a long pedigree across various disciplines.[38] The themes considered have ranged from the causes and importance of labour migration, issues of class and ethnic identity, changing dynamics of generation and gender to politics and resistance. This section follows a thematic and historiographical assessment of relevant literature so as to place my own study in a wider disciplinary conversation as well as justify the methodological and conceptual choices conditioning my approach.

As far back as the 1930s, the so-called Manchester school produced a wide corpus of research work on rural and urban interaction.[39] The paradigmatic frame of interpretation of such works was that of the Malinowski culture contact approach that emphasised the disruptive influences of urban life especially on families and also made use of the detribalisation concept more extensively developed by Wilson (1942).[40] Both culture contact approach and detribalisation assumed a unidirectional process of change; that once exposed to influences of culture contact, African institutions changed or were totally given up and the meaning of "tribal" membership was lost. They assumed that immigrants carried some kind of "cultural baggage," to be dropped as soon as possible because, in their mind, "the oscillations of regional migration were incompatible with the creation of local African urban identities".[41]

These studies provided important and invaluable descriptive material and survey data on a variety of topics. However, its discourse on de and re-tribalisation created something of a conceptual dilemma especially with the upsurge in African urbanisation in the 1940s while labour circulation persisted. Later research, in the 1950s and 1960s, would also reveal that both African institutions and ethnic membership had not died out, but assumed different

[38] See: M.A.H. Smout, "Urbanisation of the Rhodesian population", *Zambezia* **4**/2(1976); D. Patel, "Housing the urban poor in the socialist transformation of Zimbabwe" in Schatzberg M (ed.) *The Political Economy of Zimbabwe*, (New York: Praeger, 1984); G.L. Kay, *Rhodesia: A Human Geography*, (London: University of London Press, 1970); G.L. Chavunduka, "Rural and Urban Life" *Zambesia*, **4**/2 (1976); _____, "Research Report: A Social Survey of Dzivarasekwa Township, Salisbury." *Zambezia*, **2**/2 (1972); D. Stopforth, "Some Local Impediments to Social Change among Urban Africans." *Zambezia*, **5**/1 (1977); K.H. Wekwete, "Growth centre policy in Zimbabwe: with special reference to district service centres" in *Rural Development and Planning in Zimbabwe*, eds. N.D. Mutizwa Mangiza & A.H.J. Helmsing, (Avebury: Aldershot, 1991); N.D. Mutizwa-Mangiza, "Local Government and Planning in Zimbabwe: an Examination of recent changes with special reference to the provincial/regional level" *Third World Planning Review*, **8**/2, (1986).

[39] Richard P. Werbner, "The Manchester School in South-Central Africa", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, **13** (1984); David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone, *Africa's Urban Past*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), 10.

[40] George Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers 6 (Manchester: Manchester university Press, 1942).

[41] Terence Ranger, "Reclaiming the African City: The World and the Township", in *Translocality. The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, eds. Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen**,** (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 273.

functions. These studies notably abandoned both the culture contact approach and the detribalisation concept.

In the late 1960s the social history approach gained prominence in urban and rural studies. Most of the social history research attacked the racially and culturally arrogant myths about unchanging African societies and stressed African autonomy, authenticity and agency. African teachers, preachers, workers, and peasants became the new subjects of scholarly investigation.[42] Historians began to acknowledge that Africans did not live in nature according to timeless, unchanging customs and that not all of them were rural.

However, for all the wonderful insights and attention to economic grievances and African agency, discussions on social class and peasant initiative were also strikingly absent from most of the *resistance* literature. Peasants were bundled together under vague omnibus categories as the "people", "rural ethnic groups", "the rural masses" or "rural radicals" and so on. Hyden's controversial notion of an "uncaptured peasant" viewed the cohesiveness of rural African society as a block to modernisation.[43] These formulations, as Delius rightly argues, failed to capture the identities within or the content of struggles and transformations in the countryside.[44] Such categories also carried insidious connotations and imposed restraints on analyses because the attendant descriptions were implicitly developed into character traits of the African victims of the colonial system.

Consequently, most historical accounts, at this time, failed to explore the complex effects of urbanisation on wider social constructions.[45] Too often, the attendant changes in the "localised" *sending* communities were treated in implicit suggestions of some of the implications of rural and urban linkages. Apart from conforming to conventional feedback teleology, such accounts were largely unable to move away from self-contained processes in

[42] P. Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana: A Study in Rural Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); A. Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution, The Zambesi Prazos 1750-1902* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972); A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973).

[43] R. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi* (New York: Praeger, 1970); H.F. Weiss, *Political Protest in the Congo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967); G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 18.
See also Mamdani's critique of Hyden's theoretical approach: Mahmood Mamdani, "A Great Leap Backward: A Review of Goran Hyden's No Shortcut to Progress," *Ufuhamu* **14**/2 (1985).

[44] P. Delius, *A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal,* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1996), 3.

[45] See C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, "The Process of Urbanisation in Africa (from the origins to the beginning of independence)," *African Studies Review*, **34** (1991).

each locale. This produced discrete studies on urban history and rural history that ultimately preserved Manichaean dualisms between the rural and urban spaces.[46]

The imprint of the Marxist-oriented underdevelopment theory and analyses offering class as an alternative theoretical framework in Zimbabwean historical writing is readily identified with the writings of Arrighi (1973) and Palmer (1977).[47] The labour reserve thesis these and other scholars produced pointed to proletarianisation and accumulation and inferred that the inequalities found in the African rural reserves were caused by developing capitalist relations of production.

The underdevelopment approach proved inadequate for an analysis of the African urban situation. Underlying the proletarianisation thesis was a notion of the primary influence of the structure of capitalist production on the consciousness and behaviour of the African workers. The analysis was less concerned with the nature of the place where protest movements occurred (being a mine, a factory or a railway) than by the strategy of conflict taken as a catalyst of proletarianisation. The proletarianisation thesis inevitably evaded dealing with the "worker" as a migrant. It therefore seems justified to argue that this "tradition" paid little attention to the non-material aspects of the lives of workers.

The modernisation perspective that was applied on the African continent from the late 1970s represented a kind of teleological liberalism which saw the state as a rational instrument of modernisation, which would lead African society out of their inherently "backward" and "irrational" attributes.[48] Modernisation theorists saw "tradition" and the primordial character of local institutions as the main block to "development" that was directly indexed against the

[46] See: D. Patel, "Housing the urban poor"; D.H. Davies, "Toward an Urbanising Strategy for Zimbabwe," *Geo Journal* S**2** (1981); P. Teedon and D. Drakakis-Smith, "Urbanisation and socialism in Zimbabwe — the case of low-cost Urban Housing," *Geoforum* **2** (1986); D.W. Drakakis Smith, "The Changing Economic Role of Women in the Urbanization Process A Preliminary Report from Zimbabwe," *International Migration Review* **18**/4 (1984).

[47] G. Arrighi, "Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective: A Study of the Proletarianisation of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia," in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa,* eds. G. Arrighi & J. Saul (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973); I. Phimister, "Peasant Production and Underdevelopment in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1914," *African Affairs,* **73**/291 (1974); R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia,* (London: Heinemann, 1977); R. Palmer, & N. Parsons (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

[48] See works by: F. Ellis, "Agricultural marketing and peasant state transfers in Tanzania," *Journal of Peasant Studies* **10**/4 (1983); N.M. Hansen, "Development from above: The centre-down development paradigm", in *Development from Above or Below? The Dialectics of Regional Planning in Developing Counties,* eds. Stohr W.B. & Fraser Taylor D.R. (Chichester: John Wiley, 1981); Wekwete, "Growth centre policy in Zimbabwe".
For a wider reading on the Modernisation perspectives see: Walt Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); M. Weiner, (ed.) *Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth,* (New York: Basic Books, 1966).

application of concepts and theories from Western philosophy. The writings by Modernisation theorists underplayed (at best), or else entirely ignored, the cultural and social influences arising out of human migration. In short, modernisation literature overemphasised the role of the state or other modernising agents like Non-Governmental Organisations at inducing change at the expense of the rural inhabitants themselves.

Although political economy perspectives depicting migrants as a cheap African labour force, or faceless victims in a controlled colonial system dominated studies of migration, socio-historical studies in Africa were transformed, at least in focus, by a collection edited by Cooper (in 1983) and other works by sociologists on labour and proletarianisation connected with urbanisation.[49] These studies, beginning in the early to mid-1980s constituted a cultural-turn of sorts and ushered in new socio-historical investigations of cities which stressed, class and then culture and gave some definition to certain previous studies. In contrast to other approaches, such as the modernisation school and dependency theory, this *new* trend drew attention to the non-state sphere in African countries. Scholars examined questions of power, justice, struggle, social identity and class not simply as abstractions but as issues deeply rooted in the daily practices and experiences of different peasantries and workers.[50]

In short, scholars began to look more closely at the experiences of migrants themselves and sought to restore agency and increased attention to the actors, that is "those groups of people who carry and articulate the non-privileged discourses".[51] They showed, through biographical and ethnographic research, how migrants transformed the social structures within the urban environment. For instance, Yoshikuni's illuminating (1989) study of early African Harare followed the methods suggested by Castells, Harvey and others of the New Urban Sociology.[52] Yoshikuni documented the continuities in communal life in the municipal location and outer ring of suburbs that developed in the Salisbury area by the 1920s. In the

[49] Frederick Cooper (ed.), *The Struggle for the City: Migrant Labour, Capital, and the State in Africa,* (Beverley Hills: Sage Publications Inc, 1983); David Henri Anthony, "Culture and Society in a Town in Transition: A People's History of Dar es Salaam, 1865-1939," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1983); William G. Martin and Mark Beittel, "The Hidden Abode of Reproduction: Conceptualizing Households in Southern Africa," *Development and Change* **18** (1987).

[50] See: Richard Parry, "The 'Durban' System and the Limits of Colonial Power in Salisbury 1890-1935," in *Liquor and Labour in Southern Africa*, eds. Jonathan Crush & Charles Ambler (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1992); B. Raftopoulos, & I. Phimister, (eds.), *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900-1997* (Harare: Baobab Books, 1997).

[51] Bodil Folke Frederiksen, "Popular Culture in the South: Production and Reception", in *Livelihood, Identity and Instability*, (eds) B.F. Frederiksen and Fiona Wilson (Copenhagen, 1997), 171.

[52] Yoshikuni, "Black Migrants in a White City"; Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977); David Harvey, *The Urbanisation of Capital* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985).

context of southern Africa, Harries' pioneering multi-focal study of migrants from Mozambique in South Africa was very important in drawing similar observations, albeit focusing on cross-border migration.[53] Bozzoli's *Women of Phokeng* also paid close attention to the lives of individual South African indigenous women.[54]

These socio-historical approaches sought to create analytical space where scholarship on work and everyday life could flourish and to overcome some of the conceptual rigidities of the underdevelopment thesis.[55] Scholars exploring the interrelationship between the material and cultural world stressed that rural communities were capable of creating an alternative oppositional culture and were not necessarily victims of a false consciousness and ruling-class dominance.[56] For instance, Ranger and Delius tried to create analytical space to re-examine the complex and varied ways in which rural struggles may have been tied to urban conflicts through a discussion of the peasant nationalist encounters.[57] Ranger's (1985) study was located within a formulation of (neo-)Marxism which tried to prove peasants grassroots agency and revolutionary consciousness.[58] In the South African case, Beinart and Bundy and Bradford argued that insurgent cultures were shaped around complex and often contested encounters between different combinations of activists, migrant workers, rural religious leaders, teachers and peasantries.[59]

In the Zimbabwean context, Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni separately argued that the central fact of continuing urban-rural linkages is critical to an appreciation of social differentiation in Salisbury. They further explored how these complexities altered the development of nationalism, trade-unionism and political leadership in the city. Raftopoulos revealed how the distinctive phases of migration and immigration occurring at different times and from regions

[53] Patrick Harries, Work, *Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c1860-1910,* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1994).
[54] Bozzoli with Nkotsoe, *Women of Phokeng.*
[55] See: S. Marks, & S. Trapido, *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (London: Longman, 1987).
[56] Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); D. Coplan, "Eloquent Knowledge: Lesotho Migrants' Songs and the Anthropology of Experience," *American Ethnologist* **14**/3 (1987); K. Fields, *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
[57] Terence O. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985); Peter Delius, "Migrant Organisation, the Communist Party, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland Revolt, 1940-1958," in *Apartheid's Genesis 1935-62,* eds. P. Bonner, P. Delius and D. Posel (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1993).
[58] Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness.*
[59] H. Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: The ICU in Rural South Africa 1926-1930* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); W. Beinart, & C. Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

differentially affected by capitalist development and colonial land policies broadly coincided with fundamental shifts in orientating urban politics. Thus the large-scale influx of Shona emigrants from the nearby rural hinterland from the mid-1940s exerted a marked impact on urban political culture. Yoshikuni, like Raftopoulos, contends that African nationalism became a strong political force when aspirants and elites came together into some kind of popular or mass political movement after the Second World War.[60]

The new socio-historical perspectives also began to question the continued differentiation built on an association between rural agriculture and a "peasant" economy. This was the basis for composite labels such as "worker-farmer", "peasantariat", "quasi-proletariat", "rural proletariat" and for the notion of "worker-peasants" that tried to capture the duality of the migrant's class position.[61] Levin and Neocosmos, however, maintain that the term "semi-proletariat", preferred by many analysts, led to a neglect of the rural production side.[62] That notwithstanding, such hybrid categories signalled a rejection of the label "peasant" as an acceptable description of an evolving rural society given the increased penetration of urban linkages.

However, while these composite terms were clearly less "clumsy" than earlier notions that spoke of "the people", they only captured the social identity of the migrant in a situational context and failed to capture the life histories of the migrants in question. As the discussion in Chapter 4 reveals, there were periods of unemployment and joblessness that followed migrants who had first migrated to Salisbury as labourers. But this in no way cut them off from other forms of human interaction that linked Salisbury with Goromonzi. The framework proposed in this study, therefore, tries to capture the complex articulation between rural and urban livelihoods that combined elements of the proletarian, informal urban survival strategies, rural agriculture and the partially commoditised petty commodity producer.

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[60] Tsuneo Yoshikuni, "Notes on the Influence of Town-Country Relations on African Urban History before 1957: Experiences in Salisbury and Bulawayo" in *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, eds. B. Raftopolous and T. Yoshikuni, (Harare, Weaver Press, 1999), 122.

[61] F. Cooper, "Peasants, Capitalists and Historians", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **7**/2 (1981); J. Parson, "Cattle Class and the State in Rural Botswana", *Journal of Southern African Studies*,**7**/2 (1981); R .Leys, "Drought and Drought Relief in Southern Zimbabwe", in *World Recession and the Food Crisis in Africa*, ed. P. Lawrence, (London: James Currey/ROAPE,1986); I. Wallerstein, "Class, tribe and Party in West African politics", in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, eds. S.M. Lipset, & R. Stein, (New York, Free Press, 1967); M. Russell, "The Landed Proletariat: coming to terms with the contradiction in terms", Mimeo: Free University of Amsterdam, Research Seminar on Swaziland (1986).

[62] R .Levin and M. Neocosmos, "The Agrarian Question and Class Contradictions in South Africa: Some Theoretical Issues for Consideration", *Africa Perspective*, **1**/5-6 (1987).

Africanist literature in the 1980s confronted the heavy structuralism of prior analyses and offered an alternative approach examining the relationship between social action and social structure over time. Scholars looked beyond European-created structures and institutions to the worlds the Africans made. They also sought to move beyond old dualisms - such as global political economy, ethnography, culture and materialism - to expand the scope of scholarly inquiry. For example Jean Comaroff's discussion on the material and cultural encounters in the South African countryside simultaneously demonstrated the fruitfulness of the rapprochement of history and anthropology.[63] Under the impact of analyses by Hobsbawm and Ranger, concepts of national (or ethnic) identities collapsed, studies of ethno-cultural groups, which assumed bordered identity groups, were also challenged.[64] Borderlines of cultural groups were reconceptualised as fuzzy and permeable.

The entry of feminist scholarship, in the 1980s, resulted in wide-ranging research on women in past migrations who, as in much of history written by men, were often subsumed under men. Their studies not only added women to the research agenda and introduce the neglected field of social reproduction; they also raised questions that required a re-conceptualisation of unquestioned assumptions. For instance, feminist social historians argued, persuasively, that what the literature had portrayed as the peasant reality was, in fact, an undifferentiated male reality, shaped in turn by rarefied structural-functionalist assumptions about kinship and the sexual division of labour.[65] They also challenged the gender ideology-based assumption that women were "associational" to or "dependent" upon men and revealed how this prevented collection of data on women who always made up significant numbers of the total migrant population.

Feminist scholars suggested the importance of the social construction of gender, patriarchy and the household as a terrain of struggle.[66] They also rejected assumptions about the complementarities of men and women's work and argued that commodity production further split rural societies along gender and generational lines. They stressed that the organisation of

[63] Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power*.
[64] See: Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa", in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1983).
[65] Belinda Bozzoli, "Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies," *Journal of Southern African Studies* **9**/2 (1983); K. Staudt, "Stratification Implication for Women's Politics," in *Women and Class in Africa*, eds. C. Robertson and I. Berger (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986).
[66] Elizabeth Schmidt, "Negotiated Spaces and Contested Terrain: Men, Women and the Law in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1939," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **16**/4 (1990); T. Barnes, "The Fight for Control of African Women's Mobility in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939," *Signs*, **17**/3 (1992).

labour, the control of critical resources, social reproduction and peasant struggles were all inexorably related to gender.[67] Barnes, for example, concentrated on social reproduction and was able to avoid the *pitfalls* of earlier studies that celebrated the agency of "remarkable" (often-elite) women while ignoring the important constraints on "ordinary" women.[68] These insights were undoubtedly timely and made an important contribution to Zimbabwean historiography.

However, the motivation or need to "deconstruct" male privileged histories, which most feminist historians assumed at the time, masked several subtleties within *change.* For instance, what precisely was contested or negotiated, waived, abrogated, consented to, etc. and how did shifting values, norms and attitudes influence these changes. Furthermore, feminist scholars lingered too much on the side of constraints, generally presenting women as *victims* - as slaves, prostitutes, and domestic servants. Therefore, feminist scholars were not able to make significant contributions in showing how African women could be creative and influential in shaping their cultural universe. Some feminist scholars, nonetheless, expressed suspicion of synthesising grand accounts in which women are portrayed as "unified subjects".[69]

A "colonialism and culture" school of writing appeared in the 1990s following a cultural studies jargon. It stressed the importance of representations, identities, consumption, the body and the production of culture.[70] This postmodernist turn extended the language of historical inquiry in a number of fruitful directions and produced sophisticated studies on transborder, transnational, and transcultural exchanges, fusion, and hybridity.[71] Most provided thoughtful and empirically researched analyses of braided and entwined cultures emerging in processes of spatial mixing and interaction. Examples include Ferguson's study of Zambian masses who embraced *modernity* as vindication of a successful anti-imperial struggle.[72] The "colonialism and culture" nexus also provided a useful entry into the making of a rural

[67] Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom;* E. Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe: 1870-1939* (Harare: Baobab Books, 1992).
[68] Teresa Barnes, *"We Women Worked so Hard": Gender, Urbanization, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956* (Harare, Baobab Books, 1999); M.J. Hay, "Queens, Prostitutes and Peasants: Historical Perspective on African Women, 1971-1986," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, **23** (1988); N. Hunt, "Placing African Women's History and Locating Gender," *Social History* **14**/3 (1989).
[69] Hay, "Queens, Prostitutes and Peasants," 433-436; D. Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion and Power: The construction of moral discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
[70] Nancy Hunt, "Introduction." In *Gendered Colonialisms in African History*, eds. Hunt, N., Liu, T. and Quataert, J. (Oxford/Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1997).
[71] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).
[72] Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*.

cosmopolitan culture and urban identity. Such insights are invaluable in conceptualising a peasantry that was at the same time an urbanised *class*. Perhaps most importantly, this culturist turn signalled a move away from a separate women's history, as men and the construction of masculinity began to join in the broader frame of gender history.[73] The emphasis here was not on heroes or heroines nor on victims, but on the social and political action of "ordinary" men and women.

Some of the more recent literature provides multi-sited analyses in exploring the cultural lives of migrant men and women in the context of southern Africa. Examples include Potts, *Circular Migration* (2010) and Groves' 2011 PhD thesis, "Malawians in Colonial Salisbury: A Social History of Migration in Central Africa, c. 1920s-1960s".[74] Groves, for instance, took note of the cultural continuities that ChiChewa migrants (that had been socialised in colonial Malawi) established across national borders and conceptualised their own "transnational" ties.

From the foregoing it is clear that the writing on urban and rural histories has undergone profound changes in focus and emphasis from largely descriptive and static monographs to more analytical and less ethnocentric research and from largely dualistic theorem to more complex theorising. Although this study builds on the extant literature concerning various aspects of town and country relationships among Africans in a colonial context, the evidence from similar social inquiries points to the need for a separate and sustained study that brings out the complexities specific to the Zimbabwean context in general, and in the Goromonzi-Salisbury area in particular. My contribution, therefore, differs from earlier research – topically, geographically and chronologically. I adopt a specific translocal analyses rather than generalised structural and often imaginary rural/urban frames. My study, therefore, underlines the need for locally specific and historically informed analysis, carefully grounded in both spatial and socio-cultural contexts – that is, the city, the rural areas and the complex articulation between them.

My approach also addresses what I regard as the blindness of modernist research techniques, ideas and descriptions involving the space of the subaltern in an urban context.

[73] K. T. Hansen, (Ed.), *African Encounters with Domesticity*, (New Brunswick, 1992).
[74] D. Potts, *Circular Migration in Zimbabwe and Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2010); Zoe Groves, "Malawians in Colonial Salisbury: A Social History of Migration in Central Africa, c. 1920s-1960s" (PhD thesis, Keele University, 2011).

(Modernisation Theory has since been reincarnated as the "Civil Society Approach").[75] It also challenges the denial of African rural-urban migrants' autonomous agency evident in both Modernisation and Marxist approaches. I also seek to address the neglect of short-distance migrants evident in the wider historiography on Zimbabwean cities that has resulted in an image of short-distance migrants as less invested in the urban community. Such an image arose, perhaps, due to their assumed temporary status in the city and greater commitment to their rural homes.

Moreover, the labour studies that were produced from the 1980s focused more on the emergence and activism of the African labour force as an institution and social group than on its relevance as an urban group. Labour historians were constrained by their socialisation in the frame of one locale - that is the urban work environment. Labour historians, therefore, tended to focus on labour organisations and strikes, then on the working classes, and finally on working class culture and working women. This study, however, draws on the insights of the recent social history and *culturalist* perspectives in an effort to locate the African voice at the centre of the process of (re)constructing his or her livelihood and social arrangements.

While the studies by Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni (discussed above) do, in some ways, approximate with what I seek to explore in this study they are so minutely focused on a small episode in the history of Zimbabwe. And while they offer some fascinating and intriguing insights certain dynamics of interaction are not explored, especially, the socio-economic and cross-cultural aspects. Furthermore, Yoshikuni's investigation did not go beyond the peri-urban fringe of Salisbury. My analysis however, extends to the rural areas, in which the economy was primarily agricultural, but still maintained similar linkages (as the peri-urban zone) with the city. Both Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni also gave minimal consideration to how oscillatory migrants themselves influenced rural transformation on their return but emphasised the role of nationalist parties in mobilising the reserves instead. These *gaps*, I believe, call for trenchant social history accounts spelling out the various linkages which have characterised the interrelationship of rural and urban spaces. Thus, while granting the important contribution of these and other studies, a sense of the "flesh and blood" implications of what has been largely presented as a "skeletal structure" is due. Although this study is confined to Salisbury and Goromonzi, I think that this represents a first take in this

[75] For further discussion on this consult: Stein Sundstøl Eriksen, "The State We're In: Recent Contributions to the Debate on State–Society Relations in Africa", *Forum for Development Studies*, **2** (2001), 290-294.

direction. The intention is to offer some fresh perspectives in this direction as well as stimulate parallel studies in similar contexts for instance in Umtali (now Mutare) and Zimunya.

A Note on Sources

A case study research design was adopted in this study. Eminent social historian, Asa Briggs, proposed that historians "examine in detail social structure and change in the most meaningful of units".[76] I contend here that the rural and urban social space presents just such a meaningful unit. I have framed my case study area as a conceptual social space similar to the notion of a "nonplace urban realm" advanced by Webber. Webber defined this "nonplace urban realm" as "neither urban settlement nor territory, but heterogeneous groups of people communicating with each other through space".[77] Such a space thus becomes both a laboratory and a medium of change, rather than simply an expression of accommodation, social engineering or the nexus of economic growth.[78]

Most of the research, comprising various written and oral sources, was carried out between 2009 and 2011. A variety of historical and archival sources were deployed. Diverse sources were compared to identify possible inconsistencies, bias or error in the data.[79] The methods used were based on a broad-spectrum of primary and secondary sources with the core techniques of gathering evidence being document analysis and oral interviews.

The first stage of my research entailed identifying potentially relevant sources, an assessment of the sources, thorough analysis of selected sources and constructing an account integrating and explaining relevant sources.[80] This review of related literature revealed several diverse methods that had been employed by others to study similar subject matter. It was during this phase of the research that I managed to identify several studies from the wider humanities discipline conducted by researchers concerned with accelerated urbanisation from the post Second World War era.[81]

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[76] Asa Briggs cited in *Social Theory and Social History*, D. M. MacRaild & A. Taylor, (Palgrave: Macmillan 2004), 28.
[77] Melvin Webber cited in Hall, P., "Revisiting the Nonplace Urban Realm: Have we Come Full Circle?" *International Planning Studies*, **7** (1996).
[78] Ibid.
[79] J.L. Simon, & P. Burstein, *Basic research methods in Social Sciences: The art of empirical investigation* (New York: Random Press, 1985), 4.
[80] A. Kaniki, "Doing an Information Search" in *Research in Practice: Methods for the Social Sciences,* eds. Terre Blanche, M. T. & Durrheim, K. (Cape Town; University of Cape Town Press, 1999), 19.
[81] See footnote 38.

The sustained nature of the reports and surveys produced from these studies were important in developing a sense of historical process and in developing the empirical base of this study. For instance, from around 1950 numerous basic sociological surveys were conducted in and around the townships of Salisbury and the Goromonzi District.[82] The surveys offer useful of background data on migrancy patterns, livelihoods, land and cattle holdings and other social aspects in which the life histories of the migrants referred to in this study would be set. This source material, however, was broad-based which, in turn, called for oral interviews to capture the social texture of the case study area.

The second phase involved working through archival material at the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ). The NAZ houses reports and documents from the local authorities and statistical and demographic data from the Central Statistical Office (CSO). The records from colonial correspondence, quarterly reviews, transcripts and reports from the Native Affairs Department (NAD) (later District Commissioners') reports and various other reports from the Department of African Administration (DAA) were gathered. This also involved going through some Government Publications in the form of the Hansard (that is Parliamentary Debates), Acts of Parliament, policy papers and reports by National Commissions of enquiry.

Census and demographic data was important in that successive colonial governments sought data which could be used for the analysis of internal migration. Further, the subsequent post-enumeration surveys made migration one of its chief fields of inquiry. Because of the planning function usually ascribed to these censuses their reports were usually very elaborate. The CSO conducted two national censuses in the period under investigation i.e. in 1962 and in 1969. The Southern Rhodesian government engaged in enumeration exercises before this but they were rather sporadic in methodology and based on sampling.[83] The censuses proper and the post-enumeration surveys provided important descriptions of movements within the country. The CSO also concerned itself with making African budget surveys and measuring the Poverty Datum Line from which I got a sense of the complex issue of urban-rural terms of trade.

[82] For example: Olivia N. Muchena, "Women in Town: A Socio-Economic Survey of African Women in Highfield Township", Salisbury, CASS (UZ) 1980; Valerie Moller, "Migrant Labour in Harare Hostels," *Zambezia*, **5**/2 (1977); _____, "Some Aspects of Mobility Patterns of Urban Africans in Salisbury", (Geographical Association of Rhodesia, No. 7, December 1974, Proceedings of 1973/74); R.W.M. Johnson, "An Economic Survey of Chiweshe Reserve," *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, **36** (1964).

[83] D. Patel, "Some Issues of Urbanisation and Development in Zimbabwe*," Journal of Social Development in Africa*, **3**/2 (1988), 24.

My content analysis method of archival data was, in the main, substantive but also incorporated integrated analysis especially when analysing statistical data. However, I was always aware of Ranger's and Isaacman's warning that even the richest of these documents is a colonial artefact. Thus, while colonial archives contain the Africans' words, ideas and ideologies, these have been mediated through the eyes and ears of colonial chroniclers whose agendas are shaped by their own race, class and gender.[84] Nevertheless, to note the limits of colonial records is not to deny the possibility that a careful reading of these texts can yield important analyses of the colonised. Clearly it can! Much of the best work on the social history of South Africa, for instance, is drawn from written sources.[85] However, the material insufficiency of the archival correspondence and ephemera of colonial official reports housed at the NAZ called for life history interviews which, in any case, are crucial in social history inquiry.

This study therefore employed oral history techniques as a major source. The interviews I conducted were based on a semi-structured set of questions, which were compiled after archival and library research. I identified my informants in a rather broadly defined manner as the primary objective was to capture the "ordinary" voices but there were some broad delimiting considerations. First, the person had to have at least some first-hand (eyewitness) recollections of the context. I was unconcerned with the inputs of oral tradition or accounts handed down by word of mouth to later generations. So, my youngest interviewee was born in 1968.[86] Second, the person had to have lived in any of the reserves that fell within the Goromonzi District. The informant also had to have been engaged in, or in the very least experienced, some form of migrancy and other forms of human interaction with the city during the period in question. Therefore, I was not concerned with those who never returned (that is *kuchona*). A third overarching consideration was to be sensitive to aspects of gender, age and other dispositions in an attempt to capture a holistic picture and highlight the differences these factors inflected on the subject matter under study.

The life histories of Goromonzi men and women illustrate the dynamics of rural and urban life between the 1940s and the 1970s, offering a privileged look at the "behaviour, self-

[84] T. Ranger, "Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* **5**/1 (1978); Allen Isaacman, "Peasants, Social Protest and Africanists," *Journal of Social History* **22**(1989); _____, "Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa," *African Studies Review*, **33**/2 (1990), 17.
[85] Examples include: W. Beinart & C. Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa*, (Berkeley: University of California Press 1987) and Crush, J. "Landlords, Tenants and Colonial Social Engineers: The Farm Labour Question in Early Colonial Swaziland," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **11**/2 (1985).
[86] Interview with Tonderai Munaku, Mbare, Harare, 31 July 2011.

images, life strategies, social practices and social worlds" of Salisbury and Goromonzi. These personal recollections challenge the notion of a homogeneous experience of colonialism and migrancy, revealing the ways in which men and women variously and collectively perceived themselves and others in the city.

Oral history techniques are often not the best method for getting factual data, such as specific dates, places or times, because people rarely remember such detail accurately.[87] However, I believe the thematic focus that I used to organise my study freed the subaltern recollections of my informants as there were not *subjected* to specific historical markers. Bozzoli has also cautioned against the use of oral sources that glorify "the voice of the oppressed" and in which "all interpretation is sacrificed".[88] However, for all the difficulties oral testimonies pose, when carefully collected and rigorously analysed, they can provide important material for fresh social histories of subaltern classes.

This research also used reports from locally run newspapers and magazines such as the *African Weekly, African Daily News, Mabvuku News* and the *Bantu Mirror,* etc., which recorded the voice of a literate section of the African colonised. These proved to be useful sources as the various editorials spoke variously and specifically to issues concerning the government or the council. Editorial comments and Letters to the Editor also provided evidence of African responses to various colonial projects.

This study also used an assortment of fictional and semi-autobiographical writing from several African writers that make important contributions to our understanding of urban practices and perspectives. One of the main themes which dominate African literature is the difference between the city and the countryside, and the different life-styles and ways of behaving appropriate for the urban area.[89] Several novels written by some of Zimbabwe's pioneering writers like Mungoshi, Chakaipa, and Kuimba provide sharp insights on social life both in the rural and urban areas.[90]

[87] C.A. Hamilton, "Ideology and Oral Traditions: Listening to the Voices 'From Below'", *History in Africa* **14** (1987); David Henige, *Oral Historiograhy*, (London: Longman, 1982); Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).
[88] Bozzoli with Nkotsoe, *Women of Phokeng*, 245.
[89] J.W. Hanna and J.L. Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa*, (Chicago: Aldine Atherton, 1971), 43.
[90] Charles Mungoshi, *Ndiko Kupindana Kwamazuva* (Gwelo: Mambo Press in association with the Literature Bureau, 1975); Patrick Chakaipa, *Garandichauya* (Salisbury: Longman in association with the Literature Bureau, 1981); Giles Kuimba, *Rurimi Inyoka* (Gwelo: Mambo Press in association with the Rhodesia Literature Bureau, 1976).

I contend that such works of literature are well placed to capture a contextual atmosphere and, if used carefully, have as much socio-historical weight as oral interviews. It was, after all, through literature that writers portrayed certain norms, values, and customs. The thematic focus of Lawrence Vambe's autobiographical manuscripts was also closely linked with the scope of historical coverage. Vambe's accounts are largely perceptive contemporary accounts of urban life providing the all-too-rare views of an insider and participant in African urban life in the 1940s and 1950s.[91] Also, as Ndlovu argues, the social concerns of these writers' offers for critique various matrices of power found within smaller social units. Therefore, this multiplies the fields and possibilities of meaning beyond the struggle against colonialism and cultural imperialism and captures gender, generational and other contested terrains.[92] Novels are, as is to be expected, not very helpful as sources of empirical data but are invaluable as sources of insight into African social life as communicated by sensitive and articulate insiders.

Architecture

My chapters are thematically organised to follow the transient and translocal existence of the rural-urban migrants under investigation. The first two chapters place the study not only within a specific historical context but also a firm contextual basis that provides the socio-cultural and economic motivations the rural-urban migrants in turn engaged with. Chapters 3 to 7 put migrants at the centre of the story, showing how these migrants imposed themselves culturally within the rural-urban social sphere and the socio-economic responses they developed in the process.

Chapter 1 examines the processes leading to the concentration of rural migrants from Goromonzi in Salisbury in the 1940s. This chapter presents a portrait of rural communities that were experiencing autonomous processes of flux. It disputes that tradition in its structural-functional-colonial usage was the key organising principle following the demarcation of these reserves. The chapter accounts for the shift that was experienced *beginning* in the 1940s when the movement to urban centres of employment stopped being discretionary and assumed a structural format. It argues that this was because of the increasing rural and urban income differentials and the weakening of the bargaining power of peasant communities that unfortunately never closed during the period under study.

[91] Lawrence Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe Before and After Rhodes* (London: Heinemann, 1972); _____, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe* (London: Heinemann, 1976).
[92] Ndlovu, "The Family as a Contested Arena," 264.

Chapter 2 details and analyses specific and sustained policy measures aimed at *dualising* the rural and urban spaces through state planning measures and how these changed within particular rural and urban contexts. This chapter is largely descriptive as it seeks to set the stage for the dialectical interaction that was both presented to Africans and that they tried to (re)-negotiate on their terms. But, it also reveals the internal fissures within the colonial project that made these far from coherent and sustained policy measures.

Chapter 3 explores the various human and spatial exchanges between the rural and urban space and the forms they assumed. This underscores the alternative engagements that Goromonzi migrants developed on their own terms. The chapter also explores the various family agglomerations that emerged at the time, such as commuter households, and how they fashioned their daily lives during this period. The chapter notes how improved transport services at the time created conditions for discernible new trends as seen in a shift to long-term urban residency by men whose families continued to live in the Goromonzi District. The chapter argues there was no one-way linear relation between their rural and urban *worlds*.

Chapter 4 examines the experiences and life strategies that Goromonzi migrants in Salisbury, especially with the economic slowdown and unemployment crisis that began to figure from the last half of the 1950s. These strategies include, among other things, opting to reside in the peri-urban locations of the city. This on the one hand, "violated" the modernist impositions of the colonisers, but simultaneously allowed them to maximise rural and urban terms of trade. Thus, the chapter highlights several survival initiatives the Goromonzi migrant community adopted within Salisbury which, in turn, unmasks the various linkages that these migrants fostered on their own terms.

Chapter 5 discusses the struggles over the meaning of leisure and cultural content in African urban areas, particularly against the background of rapid African urbanisation of the 1940s–1950s. This chapter argues that, despite the colonisers' attempts to inculcate their own vision of urbanity on rural-urban migrants; they had to acknowledge the Africans' own leisure time preferences. The migrants' apparent lack of "involvement" in the civic structure of the city is explained in a number of ways. These include the mercantilist relations that characterised the work environment in Salisbury, the bye-laws governing African townships and the migrants' following their translocal realities that necessarily also included the rural reserves of Goromonzi.

Chapters 6 and 7 seek to show the precise changes in the social relationships and roles of individuals in the rural areas of Goromonzi and assess the precise effect of such change. The chapters explore this social transformation at various levels. Chapter 6 traces some of the interventions the inhabitants of the Goromonzi District instituted and inflected on their return to their rural villages (i.e. *kumusha*). It explores social change occurring because of returning migrants relaying tastes and preferences they picked up in Salisbury to their rural areas of origin. It also examines the role rural returning migrants had in the new social and political institutions that came into being in the mid-1950s. The chapter argues that because of these changes the *countryside* was no longer some *other* place, spatially, temporally and symbolically distanced from *urban* everyday ways of life.

Chapter 7 explores change emanating from the necessary reorganisation of labour processes and labour allocation because of the out-migration of various strata of society along gender and generational lines. It also investigates social transformation emanating from the social and economic reorganisation of the local economy as the reserves in the Goromonzi District geared themselves to service the African captive market in Salisbury by meeting certain of their daily requirements. Overall, Chapter 7 contends that by the close of the period under study (that is 1979) the most important transformation of all was that intra-national migrancy had moved from being an important buttress for the Goromonzi rural economy to providing its foundation.

CHAPTER 1:

Historical Background: The Salisbury-Goromonzi belt, 1890s-early 1940s

This chapter situates the unit of study encompassing both the Salisbury and Goromonzi Districts in the wider historical transformation from its pre-colonial demographic and spatial realities into a *zone* made up of a frontier urban settlement, a peri-urban zone made up of several mission stations and settler-owned farmland and rural reserves that accommodated the local African people in confined areas following serial colonial encounters. The purpose of this section is to provide an introductory survey of the history and the social structure of the Salisbury-Goromonzi *belt* up to the 1940s. This historical background will lay the foundation of the study, which is specifically concerned with how African rural migrants from the reserves in Goromonzi expressed themselves in this social space during the late colonial era.

This chapter highlights several important caveats in studying early reserve communities. It describes an African community that was in conversation with itself as the reserves continually incorporated peoples of divergent backgrounds. This positions the reserves as modernising agents in and of themselves. Portraits of homogeneity and rural stasis are dismissed as a colonial delusion. In fact, the reserve communities were selectively rejecting and incorporating diverse cultural elements.

The discussion emphasises the resilience of the various rural-based options that Africans settled within the reserves of Goromonzi could exercise up to the end of the 1930s. I note how the very occupation of Salisbury by European settlers in the last decade of the nineteenth century provided the initial platform for an African agricultural boom. The production of grain and other crops increased in the first few decades of colonialism as the reserves responded positively to the new economic opportunities that opened up in Salisbury. The extent of this booming grain trade was witnessed in the dramatic increase in the number of ploughs and wagons in Goromonzi as what were formerly small gardens were transformed into expansive fields. In this way, a section of rural Goromonzi society was able to resist proletarianisation as it paid the imposed taxes, perhaps comfortably, from grain export earnings rather than having to turn to labour migration.

Later, state interventions designed to ensure the outmigration of the able-bodied to the so-called European centres of employment overthrew these peasant initiatives. However, rather than present a “rise and fall” kind of thesis, the chapter cites specific examples from the

reserves under study that point to an endurance and resilience that settler machinations were never able to completely break down.[1] I go on to explain how issues related to community initiative and access to resources, among other reasons, contributed to the longevity of rural-based alternatives.

The chapter also highlights that Shona urban settlement dates back to the very early days of the city of Salisbury and that not all took part in oscillatory migration between the rural and urban spaces nor were all of the early occupants short-term migrants. From a very early time there were already a number of urban born Africans who identified with the city as their home. This has a particular bearing in defining some of the other modernising influences that shaped first time migrants to the city in the period under investigation. Indeed the first African entrants to the city articulated themselves within their own socio-cultural niches – in what could perhaps be termed a "Township" culture. This "Township" culture was, in many ways, distinct from Euro-Western modernity that some rural migrants were exposed to in the workspace and through consuming various mass media.

The Shona People and Early Colonial Encounters in Salisbury and Goromonzi

There were two main groupings of Shona people who occupied the Salisbury and Goromonzi Districts before the country's colonisation in 1890.[2] These were the Harava in the south and south-east and the Shawasha to the east and north-east of what became Salisbury. A third, smaller grouping, known as the VaMbire originated from an area known as Svosve that would be seized by the settlers as part of the town of Marandellas (now Marondera) which lay about 72 kilometres to the east of Salisbury (See Map 2).[3] Chikowore Chivunga explains that his people (the VaMbire) moved from Nyandoro, an area in the larger Svosve chieftaincy, into the Goromonzi District in the 1870s following marauding raids by the

[1] See: Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, (London: Heinemann, 1979).

[2] The term "Shona" is, in many ways, a colonial appellation which was used to refer to a group of Bantu people who shared common cultural practices, language and beliefs. They were/are mostly found in the area corresponding to the present-day borders of Zimbabwe. However, the people, for which this term (i.e. Shona) refers to, tend and prefer to identify themselves through their dialect groups such as Karanga, Zezuru, Korekore, Manyika and so on. This suggests that some of the generalisations about Shona culture and language may not be inclusive of the whole group covered by that name.
M.F.C. Bourdilon, *The Shona Peoples: An Ethnography of the Contemporary Shona, With Special Reference to their Religion*, (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1976), 32.

[3] F.W.T. Posselt, "Marondera," *NADA*, **5** (1927), 47; D. Mwoyondizvo quoted in Eric Kushinga Makombe, "A People's Perspective of State Conservation Policies in the Seke Reserve: 1941-1961," (BA Honours diss., University of Zimbabwe, 2003), 8.

Ndebele.[4] A fourth grouping of people known as Makorekore, under the leadership of a chief named Mbare, lived in the very space that would be the site of the City of Salisbury. Mbare's headquarters were situated on top of a hill in an area that would later be renamed Southerton.[5] Mbare's chiefdom included areas later designated as Mount Hampden, some peri-urban farms in the north and north-west like Stapleford and Rainham farms and some "white" suburbs like Rhodesville, Hillside and Highlands to the east of Salisbury (See Map 3).[6]

The Harava, like the rest of the Shona, were agnatic that is, related on the paternal side and, as such, they identified their origins within the male descendants of a founding ancestor or progenitor.[7] The Harava identified their progenitor in Seke Mutema, who was the son of Chief Marange of Bocha, an area that would later make up the easternmost districts of Southern Rhodesia. Seke Mutema moved into the Salisbury/Goromonzi area with his six brothers as they went out in search of new lands.[8] The Harava identified the epicentre of their chiefdom as the Hunyani River extending southwards to an area they called Chitungwiza that lay between the Mupfure and Hunyani Rivers. Following the country's colonisation, Chitungwiza was appropriated as part of Boronia farm around the small-town of Beatrice which lay 54 kilometres to the south of Salisbury.[9] Kennedy Tazvirambwa Mangwadu identified the southern suburbs of Salisbury like Hatfield and Waterfalls and some peri-urban farms like Arlington and Kileff farms that bordered these suburbs as also having been part of the Harava chiefdom.[10] (See Maps 2-3)

Similarly, the Shawasha identified their progenitor in Tumbudu who came from an area known as Mahugwi, close to where Fort Victoria would be sited in the south-eastern parts of Southern Rhodesia.[11] Tumbudu's great-grandson, Derere Gonzonga transferred the Shawasha people first to an area in the present-day Hwedza District and then later to an area known as Chikonde where he established his chieftainship known as the Chinamhora.[12] The Shawasha

[4] Chikowore Chivunga quoted in Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe: 1870-1939*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1992), 35.
[5] Interview with Wilson Madimu in Madimu Village (Seke) on 13 November 2011.
[6] J.E.S. Turton (as related by Gwati), "Native History of Salisbury," *NADA* (1939), 17.
[7] David Beach, "The Shona Economy: Branches of Production" in *Roots of Rural Poverty in Central Africa*, eds. R. Palmer and N. Parsons, (Heinemann, 1977), 39.
[8] Joseph Sawanhu, "The Waharawa History," *NADA*, **3** (1925), 59.
[9] R.C. Woollacott, "Pasipamire: Spirit Medium of Chaminuka the 'Wizard' of Chitungwiza," *NADA* **XI**/2 (1975), 161.
[10] K.T. Mangwadu quoted in Makombe, "State Conservation Policies in the Seke Reserve" 8.
[11] J.H. Seed, "A Glimpse of Native History: The Vashawasha," *NADA* (1936-7), 7.
See also Lawrence Vambe's account of the History of the Shawasha in Lawrence Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, (London: Heinemann, 1972), Ch. 4.
[12] At this point, "Chinamhora" was the title given to their Chiefs.

renamed the Chikonde area Chishawasha after a hill in Mahugwi.[13] The Shawasha identify the expanse of their chiefdom as having ranged from the Msana Reserve to villages in Chiremba which were later seized by the Wesleyan Methodist Church as part of the Epworth Mission Station.[14] Also, an area known as Chizhanje that would be later set aside as part of peri-urban farmland on the fringes of Salisbury into farms like Donnybrook, and Crowborough were originally settlements in the Shawasha chieftaincy.[15] (See Map 1 and 3)

These people, having been located in and around Salisbury, suffered early dislocation, in the spatial sense, following the country's colonisation in 1890. A systematic reorganisation of the country began early, starting in the last half of the 1890s, when Africans were relegated to live in areas specially set for them. The Native Affairs Department (NAD) demarcated several reserves in the Goromonzi District to hold the local African people. The Chihota and Seke Reserves for instance, were first plotted in 1899.[16] During this process, the African people were bounded into smaller areas that were not easily accessible to the major routes.[17] Most of these reserves were situated on less fertile land than that taken over by white farmers and were characterised by low rainfall. Geographically many reserve areas were surrounded by white-owned commercial farms like Bromley and Melfort on which the inhabitants were supposed to act as a cheap pool of labour.[18] (See Map 1 and 3)

This determination brought about a division of the land into African and European occupied areas and soon set severe limits to African agricultural expansion. The rural areas were typecast as the "proper" and pristine sphere for the non-Europeans and the emerging urban areas were demarcated as European Areas and considered the preserve of the white population. In this way, spatial segregation found articulation in the rural-urban divide, which had a deep and enduring tension in the imagery of Anglo-Saxon culture, as the settlers attempted to mediate contact between them (Europeans) and the indigenous population. Initiatives for total spatial segregation were formalised with the appointment of the Morris

[13] Joshua Chidziwa, "History of the Shawasha," *NADA*, **IX**/1 (1964), 17-19.
[14] Ibid, 28.
[15] Interview with Joyce Jenge-Makwenda in Malbereign on 17 August 2011.
[16] By 1905 the BSAC had created about 60 reserves nationwide that constituted only 22 per cent of the new colony.
[17] One expression of this is that the average distance from producer to railhead increased from 35 miles in 1951 to 44 miles in 1952 and $51^{1}/_{2}$ miles in 1953.
[18] By 1922, 64 percent of all Africans were required to live in the reserves.
Ian Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948*, (London and New York: Longman, 1988), 68.

Carter Commission in 1924.[19] The recommendations of the Commission were incorporated into the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930, which legalised land segregation.[20]

However, even before the forced removals started during the delineation of reserves, the 1896 uprisings, (known as the first *chimurenga/*war of liberation in which the Shona people joined the Ndebele in country-wide rebellions), had already uprooted large rural populations forcing several families out of the Salisbury/Goromonzi area. For instance, the Chidziva, Muchetu, Gosha, Chaikosa and Mutungira families relocated further north from Chishawasha to the Murehwa District. This also entailed Shawasha families relocating to Harava territories. For instance, the Musungo family moved to the Seke Reserve.[21] These intra-migration patterns are too intricate to explain in great detail and, in any case, fall outside the scope of this study. But this shows that even before the turn of the twentieth century Goromonzi had already started experiencing some diverse influences that would shape the character of the reserve communities that emerged following the demarcation of the reserves.

Between 1890 and the early 1900s Goromonzi experienced the gradual introduction of a new colonial economy. Following the military campaigns within the Goromonzi District against the mid-1890s uprisings, the rural reserves of Goromonzi in various ways felt the presence of the colonial state, not least, through taxation. A tax of 10 shillings for each hut was introduced in 1893. In 1904 it was changed to a poll tax of £1 for each adult man plus an extra 10 shillings for each wife over the first wife.[22] The imposition of taxes by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) meant that African rural production now had to fund not only the simple reproduction of the rural population but also make a contribution to state revenue.

The first decades of British rule were also a period of intense missionary expansion throughout Goromonzi and Salisbury. Spheres of influence were carved out by the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church. These missionary societies consolidated in and around Salisbury when they proceeded to set up mission stations through personal agreements with Cecil John Rhodes, the "founder" of the colony. Rhodes simply took away much of the Shawasha people's land and donated it to groups of missionaries. The Roman Catholic Mission in Chishawasha was set up in 1892,

[19] Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Re-thinking the Colonial Encounter in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **33**/1 (2007), 188-190.
[20] Under this Act, land was divided into European Areas, Native Areas (i.e. African reserves), Native Purchase Areas (APAs) and Forest Areas.
[21] Chidziwa, "History of the Shawasha," 31.
[22] Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives*, 7.

followed by the Wesleyan Methodist in Epworth (formerly Chiremba) two years later.[23] In all, missionary societies owned three extensive mission stations within the vicinity of Salisbury, Epworth, Chishawasha and St. Mary's, owned by the Anglican Church, and a few smaller stations like the Pearson Settlement covering a combined total of 12 640 hectares. (See Maps 1 and 2)

The establishment of mission stations and schools, land alienations caused by the arrival of European settlers, and the onset of labour migration affected families, communities and individuals. These social and political changes in Goromonzi created new waves of migration throughout the colonial period, and shaped migrant experiences beyond their chieftaincies. This land alienation, in part, explains the initial negative reactions the Shona had towards accepting Christianity. To those deprived of their land missionaries appeared in much the same light as other white settlers. Consequently, during the Ndebele-Shona uprisings the large mission at Chishawasha near Salisbury was attacked by the Shawasha who wanted to repossess their ancestral lands.[24]

The mission farms immediately attracted Africans employed in Salisbury as messengers, *boss-boys*, clerks etc. because of the greater scope for self-realisation attainable through residency in these areas.[25] These mission stations, with a few other peri-urban farms like Ventersburg, made up what were then referred to as private locations (See Map 2 and 3). The residents in these locations constituted an early African Christian elite class. They played a part in the running of new mission stations and schools and spread their particular Christian denominations throughout Southern Rhodesia. Christianity became a central part of their cultural identity.

McGregor notes that, as early as 1895, a diverse grouping made up of a few local Harava inhabitants, but mostly of South African born Africans of Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu extract, settled in a residential location within Epworth Mission Station. The South African group came to the new colony as labourers, artisans, drivers and traders and decided to settle in Epworth largely because of their familiarity with the Methodist Church in South Africa.[26] The first attraction for many who decided to settle at this mission station was the quiet and

[23] Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives*, 123.
[24] A.K.H. Weinrich, *African Marriage in Zimbabwe and the Impact of Christianity*, (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1982), 4.
[25] See: Tsuneo Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe*: *A Social History of Harare before 1925*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2007).
[26] C. McGregor, *Epworth: A Chronicle of Despair 1890-1980* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1986), 19.

serene environment without the "roistering which took place in the municipal locations".[27] This attracted the "more sober" inhabitants of the town to live there. Furthermore, the peri-urban residential locations charged nominal rents to encourage Africans to move in. Epworth residents, who were signatories to a 1915 agreement paid an annual rent of 5/- while those who were signatories to a 1929 agreement paid £1.[28]

Another major attraction of Epworth was the presence of a mission school. So, apart from offering quasi-urban accommodation, the strategic location of these mission stations between the city and the reserves also meant they could offer vocational and industrial training for the rural inhabitants in the reserves. The Epworth School offered daytime classes for children and evening classes for adults, presumably after work hours. Bowman notes that the night school laid the foundations for some of the first teachers and evangelists to be trained by the Wesleyan Church around 1918.[29] Others became proficient in trades such as carpentry and brick-building and left in search of wage labour in the main employment centres of the colony. Bowman is also celebratory of the labour relations in these mission stations, arguing that African women employed as domestic servants there were "treated relatively better than in the other areas where their employers were not as clerical in nature".[30]

Chadya's study of the Chishawasha Mission Station, however, strongly refutes arguments that conditions in these mission stations were noticeably better than in the rest of the African reserves. Instead she argues that "quasi-feudal conditions prevailed on mission farms" and that any differences within the mission farms of different denominations "were just a question of degree".[31] She argues that the powers the missionaries exercised over the Africans settled there were, in fact, comparable to that exercised by the NAD in African areas. But, unlike the NAD, the missionaries even extended their powers to controlling minute details such as dressing, traditional ritual practices, African marriage customs and beer consumption. Because the Africans resented such intrusive oversight, "many families and, at times, whole clans left mission farms in the period leading up to the 1920s".[32] Chadya

[27] Ibid, 22.
[28] T.M.N. Zhou, "A History of Private Locations around Bulawayo City, 1930-1957," (MA Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1995), 34.
[29] L.W. Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia: White Power in an African State*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 50.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Joyce M. Chadya, "Missionary Land Ownership: The Case of the Roman Catholics at Chishawasha," (MA Thesis, UZ, June 1992), 92 and 94.
[32] Ibid, 93.

further argues that students at these mission schools undergoing "industrial training" provided ultra-cheap labour and many even looked at this as a "thinly veiled form of forced labour".[33]

Indeed, before 1940, there was little academic education offered at these mission stations. Francis Rhodes, the Acting Administrator of Southern Rhodesia (and the brother of Cecil Rhodes) spoke highly of the Jesuit programme after a visit to the Chishawasha Mission in 1895. Francis Rhodes claimed the Catholic Church was "laying the foundation of a class of labour which will be of benefit not only to the Natives themselves, but to the general community".[34] Francis Rhodes's views would be reinforced, following the end of the First World War, when the newly appointed Director of Native Development, H.S. Kiegwin, introduced the so-called Kiegwin Scheme. The scheme simultaneously suppressed what was considered to be excessively academic and religious education for industrial-based training of practical subjects in the Africans' curriculum.[35] Technical training was designed to regenerate the African people and enrich the white employers through a constant and fixed supply of cheap labour. Coupled with this, were very low levels of government outlay on African education, which in 1923 amounted to a mere £27 176. By 1938 government expenditure on African education rose to £89 539 but this still represented no more than 1s. 5d. per head of the African population.[36]

Thus, before the 1940s, only a minority of children attended the handful of mainly mission schools in Goromonzi. Very few children continued beyond junior primary (Sub A to Standard 3). One common feature was a preponderance of boys over girls in enrolment. From the 1920s through to the 1950s the prejudice against educating girls was extremely potent. Where funds were limited, sons always got preference.[37] Such prejudice was informed by a belief that once a young woman got married, she left with all that had been invested in her person to benefit her new (i.e. husband's) home. The assumption was that the male child was more devoted to taking care of his kinfolk.

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Francis Rhodes quoted in Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives*, 124.
[35] Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2002), 40-44.
[36] Lawrence Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), 130.
[37] In 1950 only 5 percent of all secondary school students throughout Colonial Zimbabwe were female and only 10 percent of African children of school-going age were girls attending primary school.
Teresa Barnes and Everjoice Win, *To live a Better Life: An Oral history of Women in the City of Harare. 1930 - 1970*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1992).

Most of my older informants who were born in the 1920s and early 1930s did not go beyond the primary school level. This was mainly out of economic need and a shortage of upper level schools at the time. What this often meant is that this generation of migrants to Salisbury had access to little else than the lowest paid unskilled types of wage employment. For instance, Robert Chihoro, who was born in 1926, recalls having to go to work at the age of 14 in Marandellas because at the time there was no secondary school in Seke.[38] Similarly, Wilson Madimu wanted to enrol at the Domboshawa Agricultural Training College in the mid-1950s but could not secure enough funds and had to seek work in Salisbury.[39] Girls were usually "married-off" at an early age. For instance, my oldest informant, Mariah Chisvo, born in 1918, got married before she reached the age of 15 after an agreement involving her parents and her husband's parents.[40] The sharply negative moral judgements surrounding the notion of women moving into towns served as an effective social deterrent for most women born before the mid-1930s.

The use of male child labour was therefore common until the mid-1950s, but rapidly declined over the following decade. Graham Ballenden, the first Director of the Department of African Administration (DAA) of the Salisbury City Council (SCC), remarked in 1949 when Salisbury started experiencing an increased flow of labour from rural Mashonaland:

> An interesting feature which strikes one when observing the classes of labour employed throughout the city is the low average age of Natives employed on heavy manual tasks, particularly in the building trade. A large proportion of the labourers concerned being holders of adult registration certificates must for the purposes of the Pass Laws be regarded as adults, but they are, in reality, little more than adolescent juveniles.[41]

The interim census results of 1951 also revealed that 7 429 juveniles were employed within the SCC's jurisdiction.[42]

In 1912 the Acting Director of Land Settlement reconsidered the original demarcations that had used major roads like the Charter Road and European-owned farms to delimit the boundaries of the Chihota and Seke Reserves. Following the re-demarcation, Seke and Chihota came to share a common boundary along the Nyatsime and Nyarishezhe Rivers. In

[38] Interview with R. Chihoro, Magodhi Line in Seke, 12 November 2011.
[39] Interview with W. Madimu.
[40] Interview with M. Chisvo, Seke, 14 November 2011.
See also: J. C. Wells, "The Sabotage of Patriarchy in Colonial Rhodesia, Rural African Women's Living Legacy to Their Daughters," *Feminist Review: Identities* **75** (2003), *esp*. 107-113.
[41] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1948-1949, 2.
[42] SRG 4 SR: "The Economic Outlook 1951-56: Supplement to the Economic Survey April 1946 to March 1951," 2.

this way, Seke came to be almost entirely bounded by rivers. The Hunyani River to the north and north-east separated the reserve from Salisbury. However, the motivation behind this was not to supply the Africans settled there with adequate water supplies. Rather the Native Commissioner (NC) of Salisbury argued that the re-demarcation "would save a lot of trouble to the [European] farmers by reason of the trespassing nature of the Natives with cattle and lands".[43] Besides, the land that was transferred during the re-demarcation was, according to Geoffrey Barnes, the Land Inspector, "rather poor sand veldt with a lot of bush on the Northern portion, and I should call it very inferior veldt to that south of the Umfuli [*sic*] River".[44]

So, while Seke *gained* a larger piece of land, measuring 15 000 morgen, in return for ceding a smaller portion, measuring 9 000 morgen, the re-demarcation meant that Seke had effectively been cut off from a major communication route in the Charter Road.[45] The Seke Reserve, demarcated in 1912, lay to the south of Salisbury and the nearest point from the reserve to the city was about 20 kilometres away near St. Mary's Mission, known to the local Harava people as Msonza.[46] The total area of the reserve was 77 780 acres of which 77 440 were considered to be arable and grazing land while the remainder was considered wasteland.[47] While most of the reserve lay within a generally high precipitation region, receiving 32 to 36 inches of rainfall the southernmost parts of the reserve received just 28 to 32 inches.[48] However, the reserve's effective rainfall fell below 25 inches because of the loamy sands and sandy loams that made up about 80 percent of the soils of the reserve which had very high soil moisture deficiencies.[49] Similarly, the Chinamhora Reserve which lay about 32 kilometres north of Salisbury (at the closest point) was situated in "rugged granite country" and the soil was predominantly granite sand veld.[50]

Once the reserves had been demarcated the BSAC administration then went about setting up what Barnes characterises as "bizarre configurations of 'customary law'", captured, for

[43] NAZ L2/2/117/42 Seki and Shiota Native Reserves, Delimitation Report 1912.
[44] Ibid.
[45] A morgen was a unit of measurement equal to about 2 acres.
[46] G.E.P. Broderick, "Some Notes." *NADA* (1939), 108.
[47] NAZ F458/1 1957 February 28 – 1961 August 7.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *An Agricultural Survey of Southern Rhodesia: Part 2* (Salisbury, Govt. Printer, 1960) 64.
Effective rainfall is the sum of climatic factors expressed in one practical term after incorporating the reducing effects of excessive falls resulting in runoff, percolation and the effects of temperature.
[50] Editor, "The Chindamora Reserve," *NADA*, **5** (1927), 49.

example, in the Natives Adultery Punishment Ordinance (NAPO) of 1916.[51] (NAPO made adultery a criminal rather than civil offense. The ordinance remained in force until 1960). Similarly, the African colonial courts imposed throughout the country reflected views and representations of African girls and women as wilful and properly subordinate to men – to chiefs, fathers, brothers, and husbands. The coloniser reasoned that the "normal" laws and regulations serving the rest of the colony were not automatically applicable in "tribal [backward] areas" and could possibly even undermine the integrity of these societies. Therefore, the NCs acted as the face of central power in the various districts because colonial ideology *believed* that "tribes" needed a government by a man and not by a system.

The NCs controlled the use of land, served in a magisterial capacity, and restricted the use of cattle. At the same time they were responsible for agriculture and animal husbandry, for road works and all other needs of the districts under their control. However, even with such wide ranging powers, the NAD upheld the façade of uninterrupted chiefly rule, as it viewed chieftainship as a vital mechanism of administration and means of social control. Ranger and Cheater separately point out that the system of "traditional tenure" and chiefly power started in these years were largely colonial constructions, invented because they were useful to the shapers of the labour reserve system.[52]

The NAD even had a hand in appointing chiefs. For instance, in 1938 the NAD influenced the appointment of their preferred candidate Kahari, who had worked for the NAD from 1924 to 1938 as a messenger, over Chirima, who was heir apparent, to become Chief Chinamhora. When Kahari became Chinamhora "the first thing he did was to co-operate with the Government".[53] Kahari's tenure as Chinamhora embraced the master-farmer programmes, centralisation, African Councils, etc.[54] Perhaps as a form of reward, Kahari was then

[51] Teresa Barnes, *"We Women Worked so Hard": Gender, Urbanization, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956,* (Harare: Baobab Books, 1999), xv. See also: Teresa A. Barnes, "The Fight for Control of African Women's Mobility in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939," *Signs*, **17**/3 (1992); Elizabeth Schmidt, "Patriarchy, Capitalism and the Colonial State in Colonial Zimbabwe," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* **16**/4 (1991).

[52] For further discussion see: Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa", in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1983); A. Cheater, "The Ideology of 'Communal' Land Tenure in Zimbabwe: Mythogenesis Enacted?", *Africa*, **60**/2 (1990).

[53] Chidziwa, "History of the Shawasha," 31.

[54] Centralisation entailed the reorganization of land in consolidated grazing and arable blocks, with a line of residential sites in between.

summarily appointed as the Head-chief of all the chiefs in Mashonaland, and in 1961 he was elected to be a member of the Council of Chiefs in Southern Rhodesia.[55]

To further their effective control the NCs atomised the chieftaincy. For instance, the Shawasha people were broken up into several units, with some being moved to Msana, Chikwaka and Chinyika Reserves, while the majority of the Shawasha were assembled around the newly constituted Chinamhora Reserve sited around the Domboshawa hills (See Map 1).[56] Chiefs who stepped out of line were in grave danger of being deposed or simply censured depending on the severity of the allegation. For instance, in the period from 1944 to 1964, nineteen chiefs were deposed by the government, and in the major reorganisation of the institution in 1951, 89 chieftainships out of 321 (that is 27 percent) were abolished, and 41 chiefs (12 percent) were reduced to *sub*-chiefs.[57] Such an artificial hierarchy in the Chihota Reserve, for instance, saw Chief Chihota become the *main* chief and other chiefs like Chief Samuriwo, Chief Nyandoro and Chief Nenguwo reported to him.[58] The chiefs then became little more than minor bureaucrats or adjuncts to the NCs.

However, apart from the physical constructions and codifying of laws, the actual constructions of *community* and the attendant values were necessarily a product of the peoples settled within the reserve areas. Contrary to colonial portrayals in which the reserve communities were closed and unvarying, with no disjuncture from an imagined pre-colonial past, the communities that came to stay in the reserves came from diverse backgrounds and chieftaincies.

The occasional resettlement of local communities affected the composition of villages. While the government tried to keep the "tribal" system or the ethnic composition of the resettled people intact, people often ceased to be related to their chiefs as a consequence of these resettlement exercises and other autonomous forms of population movement. The number of "strangers", that is unrelated men, increased in villages as whole villages or sections of chiefdoms were moved into the areas of chiefs with whom they had no traditional links. For instance, following the re-demarcation of Seke and Chihota in 1912 about 20 villages were

[55] Chidziwa, "History of the Shawasha," 31.
[56] Ibid, 28.
N.B. Before 1928, Goromonzi used to include Msana and Masembura under its administration, but following a re-evaluation of borders these areas were reassigned to the Bindura District Administration.
[57] *The Rhodesia Herald*, Feb. 22, 1964.
[58] Interview with Malvern Samuriwo in Hatfield on 13 June 2010.
N.B. The "main chief" was in no way similar to a paramount chief. This was simply a hierarchy imposed upon an atomised system of chieftaincy to ensure its efficiency.

transferred from Chihota to Seke, which also entailed transferring chieftaincy for the affected villagers.[59] In this way, certain people also had to be incorporated and naturalised because of their often divergent backgrounds.

For example, one of my informants, Willie Morotini Rudwava, who was born in 1919, is of Sotho extraction. His father came to Southern Rhodesia as a servant for a settler who emigrated from SA in the 1910s and settled in Marandellas. Following retirement, Willie's father was given a piece of land in the Seke Reserve where he and his family would settle. But as part of his naturalisation, Willie's father changed his surname from Ledwaba to Rudwava and his incorporation among a largely Harava population entailed several contestations and compromises.[60]

Similarly, in the Chihota Reserve, Kennedy Mangwadu recounted how his grandfather, who worked for a "Mr Morris - the first NC for Marandellas,"[61] received a "Book" (that is a document certifying ownership of land and a list of names of people settled in a specific area) for a piece of land situated in Chihota on his retirement in 1913 as a form of a payout.[62] Kennedy's grandfather consequently became the Headman, or *Sabhuku* in Shona (meaning the owner of a Book), in an area that is now referred to as the Mangwadu Village.[63]

However, this integration is incomplete, as the Rudwavas are still referred to as "vanhu verudzi," meaning people of a different ethnic group. Willie himself has some distinguishable features, such as large piercings on his ear lobes, which were associated with Sotho cultural practices. But Willie's son, Phillip, does not have such piercings, suggesting the practise was stopped after Willie.[64] The tag "vanhu verudzi" amounted to a label or a local idiom used broadly to distinguish between the "indigenous" Shona and those from territories outside the colony and was not, in any way, used in a derogatory manner nor was it an expression of any ethnic phobia.

In any case, the presence of people from "foreign" territories presented the people of Goromonzi with a platform to engage with how they were going to incorporate them into

[59] NAZ L2/2/117/42 Seki and Shiota Native Reserves, 1912.
[60] Interview with the Willie and Phillip Rudwava in Seke on 14 November 2011.
[61] I was able to verify this through an obituary that appeared in the NADA that is a Journal of the Native Affairs Department in 1953 eulogising Ernest Walter Morris who was appointed as the NC for Marandellas in 1896 up to 1919. He passed away on the 22nd of October 1953.
See: "Obituaries," *NADA* **30** (1953).
[62] Mangwadu quoted in E. Makombe, "State Conservation Policies in the Seke Reserve," 7.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

their own communities. In the past, kinship bonds were the main determinant that guaranteed membership in a community. In turn, the newly resettled people had to create new social ties with the "locals" because no kinship bonds existed between them. New kinship ties were created when "strangers" married into "local" families. In marrying the daughters of their neighbours they won allies in the community and modified the communal system as membership was now acquired by birth and this guaranteed usufruct access to land. In this way, kinship bonds were supplemented by bonds of common neighbourhood.[65]

Goromonzi society was, therefore, constantly in flux and renegotiation. The case history of one of my informants would serve to buttress this point: Mariah Chisvo was born in the Makoni District near Rusape and relocated to the Seke Reserve when she got married in 1933 (See Map 1).[66] From that time Mariah was permanently settled at her husband's homestead, effectively serving as the head of her household even though her stay was frequented by visits to her husband in Salisbury. Intermarriages, between partners of different ethno-cultural backgrounds, subjected the *new* wife to the acculturating influences of the husband's home area because this environment served as the common cultural reference.

Such cases were not unique to the Goromonzi District. These processes were widespread in colonial Zimbabwe, for instance among the Kalangas.[67] This, therefore, has wider historical antecedents and parallels in which sexuality, organisation and control of labour, and chiefly jurisdiction were avenues through which the (re)negotiations between the generations and between the sexes manifested.[68] The identities and dispositions emerging within these communities, therefore, were necessarily indexed against the heterogeneous characters of the reserve communities in question which also factored in ethnicity, class, gender, etc.

The communities that came about from these processes produced wide ranging and thoroughgoing conversations on several issues. These included fixing social sanctions and moral codes, religious practices and observances, suitable farming practices and conservation

[65] A.K.H. Weinrich, *African Farmers in Rhodesia: Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1975), 8.
[66] Interview with M. Chisvo.
[67] See: E. Msindo, "Ethnicity in Matabeleland: A study of Kalanga- Ndebele Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004); I. Nyathi, "Ndebele Kalanga ethnic relations in Bulilima-mangwe South: Integration or Assimilation? A case study of the colonial and post- colonial Bulilima-mangwe," (BA Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2004).
[68] See: James Muzondidya, and Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "'Echoing Silences': Ethnicity in post-colonial Zimbabwe, 1980-2007," *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* **7**/2 (2007); J. Mujere, "Vhunjere Via Bhetere: A Social History of the Basotho in the Dewure Purchase Areas in Gutu, c. 1932-1960" (Master's Thesis, History Department, University of Zimbabwe); Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Do Zimbabweans Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a post-Colonial State*, Bern: Peter Long, 2009.

techniques. This is because few of the inhabitants were familiar with the area and some were not used to sedentary agriculture. Some came from areas where different local customs were observed. One custom in particular concerned these new communities. Many Shona subgroups observed a weekly day of rest that the ancestors had declared a day of rest when no agricultural work was done in honour of *Mwari*, their high god. This day is called *chisi*. In Seke *chisi* fell on the fifth day/Friday (*musi we chishanu*) while in Svosve the day fell on the second day/Tuesday (*musi we chembere*).[69] Beyond being expected to follow *chisi*, the new members were also expected to adhere to the agreed local access rules on when herding should start after the crops had been planted and other use of common pool resources such as woodlands.

These wide ranging engagements were also advanced to contain growing community concerns about how the remembered or remodelled reciprocal inequalities of the community's "moral economy" could be honourably renegotiated. Such renegotiation was also spurred on by the new context of alien or colonial domination, urbanisation and the penetration of capitalism, literacy and Christianity and the material changes brought on by colonialism. Therefore, as Bessant and Muringai, explain in their study of the Chiweshe Reserve, such a debate was not only about the *community* towards the *other* but also about the *community* being introspective.[70] Debates about the appropriate powers of the chief most likely emerged at that time as well.

These engagements extended to incorporate the dynamics of the struggle over female *emancipation*, as it was waged between generations of Africans, between African women and men and between missionaries and the colonial state.[71] This would also involve redefining female roles in socialising children through gendered cultural aspects such as marriage, polygamy, etc. Similarly, as Mhike has shown, these engagements extended to leisure time pursuits that were invariably used to express fluid cultural identities and as a medium for contesting power by the youth within the context of the "civilising" influences of Education and Christianity.[72]

[69] Broderick, "Some Notes," 108.
[70] See: Leslie Bessant and Elvis Muringai, "Peasants, Businessmen, and Moral Economy in the Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe: 1930-1968", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **19**/4 (1993).
[71] See: Elizabeth Schmidt, "Negotiated Spaces and Contested Terrain: Men, Women, and the Law in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1939," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **16**/4 (1990).
[72] See: Ivo Mhike, "Education, Christianity and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia: The Case of "Night Dances", 1920s to the 1930s" (UZ, Economic History Seminar Series Paper, n.d).

It is also important to note that not all Africans assumed rural-based options once they had been ejected from their original lands. Within the first few years after Salisbury was established there were a few African trades-people who purposely set up eating houses, general dealer stores, repair shops, etc. along the Kingsway and Kopje areas. However, the state soon swooped on these budding entrepreneurs. In 1907 they were transferred to the newly demarcated Municipal Location that would be later renamed the Harare Township.[73] Yoshikuni argues that "demographically at least...Salisbury was more like a city of Black peasants than a city of White settlers".[74] These urban-based Africans, in turn, managed to reinvest some of the capital they amassed into their children's education or into other business enterprises. A few others began to rely on wages from cash earning jobs and careers, such as teaching, preaching, government service and businesses to actualise themselves in the urban space. Johnson remarks that, by the 1940s, a large number of workers had already taken up permanent residency in cities with their families and were entirely dependent on wage labour for their reproduction.[75]

Wild contends that, by the mid-1930s, the African retail trade in Salisbury was set for promising growth and that African traders even experienced a boom following the increase in the number of African workers after the Great Depression.[76] However, this growth potential was effectively dwarfed by the segregationist policies and bureaucratic legalism of the settler administration. As soon as the Africans began setting up shop in the city centre, various groups of white settlers started petitioning the city against the "nuisance" of Africans dealing in town. Several controls were imposed during these years in the name of "keeping the city white" and when Salisbury became a proclaimed area in 1946 the Council had the legal means to evict African traders from town.

From the foregoing, it is evident that there was already a small, though significant, presence of indigenous Africans within the city, with an urban experience - exercising what could probably be termed urban-based options. Examining this early group of migrants to the city would also serve to refute generic assumptions that all the first African immigrants came

[73] "Harare" was probably a corruption of "Harava" by the early European settlers.
See: Turton, "Native History of Salisbury," 19.
[74] Tsuneo Yoshikuni, "Black Migrants in a White City: A Social History of African Harare 1890-1925," (DPhil Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1989), 24.
[75] David Johnson, *World War II and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1939-1948*, (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2000), 162.
[76] Volker Wild, "'Black Competition or White Resentment?': African Retailers in Salisbury 1935-1953," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **17**/2 (1991), 177.

from a rural reserve. Rather, a good number of African people who settled in the cities at this time had to, of necessity, make the town their home. Joyce Jenje-Makwenda notes that once her grandparents were ejected from Chishawasha they both made their way to the Harare Township with a 5 year old son (i.e. Joyce's father) in tow.[77] The other members of the villages that were ejected from Chishawasha were resettled in the bordering Msana Reserve. For Joyce's grandparents, the poor soils in Msana presented them with limited opportunities and felt that they could only be gainfully employed in towns.[78]

The people who came to the city in this manner identified their opportunities within the urban space. Joyce recalls that her grandmother worked with such a dogged determination for years out of a desire to make "something of her life" and eventually managed to set up a business as a launderer. The laundry business entailed a cycling route around the "white" suburbs in which she collected clothes from her clients before continuing to wash the laundry at her house in the Harare Township. By the 1950s Joyce's grandmother bought her first car – an Aston Cambridge model.[79] This was seen as a "modern"/urban marker of success.

There were others, however, who migrated to the cities because of the *lure* of the city, or to escape the social pressures of family life in the reserves and at once tried to put their rural origins into the background. This was despite several social codes that tried to discourage this trend, known as *kuchona*. Two of my informants assigned the estranged relationships they had with their fathers to the fact that their fathers "abandoned" the family and decided to remarry in the city.[80] Notwithstanding these unfortunate cases, the motivations behind the few migrants who chose not to engage in oscillatory migration and those who continued to express peasant aspirations in the cities were in fact quite similar. These motivations can be placed along a continuum starting with those who were motivated to eke out a subsistence wage to support rural household incomes through to those who sought to maximise urban incomes to sustain the family in an urban space divorced from any rural livelihoods.

Once the group of African migrants following urban-based options settled in the Harare Location, which was reserved for Africans in employment within the city, the ensuing engagements around issues of value systems, acculturation, etiquette, etc., were again generated with the rural reserves serving as the paradigm. However, the personal urbanisation

[77] Interview with J. Jenje-Makwenda.
[78] Ibid.
[79] ibid.
[80] Out of ethical considerations I will not name the said informants.

of most townsmen was far from complete and most town-dwellers sooner or later returned to the reserves permanently. Thus, even those migrants who were pursuing urban-based options are best viewed as long-term migrants as they normally intended to retire back "home" and this forced them to maintain close links with the reserves, often using any savings to build a house there. Even people born and brought up in the city could generally identify such a "home" area, and young men commonly sought a wife there.

The Harare Location included a significant foreign element made up of Africans recruited for their labour power from the neighbouring colonies of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa (PEA). There were also a few migrants from places like Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Bechuanaland (Botswana) and South Africa. No doubt each successive stream of rural migrants entering the city would help enrich the cultural milieu within the townships. Thus, Salisbury emerged as a rich mosaic of different ethnic groups and of varied social and cultural backgrounds. Goromonzi migrants therefore became exposed to the mixed character of the locations and to diverse life-worlds in their workplaces and in varied other non-ethnic platforms. It was here that "international people and ideas interacted with indigenous people to produce local urban identities…..religion and ideas".[81] This is not, however, to suggest there were no contestations - culture clashes were common and were voiced in the African press and in local politics - but these clashes, in any event, added to new cultural formations.[82] The emerging culture was also not in transition towards a Euro-west urban culture, though it may have incorporated some elements of it, nor was it simply a hybridisation of various cultural patterns. I will expand on these points in Chapter 5.

The majority of the African people, however, continued to live in the reserves. Although most of the reserves had been demarcated before the turn of the twentieth century, most peasant communities were quite resilient and when they underwent a transformation it was often only partial. Variations in ecology, labour systems and the effects of commodity production, within and between regions of the same country, opened the range of options that various peasant communities could exercise. Yoshikuni proposes that it was precisely

[81] Terence Ranger, "Reclaiming the African City: The World and the Township", in *Translocality. The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, Eds. Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 276.

[82] See: Ian Phimister, and Charles van Onselen, 'The Political Economy of Tribal Animosity: A Case Study of the 1929 Bulawayo Location 'Faction Fight', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **6**/1, 1979; Terence Ranger, "Urban Violence and the Colonial Experience: Bulawayo, Rhodesia, 1893-1960" (not dated); Enocent Msindo (2006): Ethnicity, not Class? The 1929 Bulawayo Faction Fights Reconsidered, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **32**/3.

because many Shona could continue to generate cash from rural agrarian pursuits up to the 1920s, that their input into the life of Salisbury, up to that point, was so marginal despite their numerical strength.[83] The initial contact of the Shona subgroups around the major urban centres with Europeans differed greatly from that of other subgroups elsewhere in the colony, for at first they found a ready market among the mineral prospectors for their agricultural surplus. With the money paid to them they bought a variety of formerly unknown consumer goods. In this way the new capitalist mode of production quickly began to penetrate these areas.

Indeed the "peasant option" thesis is confirmed for rural Goromonzi when African peasants grew crops and in the process seized and enlarged their economic opportunities to control and direct a portion of the capitalist market.[84] Several Africans set up viable commercial peasant production ventures and others were also able to make sizeable maize sales as well. Schmidt's study of the Goromonzi District up to 1939 shows that, within 8 years of European occupation, agriculturalists in this area were seriously engaged in market production.[85] The reserves in Goromonzi, which were not far removed from Salisbury and bordering several mines like the Arcturus mine, saw peasant producers expanding their cropped land and selling food and beer to traders, urban dwellers, and migrant workers on the mines. African households were thus able to earn enough cash to pay their taxes out of income from maize sales and buy consumer goods without suffering the outmigration of male members into the wage economy.[86]

The veteran nationalist and late Vice-President of Zimbabwe, Joseph Wilfred Msika, who was born in the Chiweshe Reserve in 1923, recounted that his father was "well off in terms of cattle". Msika recalled that as a young man he would herd upwards of a 100 cattle at a time. Msika's father also used a disc plough and a cultivator for farming in the 1930s and ran a wagon transport business between Mazowe and Salisbury.[87] Similarly, Kudakwashe Chitofiri

[83] Tsuneo Yoshikuni, "Notes on the Influence of Town-Country Relations on African Urban History before 1957: Experiences in Salisbury and Bulawayo," in *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, eds. B. Raftopolous and T. Yoshikuni, (Harare, Weaver Press, 1999), 115.
[84] Terence O. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*, (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985).
[85] Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives*, 7.
[86] Wolfgang Dopcke also exposes how Chiweshe families were able to take part in the colonial economy's agricultural markets owing to their geographical advantages during the Depression.
Wolfgang Dopcke, "'Magomo's Maize': State and Peasants during the Depression in Colonial Zimbabwe", in *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the inter-war depression*, ed. Ian Brown (London: 1989).
[87] Diana Mitchell, *African Nationalist Leaders in Zimbabwe: Who's Who 1980; Independence Souvenir Edition* (Harare: © D. Mitchell 1980), 13.

from Zvimba recalls that his grandfather owned a wagon that he was given as a "retirement package" when he left his employment in Hartley (now Chegutu).[88]

Africans could also still, successfully, apply for permission to move to a different area, before the LAA was passed, but others simply relocated on their own cognisance. Gibson Gerema recalls that his father who had been moved from Svosve into a reserve in the Hwedza District summarily relocated to Chihota because the area was hilly and could not sustain a viable agricultural venture.[89] Joyce Jenje-Makwenda states that it was only towards 1930 that her grandparents were evicted from Chishawasha by the Roman Catholic Church after several years of having been allowed to continue staying there.[90]

Yet the early prosperity of the Shona was ambiguous since it made the settlers dependent on them for food, and dependence on African peasants was something the settlers would not tolerate. Hence when mining proved less profitable than anticipated, the settlers went into farming and this brought them into conflict with the Shona. As the settlers took over more land, the Shona were not only deprived of their new market but also saw the base of their subsistence endangered.

While in the context of colonial history, the Africans in the Goromonzi reserves did eventually succumb to the pressures that fell upon Africans built on a collective of colonial legislation enacted since the foundation of the colony described by Machingaidze, Mosley, and Moyana, among others, they did not always yield in the same ways or at the same time.[91] For instance, Schmidt, in her study of maize production in the Goromonzi District, shows the dramatic decline in peasant production in that district following the passing of the Maize Control Act (MCA) and the Cattle Levy Act (CLA).[92]

More detailed analysis of the relative significance of wage and rural production incomes in household budgets across the period have suggested see-sawing priorities rather than the relentless growth in dependence on wage labour incomes suggested in Schmidt's analysis. Such analysis on the decades leading up to the Second World War can be found in the work

[88] Informal conversation with Kudakwashe Chitofiri in Mt. Pleasant on 7 August 2010.
[89] Gibson Gerema aka Mudhara Svosve quoted in Makombe, "State Conservation Policies in the Seke" 8.
[90] Interview with J. Jenje-Makwenda.
[91] Victor E.M. Machingaidze, "Agrarian Change from Above: the Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act and African Response," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 24/3 (1991); Paul Mosley, *The Settler Economies: Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia 1900- 1963,* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983); Henry V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984).
[92] Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives.*

of Drinkwater and Wilson, for instance.[93] Also, as Phimister reveals, peasants who earned most of their cash income through commercial maize cultivation expanded the acreages under maize during the Great Depression in an attempt to preserve existing income levels.[94] Several feminist scholars also insist that "the thriving peasant agriculture that threatened the profitability of white settler farming was, for the most part, the work of women".[95] As a result, pre-World War II proletarianisation was restricted to the male workforce, with "women [being] only marginally proletarianised".[96] Thus the Goromonzi people's responses to colonialism were varied and these demonstrated their innovativeness and agency within the colonial context.

This makes the determination of proletarianisation, following the proletarianisation account of capitalist development in Southern Rhodesia advanced by Arrighi, Palmer, and Van Onselen by no means empirically simple.[97] Estimates of the extent of proletarianisation vary; with Van Onselen suggesting that proletarianisation on a large-scale occurred during the late 1920s. Ranger, however, believes that "by the 1920s…the Shona cultivator…was becoming proletarianised".[98] Despite the state introducing various measures early on aimed at controlling and directing mobility, the ability to resist migration varied from place to place. Therefore, as Masst rightly notes, "the rate of migration [during the first half of the colonial period] was much higher in the remote African reserves of Mount Darwin than in most of the more centrally located reserves" that were much closer to urban markets and where people could earn the needed cash income through commercial peasant production.[99] In this way, the margin that Africans occupied in a colonial context, ironically, became the source of new energy and resilience.

The level of proletarianisation that emerged in the 1940s therefore varied, while the penetration of Euro-Western modernity was a gradual and partial process. This was very

[93] Michael Drinkwater, "Technical Development and peasant Impoverishment: Land use policy in Zimbabwe's Midlands province," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **15**/2 (1989); Ken Wilson, "Trees in Fields in Southern Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **15**/2 (1989).
[94] Phimister, *Social History of Zimbabwe*, 186.
[95] Elizabeth Schmidt, "Ideology, Economics and the Role of Shona Women in Southern Rhodesia, 1850-1939," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1987), 53.
[96] Ibid, 3.
[97] See: Giovanni Arrighi, "Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective: A Study of the Proletarianisation of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia," in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa,* eds. G. Arrighi & J. Saul (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973); R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia*, (London: Heinemann, 1977); C. Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-33* (London: Pluto, 1976).
[98] Terrence Ranger, *African Voice in Southern Rhodesia: 1898 -1930* (London: Heinemann, 1970).
[99] Mette Masst, "The Harvest of Independence: Commodity Boom and Socio-Economic Differentiation among Peasants in Zimbabwe," (PhD. Diss. Roskilde University, 1996), 116.

much a reality in the self-conception of Africans who went to seek work in the cities, as typified in evidence by a police constable known as Jeremia when giving evidence before the Howman Commission in 1943.[100] Jeremia stated that he had come to work "to get money to buy ploughs and cattle and also to get money to pay...dip tank tax and dog tax".[101] This purposeful departure to the cities was captured and framed in the conception of the Shona word *kunosunza* which had previously been applied to famine-induced journeys to lands of plenty, normally by men, in search of food for the family. Alternatively, the journey to the city was also framed as *maricho* (short-term livelihood driven chores). The city itself was referred to as *kumagobo* (the place of hard work).[102] This suggests the functional utility that earlier migrants attached to urban employment, while also marking the social distance with which many regarded the city. So, even at this stage, as Schmidt points out, "the men remained close to their homes and could continue to supervise 'their own affairs' – that is, the labour of their wives and children and the management of household affairs".[103] As we shall see in the next chapter, this short-term chore framed around one's entry into the urban wage sectors, would dovetail with an employment contract that stifled permanent employment and domicile in the urban areas.

The transforming moments that precipitated a rupture in the economy of the countryside were therefore varied and partial. While there is no denying that the ruin of the peasantry had begun early in the 20th century when mining and farming dominated capitalist production the phase of modern industrialisation saw a more rapid disintegration of the peasantry in most parts of Zimbabwe.[104] This is why Raftopolous suggests that it was the simultaneous enforcement of the Land Husbandry Act (LHA) of 1951 and the wholesale implementation of the LAA following the Second World War that forced greater numbers of African peasant

[100] The Howman Commission was appointed in 1943 to investigate the economic, social and health conditions of Africans employed in urban areas.
See: C. Masakure, "'An Unfulfilled Step' An Examination of the Commission to Investigate the Socio-Economic Conditions of Africans Employed in Urban Areas 1944," BA Special Honours diss., UZ, May 2001.
[101] NAZ ZBI 2/1/2, Meeting with Africans, 17 November 1943, 295.
[102] Similarly, Peter Delius's study of Pedi Migrants notes the use of the words *Makgoweng* (the place of the whites) or *Leshokeng* (a wilderness) which perhaps carried similar connotations among the Pedi.
See: Peter Delius, *A Lion amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal*, (Portsmouth: Heinemann Social History of Africa Series, 1996), 23.
N.B: *Kumagobo* literally translates to a field littered with tree stumps which need to be removed or stumped before cropping. Stumping is considered physically demanding work.
[103] Schmidt, "Role of Shona Women," 72.
[104] A.K.H. Weinrich, *African Marriage in Zimbabwe and the Impact of Christianity*, (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1982), 20.

producers into urban wage employment.[105] The LAA, once enforced, pushed more indigenous Africans into the towns and cities and Native Reserves, cementing the boundaries of the Native Urban Areas. Salisbury underwent significant transformation as the demand for industrial labour increased and the urban population grew in the 1940s. In all this, however, African peasants showed a stubborn determination to advance in their marginalised context.

The colonial government, nonetheless, put in place certain policies to soften the worst effects of the overall policy. The government tried to prevent conditions in the reserves from worsening to an extent where the African population would become unable to cover the greater part of their reproduction costs through peasant farming. These measures were, however, undermined by inadequate attention to social and environmental considerations. Furthermore, the population within the reserves was doubling in one generation. This was due, in part, to a lowering of the African mortality rate following the introduction of western health services into African communities.[106]

The general decline in the reserves, worsened by the post-World War I slump in cattle and grain prices and a severe drought causing widespread hunger, was alarming enough for the state to introduce "modernisation" policies in the reserves. The colonial state blamed the Africans for poor farming methods, instead of the skewed land distribution pattern and harmful policies like the Reserve Pool Act and the Market Stabilisation Act that cut off African production while simultaneously subsidising European agriculture. Instead of increasing land assigned to the reserves, the colonial state opened two new government schools at Domboshawa in the Chinamhora Reserve (and Tsholotsho in Matabeleland) where "modern" methods of farming were taught.[107]

At these agricultural schools African agricultural demonstrators were trained in "scientific" farming techniques and deployed to the reserves, with the task of teaching Africans more intensive cropping methods. An American missionary and agriculturalist, Emory Alvord, took the lead in this when he was appointed as the Agriculturalist for the Instruction of Natives in 1919 right through to his retirement in 1948. Alvord promoted intensive agriculture through an agricultural extension programme and land use policies such as

[105] Brian Raftopoulos, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965," *Journal of Southern African Studies*: *Special Issue: Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa* **21**/1 (1995), 83.
[106] Weinrich, *African Farmers in Rhodesia*, 163.
[107] Summers, *Colonial Lessons*, 43.

centralisation through what came to be known as the "Gospel of the Plough".[108] The state also erected dams, dip-tanks and introduced compulsory cattle dipping, to prevent cattle diseases such as the quarter-evil disease (known to the locals as *Chigwadara*[109]) that was prevalent in the Goromonzi region. However, these dip-tanks served a sinister purpose as well, as it was at these locations that cattle considered "unsuitable" were culled.

Goromonzi's population densities increased to such an extent that with the given methods of production the community could no longer feed itself. Agricultural demonstrators therefore met with the most compliance in areas where population pressure had reached a certain critical density and people saw a need to alter their farming methods. For instance, in Seke the chief asked that his reserve be centralised in 1935, prompting the Assistant NC for Goromonzi to comment, "I have been favourably impressed by the naturalness and ingeniousness of Africans in this area [Seke] and by their greater willingness to co-operate in activities directed to their advancement".[110] However, centralisation failed to factor in the probable future standard of living and the needs of the inhabitants as it was indexed directly against the present population. When centralisation was completed in Chinamhora (in 1933) the inhabitants were immediately "almost unanimous in saying that the new arable allotment was smaller than the old".[111] This, in turn, necessitated several re-centralisation exercises in later years (see below).

Plough cultivation was also generally welcomed within Goromonzi - because it was a labour-saving device - but ploughs had already been incorporated before the agricultural demonstrators made their way into the reserves. Yudelman estimated that as early as 1920, one out of ten African families in Southern Rhodesia owned a plough.[112] The inhabitants of Goromonzi had also independently turned to sedentary agriculture as land shortages in these densely populated reserves forced them to abandon shifting cultivation practices. However, the plough increased incidences of surface runoff and soil erosion and the incessant ploughing of fields, without a corresponding attempt to restore soil nutrients, resulted in decreasing soil fertility. As land became scarce for cultivation, it also became scarce for

[108] See: Eira Kramer, "A Clash of Economics: Early Centralisation Efforts in Colonial Zimbabwe 1929-1935", *Zambezia* **XXV**/I (1998).
[109] Sabhuku Dominico Besa quoted in Makombe, "State Conservation in the Seke Reserve," 9.
[110] NAZ S15/A/47 Correspondence General
[111] Ibid.
[112] Montague Yudelman, *Africans on the Land: Economic Problems of African Agricultural Development in Southern, Central, and East Africa, with Specific Reference to Southern Rhodesia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 238.

grazing, and cattle herds had to be reduced in size below the needs of individual peasant households. With the introduction of ploughs, oxen became essential draft animals, and with lowering soil fertility manure became essential for sustained crop production. This, in essence, placed the inhabitants in a vicious cycle as they tried to make up for dwindling yields while faced with unchanging land acreages and an increasing population. This would be heightened in the 1940s as the cropping index rose to over 66 percent because the inhabitants could only afford one fallow season in 3 years.[113]

Despite efforts to be competitive in their agricultural pursuits, Goromonzi peasants were eventually unable to counter the political and extra-legal mechanisms mounted against them. By the early 1930s male wages had surpassed food production as the deciding factor in household survival. Thus, the main difference colonialism brought about in the lives of the Goromonzi inhabitants, by this time, was dependence on a cash income from labour migration, needed first for paying taxes. And, as fewer and fewer households were able to survive solely from produce and livestock sales, an increasing number of African men were forced to enter the wage labour market. Beginning in the early 1930s and increasingly after World War II, Goromonzi migrants ventured into Salisbury and found employment as builders, carpenters, tailors and machine operators. This was reflected in the NCs repeatedly reporting on very high rates of male absenteeism in African demarcated rural areas. The Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) in 1948 reported that "just over half the total male population is absent from the Native Areas - the extreme being 53 % of <u>all</u> the inhabitants of one district".[114]

The industrial growth and high tobacco prices in the post-World War II period stimulated the rapid growth of European farming all over Southern Rhodesia. Settler farmers and landholding companies found it profitable to cultivate a much larger proportion of their land. An estimated 85 000 African families, who had been rent-paying tenants on European land, were therefore evicted and moved into already overpopulated reserves.[115] The conditions in the reserves dramatically altered with more land alienations and evictions. Thousands of young men found themselves without farmland and many also without prospects to ever

[113] Elaine Windrich, *The Rhodesian Problem: A Documentary Record 1923-1973*, (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1975), 131.
The cropping index is the number of crop seasons as a percentage of the total rotational cycle including fallow or put simply the frequency in which the land is cropped.
[114] NAZ S 1563 1948 Vol. 1, CNC Annual Report 1948, 1-2. (Underlined emphasis on "all" in original)
[115] Phimister, *Social History of Zimbabwe*, 281.

receive enough land to carry a family. Many migrated to Salisbury and yet many more found themselves compelled to combine subsistence peasant farming with long-term labour migration.[116]

Jolts caused by droughts and poor crop returns induced similar movements into the urban areas. An economic survey that focused on the economic outlook from 1951 to 1956 reported "a cumulative rate of 6.1 percent [increase per annum of Africans in employment]...partly [as] a result of severe drought in Southern Rhodesia and severe droughts in neighbouring territories driving Africans into employment".[117] The NC for Goromonzi in 1951 reported that owing "to poor crops a number of Natives are leaving reserves in search of work".[118] Most of the migrant workers from the Goromonzi District went to Salisbury as the local men preferred employment in urban centres than in the surrounding European farming areas like Melfort and Bromley. In terms of wages the European plantations in the Goromonzi District could also not compete with the mining and industrial centres of Southern Rhodesia, and migrant labour quickly became the biggest export from the Goromonzi reserves.

Following the emergence and rapid growth of secondary industries and urban centres from the mid-1940s, towns became the most important loci of both economic and political power and all other communities began orientating themselves towards them. This was because the towns provided the most desirable forms of employment and became the centres from which new ideas, values and forces striving for social change emerged. The shift of economic activity to the towns was reflected in the rapid growth of the manufacturing industry; for, whereas in 1942 this industry contributed only 9.4 percent to the Gross Domestic Product

[116] Following the Great Depression a 59 percent increase was experienced in Salisbury's workforce between 1936 and 1941 taking the total to 32 000. The annual rate at which Africans entered employment rose again between the years 1941 and 1946 at the rate of 2000 per annum, but that increased between 1946 and 1951 at the rate of 4200 per annum. By 1951 the number of Africans in paid employment grew to 75 488 which was nearly a fourfold increase within 15 years.
See: S/SA 6175 Annual Report of the Director of Native Administration for the Municipal Year 1st July 1954 to 30th June 1955, 4; Southern Rhodesia: Census of the Population of Southern Rhodesia, 6 May, 1941, part VIII (Salisbury, 1945), 2; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Central African Statistical Office, Report on the Census of Africans in Employment taken on 8 May 1956, (Salisbury, 1957).
[117] SRG 4 SR: "The Economic Outlook 1951-56: Supplement to the Economic Survey April 1946 to March 1951," 2.
[118] NAZ S3040/3 CNC: Quarterly Reviews, 1951 June 30 – 1957 Sept. 31; "Extract from NC Goromonzi in Quarterly Review of Native Affairs for the Quarter Ended March 31th 1951 by L. Powys-Jones (CNC) dated May 3rd 1951, Salisbury," 1.

(GDP), by 1974 it contributed 24.5percent. That year agriculture had declined to 16.9 percent and mining to a mere 7 percent.[119]

Most of my informants could not, however, fix a specific timeline, or a certain *event* that could have caused people to move out in *greater* numbers. But, Tendai Chikove did remember that two of his brothers moved to the city at the same time around the year he was born (that is 1945) which was a drought year.[120] Chikove remembers his early childhood as a very difficult time in which they had to wear clothes made from "tent" material.[121] This probably arose out of the war and economic depression conditions from which the country was emerging coupled with the mid-1940s drought, whose impact was doubly felt in the reserves as they were already based in the unfertile zones of the country. Such conditions forced many to go and seek opportunities elsewhere.

In the 1940s the Natural Resources Board (NRB) remarked that the deterioration of land in the face of rapid population growth was threatening the existence of peasants.[122] In 1943 the Commission on the Development and Regeneration of the Reserves reported that 38 reserves were "definitely overstocked".[123] The Native Production and Trade Commission (NPTC) of 1945 found that most reserves were grossly overpopulated.

The extent to which population pressure had developed in the reserves was dramatically disclosed by statistics supplied by the Annual Report of the Director of Native Agriculture for the Year 1948 shown in appendix 1.1 and 1.2. The case of Seke draws this point well. When Seke was centralised in the mid-1930s, 3 200 acres of its 77 780 acres was already assigned to some basic form of infrastructure such as roads and schools. The remaining 74 580 was to be redistributed among its population. The NC recommended that each tax-paying male, with or without a wife, be allotted a minimum of 4 acres and an extra 2 acres were to be added to each tax-paying unit for grazing. However, such allotments only allowed 1 090 family units and the allotments in turn had to be revised downwards to house the actual number of families, which stood at 2 450. The residential plot was therefore reduced to a quarter of an acre and the grazing land for each animal unit to 5 acres, which was very different from the

[119] Weinrich, *African Marriage,* 20.
[120] Interview with T. Chikove in Hatfield Harare on 18 May 2010.
[121] Ibid.
[122] NAZ, ZBJ 1/2/1, NPTC Written Memoranda, 1944.
[123] NAZ SRG/INT4 Southern Rhodesia: Departmental Reports; Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioners and Director of Native Development for the year 1962, 11.

original agricultural model spelt out by the NC.[124] This, in turn, meant the 14 500 head of cattle in the reserve could not be provided for and subsequently had to be culled to 12 810.[125]

Before the 1940s, 5 acres of grazing land for each animal unit were considered enough to support the grazing capacity of the veldt and the stock population (that is the agro-silvo-pastoral balance). However, by 1945 the estimate doubled and, according to the new assessment, Seke was considered 48 percent overstocked. This meant that up to 4 043 head had to be culled from Seke.[126] At this point Seke's carrying capacity of stock was pegged at 8 264. The two-pronged intention of keeping the cattle population within the ecological carrying capacity of the reserve and ensuring that each family unit had enough stock to fertilise their fields, left about half of the landholders without stock. This, in turn, cut-out non-stockowners from any prospects of reaching yields equivalent, or nearing, those reached by stockowners.

Such colonial policies drove rural dwellers into deepening poverty. These actions worsened already vulnerable ecosystems. Centralisation measures implemented in the 1930s and destocking regulations in line with Government Notice No. 271 of 1943 created "hordes" of landless people in rural Goromonzi and fuelled migration to Salisbury.[127] The marked shortage of male labour from the homestead coupled with a rising population and soil erosion further narrowed the returns from the land. Food production became the first essential and without improved yields the extra needs could only be met by continually extending the cultivated acreage. This, in turn, lessened the grazing lands necessary to sustain the stock levels and produce enough manure for the cultivated acreage. If anything, this two-pronged approach was a moving target in the context of fixed (at times even decreasing) land acreages.

As the African agricultural system became less and less capable of meeting the economic needs of the people, needs which expanded through contact with western culture, more and more men left the rural areas for wage employment. Wage employment in turn diversified the skills of the rural population and many Africans learned new crafts, such as building and

[124] An "animal unit" was indexed against 1 cow or 2 donkeys/calves or 3 goats/sheep/pigs in the 1930s but this was arbitrarily readjusted to 5 small stock (that is goats, sheep, pigs) or 4 donkeys/calves in the late 1950s as pressure on the land intensified.
See: RWM Johnson, "The Labour Economy of the Reserves" (University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Occasional paper, No. 4, Department of Economics, Salisbury, 1964), 6.
[125] NAZ S 235/516 District Annual Reports; NC Salisbury 1935.
[126] NAZ ZBJ 1/2/1; NPTC Written Memoranda, 1945.
[127] Johnson, "The Labour Economy of the Reserves", 3.

carpentry; others acquired formal education and became teachers and clerks. Such men could be employed in both town and country and most tried to combine wage employment with agriculture, thus substantially adding to their family income.

In essence, the government's attempt to transform reserve agriculture over a protracted period starting in the 1930s reciprocally increased the instances of rural atrophy that, in turn, forced greater numbers to migrate to the towns. Thus, state land policies, coupled with severe weather conditions, introduced a structural change that was to pervade rural society for years to come. The Riddell Report estimated that by 1980 some 235 000 households nationwide in the communal areas had at least one wage-earning family member in the "modern sector".[128] Harris's estimates suggest that by the beginning of the 1970s, "the percentage of African households dependent either totally or partially on income from employment in the cash sector...could possibly be as high as 55 or 60 percent of the total".[129]

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the processes leading to the concentration of local African migrants from the Goromonzi District in Salisbury starting in the 1940s. The chapter argued that the shift from discretionary to structural migration was a result of the increasing rural and urban income differentials, severe weather and worsening conditions in the rural reserves of Goromonzi. The discussion detailed how aggravated land pressure and declining yields re-enforced the rural population's dependence on wage income and how, over the following decades, many emigrated from the reserves to seek opportunities in the urban areas.

I have argued that, despite the early introduction of various measures aimed at controlling and directing mobility, the ability and capacity to resist migration varied from place to place. Goromonzi inhabitants managed, at least initially, to navigate town country relations in spite of colonial machinations. I also argued that colonial policy, on its own, was not enough to turn the reserves in Goromonzi into labour reserves. Other conditions were necessary. These include draughts, for instance, that played a role in undermining agricultural self-sufficiency in the reserves. This was further exacerbated by state-generated, extra-legal, exclusionist pricing policies. Such a context forced many to either sell their herds of cattle or to resort to sending young adolescent boys into various centres of employment so that they could get a cash wage to meet the tax duties in the reserves.

[128] Roger Riddell, "Zimbabwe Commission of Inquiry into Incomes, Prices, and Conditions of Service" 147.
[129] P.S. Harris, "Government Policy and African Wages in Rhodesia," *Zambezia* **2**/2 (1972), 39.

I have also argued that the reserves were already undergoing flux and renegotiation before the introduction of any "western" modernising influences. However, land expropriation and taxation gradually denied most Goromonzi dwellers access to the fundamental resources necessary to sustain themselves. Population pressure fragmented the landholdings into uneconomic holdings. This, in turn, forced many into oscillatory migration. Beginning in the late 1930s, it became an accepted practice and a kind of rite of passage among many in the rural communities that a "man" should go to the towns at least once in his lifetime. The strength of kinship feeling and the wish to retain land rights and thus a measure of social security were some of the reasons for maintaining links between town and country. Since both types of attachment were deeply engrained in African culture this persisted as a distinctive African form of urbanism.

CHAPTER 2: *Enframing* the Rural and the Urban: State Initiatives

This chapter explores various state efforts to curb the drift to towns that simultaneously augmented the urban/European/modern versus rural/African/backward cleavage the British colonisers sought to advance. This chapter concentrates on the reserves in the Goromonzi District as I hope to bring out the specificities of the case study area that are obscured in generic, or less specific, treatment of similar content.[1] The gist of this chapter is to present the contextual backdrop and policy environment in the period under study (that is 1946 to 1979). This, in turn, was contested, reshaped and renegotiated by Goromonzi rural-urban migrants on the socio-cultural and economic fronts, as this thesis will go on to explore from Chapter 3. It outlines how the rural reserves of Goromonzi developed their specific structural features during the period under study. It focuses on the relationship between the colonial state and the African population of the reserves as the Rhodesian state penetrated the everyday lives of the rural people.

The changing ecology and character of the rural and urban spaces in question especially following the accelerated outmigration to Salisbury from Goromonzi in the 1940s, as highlighted in the previous chapter, threatened to debase the colonial institutional framework that rationalised and institutionalised racial segregation. The demographic changes experienced in Salisbury and Goromonzi signalled what the colonial regime feared most: the urban presence of a large "detribalised" population.[2] The Rhodesian colonial establishment then implemented segregationist policies aimed at minimising the growth of African urban areas, limiting African settlement in the city, while at the same time maximising the

[1] See works published by the academic staff of the Rural and Urban Planning Department of the University of Zimbabwe such as: K. H. Wekwete, "Growth centre policy in Zimbabwe: with special reference to district service centres" in *Rural Development and Planning in Zimbabwe,* eds. N.D. Mutizwa Mangiza & A.H.J. Helmsing, (Avebury, Aldershot, 1991); N. D. Mutizwa-Mangiza, "Local Government and Planning in Zimbabwe: an Examination of recent changes, with special reference to the provincial/regional level" *Third World Planning Review*, **8**, 2, 1986: 153-175; K.H. Wekwete, "Rural Growth points in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Social Development*, **3** (2), 1988; _____ "Decentralized planning in Zimbabwe: A review of Provincial urban and district development planning in post-independence Zimbabwe," *Journal of International Development*, **2** (1), 1990;_____, "Growth centres in Zimbabwe – a focus on district centres", in *Rural and urban planning (RUP),* Occasional Paper No. 8, University of Zimbabwe (UZ), 1987.

[2] The growth in population and the speed of township urbanisation experienced in the 1940s was spectacular, if uneven. There was a particular upsurge in migration between 1941 and 1951 coinciding with the war-time and post-war industrial boom and another surge coinciding with the intensification of the liberation war in the rural areas during the second half of the 1970s.
For further detail see: Southern Rhodesia: "Census of the Population of Southern Rhodesia, 6 May, 1941, part VIII" (Salisbury, 1945); George Kay, "The Distribution of African Population in Southern Rhodesia: Some Preliminary Notes" (Rhodes-Livingstone Communication, Number 28); Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: "Central African Statistical Office, Report on the Census of Africans in Employment taken on 8 May 1956" (Salisbury, 1957); George L. Kay, *Rhodesia: A Human Geography*, (London, University of London Press, 1970).

availability of low-cost labour to urban industries. Even those in wage employment had to undergo medical examinations and be issued with registration certificates. In the reserves rural intervention measures were implemented based on the view that the reserves could not be allowed to decline to a level where it threatened the capacity of the inhabitants to subsist. This, in part, reflected an awareness, or appreciation, that there was a limit to the extent to which Africans could be exploited without undermining European interests.

The reality of overcrowding in both the rural and urban spaces, coupled with the state's imperatives to keep welfare to a minimum, compelled colonial socio-spatial engineering efforts. Most British colonies in the late 1930s wanted to prevent, or postpone, urbanisation or the stabilisation of labour. They were, by extension, reluctant to extend state spending on Africans living in towns. This anti-urbanism, as Gray notes, was most evident in the settler colonies of Kenya and the Rhodesias (that is Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia), and was "worse in South Africa".[3]

The growing modern manufacturing sector in the immediate post-World War II era in Salisbury led to a continuous demand for labour.[4] This created conflict between the various white interests over opposing labour needs. This conflict was significant as far as the rate of African proletarianisation and urbanisation was concerned. White wage workers were opposed to any policy that might result in competition from Africans. White farmers, particularly in tobacco farming, which was labour-intensive and un-mechanised, favoured the migrant labour system.[5] They opposed any policy that would force up African wages or lessen the supply of cheap African labour. On the other hand, the interests of the manufacturing sector lay in measures that expanded the African consumer market and improved productivity in industry.

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[3] Richard Gray, *The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*, (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960), 24-25.

[4] Ian Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948*, (London and New York: Longman, 1988), Chapter five on "Industrialization and Class Struggle, 1939-1948", Alois S. Mlambo, Evelyn S. Pangeti and Ian Phimister, *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing*, Harare, University of Zimbabwe, 2000.

[5] Rubert notes that the commonly accepted belief amongst tobacco growers during the 1940s was that in order to grow a marketable crop on an average tobacco farm (fifty to sixty acres) a workforce of at least sixty workers was necessary.

Steve C. Rubert, *A Most Promising Weed: A History of Tobacco Farming and Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1945*, (Scott Quadrangle: Ohio University Press, 1998), xi.

See also: Giovanni Arrighi, "Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective: A Study of the Proletarianisation of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia," in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, eds. G. Arrighi & J. Saul (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 360-364.

Meanwhile, conditions in the African demarcated rural areas, by the 1940s, were in stark contrast to those in the urban areas. As noted in the previous chapter, the Goromonzi District experienced a dramatic decline in peasant production following the implementation of the Maize Control Act (MCA) and the Cattle Levy Act (CLA).[6] As a result, its residents were forced to go and seek wage employment in Salisbury in even greater numbers. Local Africans did not want to work on the bordering settler farms because of the low wages but flocked to urban areas which they could only enter legally if employed. This alone made stabilising a workforce in the rural reserves difficult.

The colonial government, therefore, had to reconcile two seemingly contradictory goals. It wanted to proletarianise and stabilise the African workforce, while simultaneously controlling social and ecological processes in the reserves. The government therefore, became more interventionist in its rural and urban policies after 1945. It sought to encapsulate African people in two ways – as migrant labourers under tightly controlled circumstances in the "white" cities, or as residents and peasants in their respective reserves, where they would live, cultivate, adhere to their own customs or chase their own politics. Put differently, to make the reserves viable, the colonial state had to provide precisely those things which were *pulling* the Africans out of their confined areas and to reinforce whatever communal or "customary" dispositions they ascribed to the rural population. In essence, the reserves needed their own institutions and infrastructure.

Urban Containment Efforts

In Salisbury, the question of permanent urban residency for most African workers came to the fore as the authorities' initial policy of wanting to industrialise without the attendant stabilisation of the labour force proved unworkable. However, the more practical and immediate concern had to do with the cost of housing a growing workforce and the attendant cost of running social services for these people. Until around the mid-1940s, urban housing policies had been based on what scholars in the Marxist tradition characterised as the "labour reserve model".[7] Such a model favoured holding "single" men in hostels or dormitories to turn the urban life of male Africans into a temporary affair and simultaneously reduce the cost of wages by localising social reproduction in the rural areas.

[6] Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe: 1870-1939* (Harare: Baobab Books, 1992), 3.
[7] See: Samir Amin, "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forums," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* **10**/4 (1972), 504.

The central problem that white administrators tried to grapple with was one of social control: how to extract the maximum labour power from African labour needed by industry without paying for its reproduction while simultaneously and, in equal measure, nourishing the ideological desire to limit the presence of Africans in cities. At times government supported drifts to towns (through the imposition of taxes); at times it tried to arrest it through "influx controls", depending on the state of the national economy. But, more often than not, ideological considerations overrode economic concerns.

In the post-World War II period, the state continuously tried to regulate matters, to set up a firmly based rural and urban policy, and to iron out policy contradictions. One commonly observed historical marker is the Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (AUAARA) of 1946. This was characterised by very limited investment into African urban housing especially for low-income earners as the state tried to socially engineer the urban environment, while dissuading family stabilisation. This was also marked by hostility to migrants reflected, in the first instance, by not according residence rights and, secondly, in designations such as "vagrants" or "loafers" and in the Salisbury City Council (SCC) naming migrants a "floating population". African women were in an even more precarious position, as a largely androcentric urban environment was unwelcoming of female presences.[8] However, the state never arrived at a consistent and effective regulatory environment.

The inconsistency was also exposed in the divergent responses of different sections of the state to the phenomenon of "squatters". The labour department was far more open to finding solutions aimed at stabilising the workforce, whereas local Department of African Administration (DAA) and Native Affairs Department (NAD) officials emphasised the control and removal of "undesirables" from the city.[9] Crucially, the inadequacy of locations to house the new workforce, at least until the early 1950s, compromised the state's capacity to deal decisively with those Africans who were staying out of the city's confines (i.e. the peri-urban zone).

[8] See: Diana Jeater, "No Place for a Woman: Gwelo Town, Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1920," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26/1 (2000); Teresa Barnes, "Virgin Territory?: Travel and Migration by African Women in Twentieth-Century Southern Africa," in *Women in African Colonial Histories*, eds. Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 2002).

[9] Terrence Ranger explores these intra-state contestations further using the case of colonial Bulawayo. See: Terence Ranger, "City versus State in Zimbabwe: Colonial Antecedents of the Current Crisis," *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, **1**/2 (2007).

The colonial attempt to segregate space along racial lines involved enforcing Pass Laws, repatriating vagrants, removing informal houses wherever they were considered inconvenient, and fixing curfews and no-go areas for Africans.[10] Draconian legislation was used to stabilise African labour and force "undesirable elements" out of urban areas.[11] An elaborate card index system was also introduced in February 1950 to register all Africans in the designated area. This helped in repatriating unregistered or unemployed Africans from the towns through a gamut of brutal police measures and prosecutions that would, in theory, be applied to both employers and employees for non-compliance. However, in practice the British South Africa Police (BSAP) did not enter European private premises unless asked to do so by the owner or occupier. As the urban townships experienced higher unemployment in the 1960s, Pass Laws became more and more a means of trying to root out the "unwanted" and to differentiate the labour force.

In essence, Salisbury's influx control measures amounted to quantitative controls on mobility under the guise of preserving social order, through removing or evicting those labelled as hooligans, loafers and "spivs" (that is the "idle and unemployed") from African townships. Influx control measures had the effect of adding to the rural reserve population by reducing the population numbers in the urban areas.[12] This raised the average income for each person in the urban areas and effectively increased the income differentials between the rural and urban areas. Because urban-rural income differentials were widening, and the burden of unemployment was transferred disproportionately to the rural areas, many still felt the urban areas were the only outlet for them, even at the risk of breaking the law. Influx control, in other words, was proving futile. Furthermore, influx control measures were undermined by the failure of the national government to "develop" rural areas, not to mention the prejudices and preferences of local work-seekers who preferred urban employment to poorly-paid farm work.[13]

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[10] For further discussion see: T.R.H. Davenport, "Rhodesian and South African Policies for Urban Africans: Some Historical Similarities and Outlooks," *Rhodesian History* 3 (1972); Teresa A. Barnes, "The Fight for Control of African Women's Mobility in Colonial Zimbabwe: 1900-1939," *Signs*, 17/2 (1992); Teresa Barnes, "'Am I a Man?': Gender, Identity and the Pass Laws in Colonial Zimbabwe," *African Studies Review* 40/1 (1997) and Lynette A. Jackson, "When in White Man's Town: Zimbabwean Women Remember Chibeura," in *Women in African Colonial Histories*.

[11] See: Busani Mpofu, "No Place for 'Undesirables': The Urban Poor's Struggle for Survival in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 1960-2005," (PhD. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, June 2010).

[12] Duncan G. Clarke, "The Economics of Urban Inequality in Rhodesia: Considerations of the Langley, Whiting and Wright Report", (Conference on African Influx and Urbanisation in Salisbury: 19th -29th February 1972), 12.

[13] P. Chirapa, "Aspects of Black Agrarian Labour in Commercial Farms, with reference to Goromonzi and Marandellas," (BA Honours Dissertation, UZ, 1984), 9-10.

When the colonial state failed to prevent Africans from claiming urban space, they started reform plans which were not so much badly intended as contradictory and unworkable. For instance, urban influx controls (Pass Laws, registration, and repatriation) contradicted the Land Husbandry Act (LHA) of 1951. Whereas the former measures were intended to turn African town life into a temporary affair, the latter Act was an attempt to settle the industrial labour force in towns. So, despite a recurrent ideological emphasis in colonial policy reports on migrating single men temporarily working in town, the implementation of the said policies was often different. This shows the Rhodesian government's position on the need for, or inevitability of African urbanisation was subject to constant reassessment and its policies could be inconsistent, if not contradictory.

Rural Containment Efforts

The colonisers' two-pronged policy also entailed several rural interventions. The NAD had, for some time, placed blame for the slow agricultural progress, soil erosion and land degradation in the reserves on the dualistic nature of Africans as both farmers in the rural areas and labourers in the major centres of employment.[14] The 1940s and 1950s period is regarded as signalling the height of "planned modernisation" as government planning, which was considered the vehicle of African "modernisation", intensified. Vast numbers of Shona people who had continued living in European designated areas, either as tenants or sharecroppers were forced out to make way for new immigrants and local ex-service white Rhodesians.

In line with the anthropological representation of African rural society, championed by J. F. Holleman, an influential colonial ideologue, the reserves in Southern Rhodesia were typecast as a homogenous and unchanging system.[15] Representations of African society as traditional and closed were in tune with the colonial "tribal" category, which undermined African national identities. The administration found Holleman's perspective compelling because it was self-supporting and in line with what Cooper has characterised as the "adaptation tradition" premised on a Eurocentric presupposition that the African person would be a

[14] CNC's Annual Report: 1946 in SRG4, Southern Rhodesia Miscellaneous Reports, 1946-1948.
[15] J.F. Holleman, *Shona Customary Law: with reference to kinship, marriage, the family and the estate,* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1952), 10-11.
* Holleman's book - *Shona Customary Law* - became part of the inventory of all district stations as well as the curriculum of the training programme for new personnel in the NAD.

country/rural man.[16] From this perspective the reserve communities seemed to lack all the modern necessities: tools were poor, harvests unreliable and the income levels low.

Andersson has aptly described this as making up yet another "colonial invention of tradition".[17] The appeal to "traditional" society, as Atwell argues, was crucial, as the colonisers attempted to relocate the colonised "in revised versions of the past, [so as] to elicit principles around which alternative models of modernity or even civil society might develop".[18] Therefore, to survive and legitimise itself, colonialism had to impose its inferred sense of cultural supremacy over the local populations by denigrating "indigenous" culture. This entailed classifying African social life in a rural-urban framework portraying life in the reserves as inevitably traditional.

The rural reserves were, thus, no longer singularly portrayed as a mere labour reserve for the settler economy, but were reinvented as "traditional" rural African spaces, needing state intervention to develop. In this respect, the reinvention of tradition was not only confined to relations of production but also extended to social control of inhabitants in various spaces by buttressing the authority of "traditional" political authority. This also entailed reformulating the type of education that Africans could receive in the reserve areas to modulate their outlook and expectations. The rural reserve itself was framed as a space that was not to be "contaminated" by the educated and semi-educated Africans "with a bookish propensity-type of education".[19] The 1951 Kerr Commission (on Native Education) Report even went as far as recommending that Africans in the country be given the rudiments of education to use only in "their own villages".[20]

This colonial/anthropological rural imagery was aided in no small part by the state media. These included propaganda films produced through the Central African Film Unit (CAFU) and disseminated by a division on Visual Aids in the NAD. These films found a wide audience. In 1958, for example, 746 CAFU-produced shows were presented to 281 988

[16] F. Cooper, "Introduction: Urban space, Industrial Time and wage Labour in Africa," in *The Struggle for the City: Migrant Labour, Capital, and the State in Africa,* (Beverley Hills: Sage Publications Inc, 1983), 44.
[17] Andersson, J.A. "Going Places, Staying Home: Rural-urban Connection & the Significance of Land in Buhera District, Zimbabwe," (Doctoral Thesis, Waginingen Universitiet, 2002),18.
[18] David Atwell, "Reprisals of Modernity in Black South African 'Mission' Writing," *Journal of Southern African Studies* **25**/2 (1999), 267.
[19] Michael O. West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe 1898-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 18.
[20] T. Moyana, *Education, Liberation and the Creative Act*, (Harare, ZPH, 1988), 8.

people in both the rural and urban areas averaging 378 people each show.[21] These films had a utilitarian value as Chikonzo argues: "there was a deliberate effort in these films to project the rural area as the legitimate space for the African while the city is reserved for whites".[22]

The comic films did not only give a derogatory identity to the African but also an identity to his physical and social space.[23] Spaces within which the Africans lived were projected as primitive and "practically foreign territory".[24] The establishing shots of "native kraals" (i.e. African villages) depicted African homes invariably as thatched huts in a clustered settlement pattern to reflect their backwardness. However, establishing shots of urban areas suggested vibrancy. The establishing shots of the city were always at the Central Business District (CBD) where there were tarred roads and high-rise glistening buildings. This obvious distinction between rural and urban landscapes was meant to show the difference between the people ascribed to each space. In such ways, the rural space was naturalised as the true place for the African.

Similar notions were therefore built into the NAD's official report in which a "good [rural] African/bad [urban] African" framing emerged. In line with the culture contact thesis advanced by the Malinowski or "Social Disruption School", colonial authorities feared that newly arrived rural immigrants in the city could be easily influenced by "agitators" (that is African migrants with more urban experience) without control of their spatial mobility once "free" from "traditional" conventions in the urban areas.[25] S.E. Morris, the Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) in the 1950s went as far as to propose that the detention facility in the Goromonzi District in which political prisoners were imprisoned could best be used as a "rehabilitation" centre (from urban ways). In his view, the detainees were better placed keeping little market gardens instead of "sitting about reading textbooks".[26]

[21] NAZ SRG/INT 4 Report of the Chief Information Officer, Division of Native Affairs, SR for 1958: 139.
[22] Kelvin Chikonzo, "The Construction of African Cultural Identities in Zimbabwean Films: From 1948-2000", (MPhil Thesis, UZ, January 2005), 98.
[23] There is a serious contradiction that comic films raised with regards to the issue of rural urban migration. The films actually gave impetus or pull factors for rural to urban migration. In fact what gives Benzi the impetus to go to town is the fact that he sees another man who is well dressed and admires him and decides to go to the city to look for employment. Other films actually show that there is employment in the city. There was no way in which the comic films could have curbed rural urban migration when they reflected the rural space as barren. It was natural that the rural folk would look for greener pastures in the city.
[24] Teresa A. Barnes, "The Fight for Control of African Women's Mobility in Colonial Zimbabwe: 1900-1939," *Signs*, 17/2 (1992), 586.
[25] George H. Hartley, "The Development of an African Urban Community," *NADA*, **35** (1958), 91.
[26] NAZ S 3338/2/1/1/2 Detainees Arrangements Goromonzi 1959.

The fear that the "good" rural African would be disturbed by city agitators (that is the "bad" African) led the Native Commissioner (NC) for Goromonzi to arbitrarily start enforcing Pass Laws in 1952. This amounted to an extralegal measure because all passes for indigenous Africans in the rural areas had been abolished in 1947.[27] The determined NC vowed to continue enforcing the Pass Laws because:

> It has resulted in the apprehension of many wanted criminals and it is a deterrent to the very numerous 'undesirable' characters from Salisbury who infest this District over weekends in search of kaffer [*sic*] Beer and women.[28]

The NAD also increasingly placed blame for the slow agricultural progress that had been made in the years following the enactment of the 1941 Natural Resources Act (NRA) on the dualistic nature of the Africans as both farmers and labourers in the major centres of employment. This argument was reflected in the LHA, which sought to enforce "good husbandry methods" through compulsion.

The LHA was by far the greatest rural intervention measure introduced in the name of "development" in Southern Rhodesia and "one of the most far-reaching land reform measures in Africa".[29] The prevailing argument was that, because African life and economics would be mainly agricultural for a long time to come, the state's efforts had to be concentrated in that direction. The LHA set out an ambitious programme to recast the prevailing patterns of agricultural production in the reserves.

The LHA was fundamentally a landholding measure that placed great store on the need to prevent further fragmentation of holdings, on the one hand, and on the value of individual as opposed to communal tenure, on the other. However, Machingaidze argues that the Act, by replacing communal ownership of land with individual ownership, also aimed to "stabilise [the] rural population and to put an end to labour migration".[30] The LHA considered the reserves to be farming areas from which people without farming and grazing rights could and would be excluded. This would help to create a stabilised urban working class demanded by the expanding secondary industry.[31]

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[27] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1959, 1.
[28] NC Goromonzi: Report of the Quarter ended the 31 March 1952 by the NC Goromonzi.
[29] Montague Yudelman, *Africans on the Land: Economic Problems of African Agricultural Development in Southern, Central, and East Africa, with Specific Reference to Southern Rhodesia*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 117.
[30] Victor E. M. Machingaidze, "Agrarian Change From Above: The Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act and African Response," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, **24**/3 (1991), 557.
[31] Report of the [Acting] Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1954, 8.

The LHA's prescription involved a comprehensive reorganisation of rural society which included significant cuts of stock, fencing lands, concentrated settlements, improved seed and an expansion in agricultural education. The state also tried to launch work programmes in the rural areas, such as road construction and dam building, in an effort to halt the efflux of rural based Africans to the urban areas. Even urban authorities looked to these rural work programmes as outlets through which all unemployed and able-bodied unmarried Africans in the locations could be engaged in. For instance, the Director of the DAA from 1959 to 1972, R.C. Briggs, suggested that it was "high time" that government tackled the school leavers' problem through

> ...the establishment of work camps in the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) so that the youth could assist in the undertaking of any large-scale projects....to ensure their further development....Unemployed youths, particularly from the urban areas, could be drafted into such camps.[32]

This confirms Cowen and Shenton's position that the intentional practice of development is largely a subjective course of action "meant to create order out of the social disorder that had arisen out of rapid urbanisation, poverty and unemployment".[33] However, as we shall see in Chapters 6 and 7, the sum-total of these measures failed to provide enough of a counter-attraction to halt emigration to Salisbury and to offer alternative employment for non-migrants.

But perhaps most ominous of all, were the powers the LHA gave to white officials and their agents to interfere in the daily life of communities. Van Beusekom and Hodgson rightly argue that, despite claims to address merely technical problems, the development agenda aimed for in the post-Second World War era was "deeply intertwined with colonial imperatives to order, control and compel the progress of the most backward subjects".[34] The number of staff serving in the NC's offices was increased substantially, particularly in agricultural and community extension. White Land Development Officers (LDOs), Forestry Rangers, Conservation Officers and African Demonstrators were appointed to augment the NAD. Overall, the appointments enlarged the role of the technical officers within the NAD

[32] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1967-1968, 10.

[33] Cowen and Shenton make an important contribution to the development discourse in their distinction between development as an immanent and objective process and development as a subjective course of action that can be undertaken in the name of development. The latter is what, of necessity, constituted development in a colonial context.
See: Michael Cowen, and Robert Shenton, "The Invention of Development," in *Power of Development*, ed. J. Crush, (London, Routledge, 1995).

[34] Monica M. van Beusekom and Dorothy L. Hodgson, "Lessons Learned? Development Experiences in the Late Colonial Period," *Journal of African History*, **41** (2000), 30.

and raised the influence of the Director of Native Agriculture. Coupled with this, the use of *chibharo* (forced labour) increased in "community development work" in the African reserves in the 1950s, mainly for construction of roads and dams and digging contour ridges, storm drains, etc.

The first African reserve to which the whole Act was fully applied was the Chinyika Reserve, followed by the Chinamhora Reserve, both in the Goromonzi District.[35] This is significant because these reserves, as shown in appendices 1.1 and 1.2, demonstrated the worst effects of what the LHA intended to address: high levels of male migrancy, overstocking and overcrowding resulting in ecological disasters which would, in turn, spur further movements to Salisbury.

The Act was carried out over a 10-year period from when it was passed with all the technological resources disposed to the administration. More than £17 million was used countrywide, with the aid of a World Bank loan, to provide the necessary physical development in the form of roads, bridges, dams, fencing and other facilities.[36] The size of the landholdings in each reserve was determined according to what was regarded as "stringent scientific criteria".[37] The LHA's measures were widely detested in the reserves as intrusive, unjust and harmful to preserving even a semblance of residual political and economic autonomy. The LHA was known among the African population after one of its most insidious tenets of cattle culling as *nhemura*.[38]

The LHA was conceived of during the manufacturing boom. The expectation that those made landless by the Act would be permanently absorbed into the then-flourishing urban labour market was being met to a degree – or at least up to the end of 1956. Between 1951 and 1956 Salisbury's overall employment increase of 15 percent kept pace with the rate of population increase of 16 percent.[39] However, the threatened break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the late 1950s led to a decrease in employment opportunities. Nonetheless, Salisbury's rate of population increase sped up to 18 percent from 1956 to 1961. But the

[35] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Affairs: 1952, 4.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Gloria C. Passmore, "Historical Rationale of the Policy of Community Development in the African Rural Areas of Rhodesia," *Zambezia*, 2/1 (1971), 63.
[38] Interview with Tendai Chitimbe, Seve Village, Seke, 14 November 2011.
[39] SR: Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs and CNC: 1962, 11.
See also: RG-P/Gov 6 SR Govt.: What the LHA means to rural African and to SR: A 5 Year Plan that will revolutionise African agriculture, Salisbury, Govt. Printer 1955.

increase in overall employment during the same period was only 5 percent.[40] As a result, large numbers of Africans who had, at one time, drawn a part of their income from the land now found themselves not only unemployed but landless. The growing unemployment led the government to place restrictions on foreign labour. In a bid to force surplus labour from the towns back onto the farms; the Salisbury African Labour Exchange was opened in 1958.[41] In the same year the government passed the Foreign Migratory Labour Act, which closed Salisbury and Bulawayo to all new migrants from outside of the country. [42]

The post-1945 rural-urban framing, championed within the NAD, also reinforced the assumption that Africans would be supported by the peasant economy. For instance, in 1954 the Acting CNC, J.E.S. Turton, argued that:

> As regards social security we are extremely fortunate in the customary law of the Native by which he is beholden to care for relatives too old or feeble to work in the lands or earn their own living.[43]

It is therefore not surprising to see how the rural reserves were made out as some form of pension and how this was used as justification for not providing occupational pensions for all categories of African workers.[44]

De-Urbanisation disguised as Decentralisation

The Garfield Todd administration of 1953 to 1958, unlike previous governments, placed a greater premium on building family accommodation (instead of "singles" hostels) for African urban dwellers.[45] This was intended to fulfil a "control" function by providing "enough" and "acceptable" housing to better govern the African workforce and improve motivation levels.

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Zoë Groves, "Urban Migrants and Religious Networks: Malawians in Colonial Salisbury, 1920 to 1970", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **38**/3 (2012), 503.

[42] The Foreign Migratory Labour Act of 1958 had a profound effect on immigration of Africans from the Portuguese East Africa territory, and the number of immigrants fell from 54 934 in 1957 to 12 379 in 1962. In Salisbury, the number of work passes issued to foreigners dropped by 14 724 or 49.2 percent in the period 1958/59 to 1959/60.
See: G. Kay, "The Distribution of African Population in Southern Rhodesia: Some Preliminary Notes" Rhodes-Livingstone Communication, Number 28.

[43] Report of the Acting CNC, 1954, 8.

[44] For further discussion see: Edwin Kaseke, "Rural Social Security Needs: The Case of Zimbabwe," *Journal of Social Development in Africa* and Duncan G. Clarke, *The Economics of Old Age Subsistence in Rhodesia* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1977).

[45] The Todd administration in 1955 borrowed £1.5 million from the Colonial Development Corporation and certain mining and insurance companies to develop home "ownership" schemes and approximately 6 000 houses were built in 1956 to be purchased by Africans over a 20 year period.
See Collin Butcher, *The Struggle for Low Income Housing in Zimbabwe* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1986), 9-13; NAZ S2809/SM018 Urban African Housing in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia: African Housing 1957-1962.

However, at the same time, Todd revived proposals, which had originated in the amended Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1941, to erect African townships in the reserves to curb the drift to the towns.[46] E.G.G. Marsh, the Secretary of Local Government and Housing, in justifying the need for these rural townships argued that:

> In the absence of any system of influx control into our towns, it is not only impossible to exercise any restraining influence over the drift to the towns, except by taking steps to boost the rural economy.[47]

The Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation (TILCOR) was charged with championing the government's growth-centre policy together with the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA).[48] Africans could buy business or residential stands, as well as get title, within the proposed "rural townships" or "growth-points or centres" set aside in the African Reserves or Purchase Areas (APAs).This was unlike the leasehold tenure that prevailed in African urban townships which city authorities dubbed African Village Settlements (AVSs).[49] These growth centres were intended, on the one hand, to provide for the urbanisation of those Africans who could no longer get agricultural holdings in neighbouring reserves and who had no wish to remain or enter the labour market. On the other hand, growth centres were supposed to develop into dormitory townships for Africans employed in the urban centres.[50] However, as Delius has aptly commented in the South African context, which is comparable to colonial Zimbabwe: "exactly why families denied access to arable land and livestock should wish to remain in these villages was not a question that these rural planners chose to answer".[51]

A "New Seke Township" located in the Seke Reserve figured in the 1956 DAA Report with 27 housing units.[52] Patel and Adams note that this township was originally established by the government to house the Salisbury airport's African employees.[53] The airport was located in

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[46] Arrighi, *Political Economy*, 55.
[47] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st Dec. 1964, 6.
[48] See: A.K.H. Weinrich, "Strategic Resettlement in Rhodesia" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **3**/2 (April, 1977).
[49] Ministry of Internal Affairs Tribal Trust Lands Development Corporation Limited: Urban Development at TILCOR Growth Points, Salisbury, (1976).
[50] These towns termed "growth points", in the nomenclature of the time, were not real urban centres however - as urban centres existed only in European areas. Colonial administrators were careful not to describe these centres in urban terms because as early as the 1904 European census an urban area had been defined as:
Any centre with a population of more than 25 non-Africans, where individual holdings are less than 15 acres in extent and at least half the adult male inhabitants are employed in industrial sectors other than agriculture.
George L. Kay, *Rhodesia: A Human Geography*, (London, University of London Press, 1970).
[51] Peter Delius, (1996) *A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal*, Heinemann Social History of Africa Series, Portsmouth, 70.
[52] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1955-1956, 47.
[53] Patel D H and Adams RJ (1981) "Chirambahuyo: A Case Study in Low Income Housing", *Zambesiana* **XI**, Mambo Press, Gweru.

the "white" suburb of Hatfield. However, deliberations among NAD staff to identify suitable locations to erect townships in the Goromonzi District began in 1950.[54] In that year the Provincial Native Commissioner (PNC) reported that:

> I have selected large areas for townships in Seki [*sic*] North and Chinamora [*sic*] South because I consider these parts are of little value for anything else. The areas are so near Salisbury that the Natives therein have lived in Salisbury for years. They have no need or interest in agriculture and no legislation will change their method of life...These areas would serve a better purpose if turned into large townships than waste further effort on them in a useless endeavour to make the inhabitants true agriculturalists.[55]

The total area excised from the Seke Reserve was 2 006 hectares. Another piece of land was bought from the St. Mary's Mission Farm near the Prince Edward dam. In the Chihota Reserve 647 acres were excised for the Mahusekwa Township. 370 acres were also set aside for the Chinamhora Township in the Chinamhora Reserve.[56] These measures coincided with the colonial state's efforts of trying to build a liberal justification for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Therefore, the political decision was presented as "an urban arrangement congenial to black Rhodesian opinion as well as to white, which could give meaning and acceptability to the idea of partnership".[57] In building this facade, J.V. Kerr, the CNC reported:

> Indications are that these [Rural Townships] will prove popular with the Natives as many applications for residential and business stands have been received by the Township Officer.[58]

One of the earliest groups to settle in the envisaged Seke Township was a group belonging to the Southern Rhodesian Gospel of God Church aka *Vapostori* (meaning the Apostles). The group was tagged as the "Korsten Basket-makers" in official correspondence because they had been ejected from Korsten in Port Elizabeth and they were also (apparently) engaged in basket-making.[59] After mulling over where to resettle this group, it was finally decided to house them in the land excised from the Seke Reserve in December 1962. It was estimated

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[54] See: Eric Kushinga Makombe, "A People's Perspective of State Conservation Policies in the Seke Reserve: 1941-1961," (BA Honours diss., University of Zimbabwe, 2003).
[55] PNC quoted in Makombe "State Conservation Policies in the Seke Reserve," 21.
[56] Report of the Under Secretary, Department of Native Agriculture and Lands: 1960, 23.
[57] Southern Rhodesia Notice 795 of 1954 (In terms of the Land Husbandry Act) Government Printers, Salisbury.
[58] Quarterly Review of Native Affairs for the Quarter Ended Sept. 30th 1954 by the Secretary for Native Affairs dated Nov. 8th 1954, Salisbury, 6.
*Similar measures were also initiated in Ntabazinduna near Bulawayo and Zimunya near Umtali.
[59] Korsten was destroyed in the mid-1950s after the National Party of the Union of South Africa resolved to destroy racially mixed neighbourhoods using the 1950 Group Areas legislation.
See: Bill Freund, *The African City: A History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 123.

that this group's population in the township would reach 2 600 in the following year.[60] Despite this, Marsh who was clearly growing more frustrated with the slow rate of uptake in the township, (in 1965) remarked that:

> The task of popularising these almost moribund townships [that is Ntabazinduna in Bulawayo, Seke in Salisbury and Zimunya in Umtali], which are situated within tribal areas of the same name, remains very difficult owing to their distance from the urban centres.[61]

The national government genuinely hoped these rural townships would resolve the contradiction between rural restructuring and slowing the drift to the towns. The growth-centre policy was directly intended to curb the influx from rural areas and reverse rural-urban migration trends towards, first, smaller urban centres and eventually to the existing African rural areas.

To secure this, a deliberate disinvestment would need to follow this policy in Salisbury so as not to increase its capacity and make it unattractive as a site of employment or accommodation while propping up the rural based urban facilities. This never happened. Even when the legislation, the Transfer of Land (Native Reserves) Act, which enabled the state to alienate land from African reserves to set up townships, came into effect on the 16th of July 1954, the rate of uptake was very slow.[62] The first counter-attraction to the Seke Township had been a government decision, in the same year, to offer long-term leases in the Highfield Township of Salisbury with the option of buying existing government cottages on such stands.[63] This announcement diverted many potential buyers from Seke to Highfields. While the NAD would later admit that "there is nothing to draw urban-type workers and dwellers to these embryo townships" they further argued that "to have areas demarcated and set aside for future development is, however, a sound insurance for the future".[64]

The early investments made in the rural townships proved too insignificant to be able to stem the tide to Salisbury. For instance, in Seke the only notable investments amounted to a brewery belonging to Chibuku Breweries set up alongside a relocated factory, and a hostel for 128 "single" men that was built to serve these industries.[65] The Secretary of Internal

[60] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st Dec. 1962, 7.
[61] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st Dec. 1965, 16.
[62] Annual Report of the Townships Officer Native Affairs, for the year Ended 31st December, 1954, 54.
[63] Annual Report of the Townships Officer Native Affairs: 1954, 55.
[64] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1957, 24.
[65] Eric Wood, "Community Action, Urban Protest and Change in Zimbabwe and South Africa" *African Affairs*, **77**/307 (1978), 176.

Affairs report on "significant progress" in 1970 was largely based on a projection that "3 factories...will be in production in 1971".[66] In reality, the idea of identifying industrial potential was limited, since it was determined against already underdeveloped rural areas. If anything, most of the rural townships provided low order retailing services. Typical functions included: general dealers, bottle stores, butcheries, supermarkets, grinding mills and repair services. Because of the restrictive business practises prevailing in the colony, non-agricultural enterprises remained very few. In short, the polarised framework did not encourage flows of investment from the *core* to the *periphery*.

Since most of these rural townships lacked commercial or industrial viability they came to be functionally dependent on the nearby urban centres. For Salisbury, the envisaged Seke Township provided a unique opportunity to lay down such functional dependency as it was located outside the perimeters of the city and within the boundaries of the Seke Reserve. Salisbury could therefore leave the cost of providing social services, infrastructure and other costs of urbanisation to the people of the township themselves. But Salisbury would simultaneously benefit from the cheap labour pool coming from this location to work in the industrial belt in Salisbury and from the retail side since the township did not have any high-order retail outlets.[67] The SCC also profited individually from African beer sales, especially in the St. Mary's area. In short, Salisbury transferred the costs of reproducing labour to Seke without suffering any accompanying loss in the productive capacity of that labour power.[68]

The proposals to set aside land measuring 5 000 to 10 000 acres to build a township also called for a reassessment of the Seke Reserve's ecological carrying capacity. Provisioning land for the township drastically reduced the land area for Seke, Dema and Rutongo to 72 780 acres of which 72 500 were usable. However, at the prevailing formula assessment of the carrying capacity of one animal unit to 10 acres this would have implied reducing the animal units to a meagre 5 502.[69] So, when Seke had finally managed to reduce its stock levels (i.e. 8

[66] Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs: 1970, 3.
[67] For a similar discussion on the South African context see: Martin Leggasick, "Gold, Agriculture and Secondary Industry in South Africa, 1885-1970: From Periphery to Sub-Metropole as a Forced Labour System," in *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, eds. Palmer, R and Parsons, N. (London: Heinemann, 1983).
[68] Patel and Adams "Chirambahuyo," 19.
[69] NAZ F453/11957 February 28 – 1961 August 7; Seki Kraal Appreciation Report.
N.B. Dema and Rutongo were known as Special Native Areas (SNAs) created after an amendment to the LAA and were supposed to serve as additional land for Africans in the reserves. Dema and Rutongo were therefore considered part of Seke when it came to administrative and planning purposes. What this means is that the total land area for Seke at 82 640 acres includes the acreage of the Seke Reserve proper of 77 780 acres (cited in text) plus the land areas of Dema and Rutongo.

179 in 1956) to the recommended carrying capacity, the goalposts were shifted once again and, in line with the new formula, 1 261 head (of stock) had to be culled.[70] But the NAD tried to avert a political backlash by arbitrarily revising the carrying capacity for one animal unit to 8 acres. Such cases suggest that the determination of the agro-silvo-pastoral balance and other "scientific" tenets of the LHA were nothing more than a pseudo-science.

The impact of further drastic reductions in stock levels at an individual level was even greater insofar as owning *enough* stock to continue farming viably. This, in turn, prolonged the vicious cycle in which the inhabitants of Goromonzi had been trapped since the reserves were demarcated. The quest by the people of Goromonzi to reproduce themselves while continuing feasible livelihoods based on a cattle culture and agriculture in the face of dwindling lands was turning into an impossible mission. Chronic landlessness, land deterioration and overpopulation became so acute that by 1962, 107 out of 130 reserves were reportedly overpopulated and 69 reserves were overstocked out of 127 reserves whose ecological characteristics allowed livestock production.[71] Within Goromonzi, in particular, most of the reserves were housing +/- 100 people for every square mile by 1964 (refer to table below) while the national average density of population in the rural districts was 25 people per square mile.

Table 2.1: Population Density in Selected Goromonzi Reserves 1964

Reserve	**Area in Acres**	**Population Density (persons per square mile)**
Chinamhora	78 550	136
Seke	77 780	114
Chikwaka	73 890	97
Kunzwi	19 300	94
Chinyika	13 440	93

Source: Kay, "The Distribution of African Population in Southern Rhodesia," 24.

While introducing growth centres would clearly augment the urban/European/modern versus rural/African/backward cleavage the colonialists had sought to advance from early on, the appeal and reference-point for adopting this development path was undoubtedly South African Apartheid policies.[72] But the Rhodesian government was keen to avoid any association with the maligned Apartheid policies of South Africa and sought to present its

[70] Ibid.
[71] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1968-1969, 2.
[72] See: G. Maasdorp, and A.S.B. Humphreys, (Eds.), *From Shantytown to Township*, (Cape Town, Juta, 1975).

townships under the guise of the then "novel" idea of decentralisation.[73] This was despite the fact that "Border industries" on the South African model were already in evidence. The parallels were deliberately downplayed in an attempt to attract international donor funds to finance the programmes. Official correspondence around setting up townships, however, betrayed the source of inspiration. For instance, in 1968 Briggs proposed setting aside land to accommodate African workers employed in Salisbury in either Domboshawa or Seke and the "provision of fast rail or mono-rail services to Seki [*sic*] and Domboshawa and the creation in those areas of satellite towns on the lines of Soweto on the Rand".[74] The growth-centre policy was clearly linked to problems arising in a polarised economic space. The colonial planners voiced the problems as follows:

> ....there was denudation of the natural resources of the tribal areas; there was a massive influx of tribesman into our main towns; and that there was an imbalance between the two sectors of the dual economy – Tribal Trust Lands and European Sector.[75]

The settler farming community enveloping Salisbury had been clamouring for a "green belt" starting from the 1940s as the Second World War opened many opportunities, especially in tobacco. The settler farmers came up with what they termed the Salisbury Rural Planning Scheme in 1959, advancing the idea of a "green belt" made up of unbroken farmland around the city of Salisbury and removing the Africans staying within the peri-urban locations.[76] The stated objective of this scheme was to preserve economical farming units but it directly targeted Africans living in the Chishawasha and Epworth mission stations for eviction. The settlers' wish for a "green belt" was only partially fulfilled when the Ian Smith regime came to power. As a result, the population in the reserves almost doubled, because of the combined effect of accelerated population growth and evicted "squatters" from European-owned farms coming to resettle in the reserves. Bratton estimates that the proportion of the Africans who lived in the reserves rose from 56 percent in 1956 to 63 percent in 1978.[77]

The Rhodesian Front's (RF) tenure under the leadership of Ian Smith from 1964 to 1979 displayed a greater ruthlessness than its predecessors in blocking rural migrants from settling

[73] The Rhodesian settler regime euphemistically termed its own "apartheid" policies "separate development". This, very much like South Africa's Apartheid policy, meant physical separation, on racial grounds, of settlers in rural areas and of residential and commercial land in urban areas.
[74] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1967-1968, 57.
[75] TILCOR, 1976: 1.
[76] Joyce M. Chadya, "Missionary Land Ownership: The Case of the Roman Catholics at Chishawasha," (MA Thesis, UZ, June 1992), 92.
[77] Michael Bratton, *Beyond Community Development: The Political Economy of Rural Administration in Zimbabwe*, (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1978), 8.

in town. One of the RF regime's stated objectives was to "make the African aware that he must look primarily to the African area [i.e. rural reserve areas] to provide him with his living and occupation, skilled and unskilled".[78] This, in part, entailed a deliberate disinvestment in the built environment for African urbanites in what various writers, including Patel and Adams, Jordan and Davenport, have characterised as a "marking of time".[79] Building programmes were frozen from about 1962 to 1969. In 1966 the Minister of Local Government and Housing plainly stated that the national government had no plans to take over the responsibility of providing Africans with housing in the urban areas.[80] The main exception lay in the urban fringe in the so-called rural townships found in lands bordering the rural reserves.

The RF administration adopted "Community Development" as official policy in 1963.[81] "Community Development" was defined in the agreements with the American Agency for International Development (AID) as:

> The process by which the people of each community are given responsibility for their own development, a responsibility which can only be discharged through communal organisation, formally and informally, for democratic planning and action.[82]

However, because of the indistinct character of community development theory, the RF *interpreted* "Community Development" as "part of a more general policy of leaving the African population to fend for itself".[83] The government hoped that African problems (including unemployment in urban areas) would be resolved by themselves through centrally controlled community development initiatives.[84] As far as the RF was concerned, the development programmes emanating from the First World countries during this time presented them with an opportunity to advance two separate but related agendas: the first was to reassert the binaries along racial and class lines that informed the second goal, which was to preserve and perpetuate the *dualised* structure of the colonial economy.

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[78] Ibid, 34.
[79] See: Davenport, "Policies for Urban Africans"; J.D. Jordan, *Local Government in Zimbabwe* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1984); Patel and Adams "Chirambahuyo."
[80] NAZ S3269/25/151 Ministry of Local Government and Housing, Report of the Guarantee, Housing and African Building Funds, 1966.
[81] At this point the RF was under the leadership of Winston Field. But he was ousted in the following year because of what his party sensed was a softening stance towards blocking African political advancement. He was replaced by the ultra-conservative Iain Douglas Smith.
[82] *Community Development and Local Government News Bulletin*, 25th November 1963, No. 1, 1.
[83] Mette Masst, "The Harvest of Independence: Commodity Boom and Socio-Economic Differentiation among Peasants in Zimbabwe," (PhD. Diss. Roskilde University, 1996), 154.
[84] Duncan G. Clarke, *The Unemployment Crisis*, (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1978), 7-8.

When Salisbury breached the 300 000 populations mark in the late 1960s urban planning and social engineering went into overdrive.[85] This culminated in the Land Tenure Act (LTA) of 1969 which specified areas in which peoples of each race were to remain and enabled authorities to sweep aside any embryonic squatter settlement. The LTA was the cornerstone of Rhodesian government policy until 1979.[86] The LTA "stabilised" the boundaries between the races based on "equality". The RF government claimed exactly equal amounts of land for the colonised and the coloniser, conveniently ignoring the demographic reality. This was presented as a measure intended to provide a lasting measure of security to each racial group and to reduce social friction among the races by "eliminating land rivalry" and "keeping the races separate as social groups".[87] The LTA stated that no further "European" land was to be developed for African townships and that all future development would be in the TTLs provided these were within a reasonable distance of the place of employment. The LTA, as DG Clarke states, made the:

> principle of territorial segregation an operationally effective tenet of public policy, by shifting the locus of societal equilibrium closer to the model of Apartheid in which Black and White interests, areas, resources and populations are kept separate in de jure as well as de facto terms.[88]

Indeed, the LTA made it clear that Africans should expect only "limited civic status" in the urban locations.

In many ways, the rural townships solution was an attempt by the Rhodesian government and the SCC to move the African urban crisis beyond the administrative and financial jurisdiction of Salisbury. This severance of responsibility, in the case of Salisbury, was realised when the Chitungwiza Urban Council Government Proclamation of 1977 merged the two Township

[85] A population of 300 000 was regarded as the "optimum threshold" after which administrative costs per capita could rise causing economic tensions and intolerable social costs in terms of traffic congestion, pollution and other social evils. The 1969 census also drew attention to what was considered an "excessively rapid growth in the African population" with up to a quarter of the African population under the age of 7, a yearly increase of about 140 000 per annum and about 48 000 Africans turning 16 in 1969. It was again estimated that the African population was producing up to a minimum of 40 000 young males in need of employment on a yearly basis such that at the prevailing birth rate of 3.2 percent there would be as many as a 100 000 young males looking for employment by 1980.
DG Clarke, "The Economics of Urban Inequality in Rhodesia: Considerations of the Langley, Whiting and Wright Report", (Conference on African Influx and Urbanisation in Salisbury: 19th -29th February 1972), 2; The Whitsun Foundation, A Strategy for Rural Development: Databank No. 2: The Peasant Sector, Project 1.05 (a) October 1978.
[86] M.A. Maumbe, "Some Aspects of Growth in Chitungwiza" (BA Honours diss., UZ, 1982), 3.
* The LTA was repealed on the 2nd of February 1979.
[87] "Report on the African Affairs Section of the Urban Plan" in City of Salisbury: African Affairs Urban Plan: Objectives and Policies (Corporate Development Group), 13th September 1974, 18.
[88] Ibid.

Boards of St. Mary's/Zengeza and Seke which was under the control of the MIA. TILCOR envisaged that two-thirds of the residential stands available would be needed for industrial workers and the balance would be for home ownership and workers from the Salisbury municipal area. Preliminary plans of the area allowed it to cater for a population of up to 105 000.[89] Therefore, Chitungwiza, as van Wyk has characterised it, was:

> ...in fact, a monument to the unwillingness of the settler state and the white city of Salisbury to bear the financial burden towards the wellbeing of the workers who produced the profits on which the settler state flourished.[90]

Chitungwiza was a living expression of the contradictory values of the Rhodesian establishment. On the one hand, it represented a major concession by recognising that large numbers of African male workers had to be settled in urban areas to promote growth in the manufacturing sector. On the other hand, in many respects it lacked the human characteristics of a vital urban environment, reflecting the political urgency for the authorities to remove, or drastically truncate, any sense of common urban citizenship.

The immediate impact of these policy measures was to seal off African rural areas from economic development, leaving the rural dwellers unable to improve. This was made worse by the impossibility of raising loan capital against communal land.[91] By 1977 the country's African rural areas were carrying 675 000 farming units (nationwide) yet the carrying capacity was 275 000 farming units.[92] Because growth and development was still only centred in the urban and industrial sectors - labelled "European" areas - the colonisers' efforts at rural development in no way halted the massive and growing African population from transiting to these so-called European areas.

Chiefs, Councils and Taxes

Another aspect of stabilisation that concerned the settler state was the problem of African governance and representation in the rural areas. As early as the 1950s, senior civil servants in the colony had suggested the need to counter the influence of African nationalist

[89] Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs: 1972, 19.
[90] David Van Wyk, "The Economy of Urbanisation in Colonial Zimbabwe with special Reference to Chitungwiza" (BA Honours diss., University of Zimbabwe, 1987), 23.
[91] The Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) established in 1971 was not authorised to provide agricultural credit to farmers outside the white-owned commercial farming sector. A section of the legislation barring the AFC from lending to communal area farmers was only repealed at the beginning of 1979.
See: Teresa Chimombe, "The Role of Banks and Financial Institutions in the Accommodation and Reinstatement of Capital" (MPhil Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1983).
[92] R. Riddell, (1980), "Zimbabwe's Land Problem: The Central Issue", in W.H. Morris-Jones (ed.) *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: Behind and Beyond Lancaster House*, London, Frank Cass and Company.

movements in the reserves by "increasing" the power of chiefs.[93] State power would therefore be exercised through these traditional leaders acting as intermediaries in a system of indirect rule. The concrete institutionalisation of this form of power was "customary law", according to which traditional authorities were required to rule in accordance with a set of supposed established traditions of the "tribe". In any case, these "traditions" were significantly modified by the superimposition on chiefs of civil servants who administered, controlled or modified the rural system in conformity with government regulations.[94]

The colonial governments artificially recreated the power of African chiefs, giving them control over the land, the symbol of people's security. (This was after having undermined chiefly authority in the first few decades of colonial rule as I indicated in the previous chapter). In this system, no civil society with autonomy from the state was created, and inhabitants of rural areas became subject to state rule without being able to participate in the institutions of government. Settler and government ideology and practice therefore prevented the social integration of the people into the wider society. In Mamdani's terms, they became "subjects" rather than "citizens".[95]

In line with this, various colonial administrations began according token power to the chiefs. For instance, the Chiefs' Council and Provincial Assemblies of Chiefs Act of 1961 gave statutory recognition to the structure and function of the Chiefs' Council.[96] Despite attempts to disguise the true purpose behind these measures the following statement by the CNC uncovers a deliberate effort to set the chiefs against African nationalists and to depoliticise the people:

> They [chiefs] are experts in articulating genuine feelings, not in arousing artificial ones; and their conception of their role as chief is that of ironing out differences, of pouring oil on troubled waters, not of stirring up passions. This was always the way of chiefs in relation to their people and this is the point of their collision with the modern politician who seeks power regardless of consequences and for whom exploitation of dissention is the way to success....chiefs tend to move with their people, not with the times.[97]

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[93] A.K.H. Weinrich, *Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia: The Transition from Patriarchal to Bureaucratic* Power (London: Heinemann, 1971), 20.
[94] A.K.H. Weinrich, *African Farmers in Rhodesia: Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1975), 7.
[95] Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996), 109-137.
[96] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1961, 2.
[97] Ibid, 16.

The state therefore hoped to present these "traditional" leaders, as the legitimate representatives of the Africans.

The chiefs also played an invaluable role in collecting taxes and repatriating out of work rural migrants. The CNC would personally recognise this in 1960, stating:

> It can be stated with confidence that there is practically no Native tax outstanding by Natives who are living permanently in the Native Reserves or other tribal areas, where Chiefs, Headmen and Kraal heads render valuable service in assisting in collecting tax from those Natives under their tribal control.[98]

African Tax, beyond being a source of revenue, functioned as a virtual labour recruiting mechanism in which tax-defaulters were arrested and sent to *chibharo* not only to earn the required amount but also to ease the labour shortages on the mines and European farms.[99] The system of Tax Advice Forms (TAFs), started in 1924, improved colonial administrators' understanding and control over labour movements as well as the state's capacity to raise tax from Africans working outside their reserves and districts. TAFs enabled the state to collect tax from migrant workers in the district of employment rather than of origin. Local administrators could thus keep track of the tax-paying inhabitants from *their* district and the major destinations of the districts' migrant labour force.

However, by the 1940s, managing TAFs became a bookkeeping nightmare owing to the high numbers engaged in labour migration, estimated to have varied at a rate of between 31 and 47 percent between 1922 and 1949.[100] A panel tasked with looking into African Taxation in SR made up of S.M. Makings, the Economic Adviser to the Minister of Native Affairs, and R.A. Illingworth, an Accountant on Special Assignment to the Southern Rhodesia Treasury, noted that "evasion is a common feature and the difficulty of attempting to find defaulters adds heavily to collection costs".[101]

The Native Tax Act was then repealed on the 1st of July 1961 and the Personal Tax Act came into effect on the same day.[102] The Personal Tax would be made through the employers for those in employment. The Robinson Commission of 1961 had also provisionally

[98] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1960, 12.
[99] See: C. Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-33,* (London: Pluto, 1976).
[100] Paul Mosley, *The Settler Economies: Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia 1900- 1963,* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), 149-50.
[101] S.M. Makings and R.A. Illingworth, "African Taxation in Southern Rhodesia – Integration with the current Income Tax System", October 29th, 1956.
[102] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1961, 5.

recommended that District Administration be relieved of any revenue collection functions.[103] However, the Working Party, set up to consider this recommendation, suggested the recommendation be extended and that a Districts Accounts Branch be set up to provide a revenue collecting and an accounting service to the various agencies working in the districts. By 1962, Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo and Umtali had set up District Account Offices under the control of the Secretary to the Treasury.[104] In effect, the District Commissioners (DCs) lost the sole administrative mechanism providing them with systematic insight into oscillating labour migration from the districts.

After TAFs were done away with, the role and significance of African chiefs was further accentuated in order to stem the outmigration to towns. For example, an amendment to the LAA was designed to allow rural chiefs into Hotels sited within European areas and inviting chiefs to officiate at official occasions. In 1962, for instance, Chief Seke opened a council beer hall to specifically sell Chibuku brewed beer.[105] In 1966 Chief Chinamhora was invited to take the salute "in full chief's regalia" during the BSAP march-past held on Pioneer Day staged in the Harare Township. Briggs rationalised this gesture by stating that "many of his [Chief Chinamhora's] subjects are employed in the Greater Salisbury area".[106] Such visits demonstrated the government's attempts to *re-traditionalise* the African urban community and to legitimate the state's policy on the chiefs as the sole voice representing Africans in the country. They were also designed to instil some chiefly discipline in the urban areas following acts of civil disobedience in the earlier part of the 1960s with the rise of nationalist movements. When Chief Chinamhora passed away on the 21st of August 1968, his death received wide coverage in the various townships through several municipal newsletters as well as a short obituary in the DAA's 1968/9 mayoral year report.[107]

Other efforts to heighten the status of chiefs were contained in legislation such as the Tribal Trust Lands Act of 1967.[108] This Act gave the chiefs power to allocate land to their "subjects". Villagers without freehold title became completely dependent on the chief to get

[103] SR: Report of the Commission appointed to Inquire and Report on Administrative and Judicial Functions in the Native Affairs and District Courts departments. Chairman Sir Victor Robinson, Salisbury: Government Printer, 1961.
[104] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1962, 32.
[105] Kudzai G. Taruza, "The Economic History of Rufaro Brewery 1964 – 1979", (BA Honours Dissertation, UZ, 2013), 1.
[106] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1968-1969, 4.
[107] Ibid, 3.
[108] See: Jocelyn Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State-making and the Politics of the Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003*(Harare: Weaver Press, 2006).

access to plots of land. Some nominal power and responsibilities were also transferred from the DCs to the chiefs. Further, the 1969 Rhodesian constitution fixed potentially important national political roles for the chiefs in the Senate whereby 10 chiefs were elected by the National Council of Chiefs to the Senate. On this basis, the RF government claimed that it had provided a legitimate channel for African political activities. The success of these measures was, however, mixed.

In an attempt to buttress chiefly authority, the Registration Act made it a requirement that all African men's registration certificates had to carry the names of their chief, village and headmen regardless of where the holder was born.[109] This served to ease repatriating those judged to have been in the city illegally to be directed to their rural homes as pointed out on their registration certificates.[110] In 1964, the colonial government went to great lengths, in aid of this, when it investigated 400 families that had settled at Happy Valley, just outside Salisbury. The Secretary for Local Government and Housing, following the investigation, clearly felt vindicated when he reported that:

> .....it proved necessary to provide other accommodation only for about a quarter of that number [that is 400]. The balance had accommodation available or could claim accommodation from their employers, or had no legitimate reasons for residing in the Salisbury area.[111]

Chiefs were also given legal power to judge civil and lesser criminal cases through the African Law and Tribal Courts Act of 1969 and were called on (in circuits) to settle disputes by arbitration concerning "their subjects" living in the urban areas.[112] The African Marriages Act appointed certain chiefs to work as African Marriage Officers whose mandate was to register all "customary" marriages involving African people coming from their area of jurisdiction. Chief Seke and several other chiefs from other parts of the country were appointed to become marriage officers in 1972.[113]

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[109] The Salisbury African Welfare Society, Chairman's Report 1960-61, 1.

[110] This particular discourse has a very recent resonance with the peoples of Zimbabwe as this was the very basis used by the Mugabe regime to justify Operation *Murambatsvina* i.e. a military style "clean-up" campaign that ejected half a million people from the urban areas of Zimbabwe.
See: Solidarity Peace Trust, "Discarding the Filth *Operation Murambatsvina:* Interim report on the Zimbabwean government's "urban cleansing" and forced eviction campaign May/June 2005", 27 June 2005.

[111] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st Dec. 1964, 15.

[112] Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs: 1967, 9.

[113] Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs: 1972, 11.

* Despite the appointments, the number of "customary" marriages that were registered in 1972 in line with the African Marriages Act actually fell by 1 052 from the previous year's total.

However, in Goromonzi chiefly recognition was both partial and inconsistent. From the late 1950s, African Councils were promoted to create political and economic forums, which would absorb African middle-class energies and ambitions. The Natives Councils Act (NCA) of 1957 expanded on earlier concepts dating back to 1931 and 1937. The NCA simultaneously tried to institute African self-government in the reserves while also providing for the "re-tribalisation" of African rural areas through having the local chiefs appointed to the councils. The major new feature in the NCA was that councils were only to be set up where there were definite local requests for them. Members would be elected to the councils and have a right to impose taxes and to fulfil the roles of the earlier councils such as road building, education and so on. By the end of 1962 there were 55 such councils in existence nationwide.[114] The increasing emphasis placed on community development and African Councils tended in practice to downgrade the role of chiefs. These contradictory tendencies and the resistance brought about by the LHA led to a counter-lobby to emerge from within the NAD which stressed the need to co-opt chiefs if community cooperation was to be achieved.

The Mangwende Commission's high praise for the NCA exposed a deliberate attempt to institute an alternative and distinct domain for African socio-cultural and political articulation. The Commission described the Act as:

> A rare and outstanding document…far from prescribing regimentation from above, the Act invites self-expression and initiative from within… the Act recognises that the process of transition involves both the traditional and the modern and it seeks to combine the two in a single structure of local government.[115]

It did not take long, however, for the African Councils to start languishing. Many folded and many more were in a precarious state because of lack of support and because many were geographically fragmented. I have also previously argued elsewhere that the:

> .....reorganisation of political relations in the reserves [through African Councils was] indispensable to [the state's] overarching object of separation and....to reinforce institutions of patriarchy to regulate the mobility of youth and women into urban/European spaces.[116]

[114] Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs and CNC: 1962, 17.
[115] SR: Report of the Mangwende Reserve Commission of Inquiry, 1961. Chairman James Scott Brown. Salisbury. 1961.
[116] Eric Kushinga Makombe, "The Influence of State and Patriarchy on African Migration and Gender: The Case of Zimbabwe (1945 -2010)" (Paper presented to the *International Conference on African Migration and Gender in Eastern Africa II: Setting the Agenda* at the Mbarara University of Technology & Science, Uganda 5 – 6 July 2010).

Most of the African Councils were strictly male entities that assumed responsibility for many of the construction projects in the reserves which relied on forced labour. Consequently, the frustration, if not the blame, shifted partly away from the NC, and on to the councillors. Also, as Bessant and Muringai assert, "council meetings were designed to limit direct popular participation" as the councillors' constituents could not easily gain recognition to speak for themselves, and attending the council meetings consumed time and money which "everyday folks" could ill afford to spend.[117] The presence of the NC, who served as chair by virtue of his office, meant that the meetings would be conducted according to the assumptions of the colonial system and not what engaged rural society. Indeed the final say in all important matters still rested with the NC. Therefore, while advisory councils were created so that "trusted" Africans could help with the practical side of administration, they invariably had little power, even of a patrimonial sort, and were not viable sites for vibrant political activity.

Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter has detailed the rural-urban linkages the coloniser tried to *enframe*. This entailed perpetuating the rather convenient notion around the "tribesman" persona with supposedly unrestricted access to land. This was intended to reinforce separation along racial lines but also to justify sub-economic rates of pay in the urban environment. This, in part, was enforced through quantitative controls on mobility but also through various rural intervention measures designed to promote a rural absorption process. However, the result of these measures was patently either ambiguous or disastrous as the reserves continued to waste away in the face of increasing stock and population pressure.

This discussion has exposed a colonial project that was far from coherent and uninterrupted in its quest to *dualise* socio-spatial linkages between the rural and urban spaces. Policy application was often trapped in a mire of problems. These included intra-state contestations pitting the SCC against the central government over who should bear the cost of reproducing African labour power. This often led to disparate initiatives owing to the lack of a unified administration, with the result that the mixed initiatives remained localised and under-funded.

While policy measures such as the AUAARA and the LHA were the product of political compromises that tried to provision African labour in both the farming and manufacturing sectors without the attendant costs of reproducing such labour, these failed to factor in one

[117] Leslie Bessant and Elvis Muringai, "Peasants, Businessmen, and Moral Economy in the Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe: 1930-1968," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **19**/4 (1993), 586.

crucial variable: the Goromonzi migrants themselves. As Freund points out, by trying to confine Africans to "tribal" cages, seeking to extract labour without treating them as "workers", "townsmen", "citizens", "colonial regimes discovered that Africans would not stay in the limited roles assigned to them".[118] Africans were unprepared or unwilling to accept these narrowly defined pathways and often resorted to using the greatest asset they had at their command – their mobility – to maximise opportunities presented in either the rural or urban context. Thus, the often half-baked and equivocal policies entailed in the colonial *enframing* project created crevices which the African rural migrants to the city sought to exploit. This is the subject matter of the succeeding chapters.

[118] Freund, *African City*, 119.

CHAPTER 3: Reframing Rural-Urban Mobility: Migrant Initiatives

This chapter examines how migrants from Goromonzi settled in Salisbury and fostered enduring forward and backward linkages with the rural hinterland of that city. I explore the changing notions and perspectives of the urban environment through the lens of the migrants' journey to Salisbury, and the frequency of such movements, against a backdrop of improving transportation. These conditions invariably affected notions of space and mobility. I also explore the various strategies that migrants used to institutionalise oscillation that suited the farming calendar in the reserves. These strategies gave labour migrants greater control over the labour process and income accumulation. This chapter argues that rural-urban interactions were at the core human experiences that were never, in any event, unidirectional and were never merely a function of the urban economy. Instead, there was reciprocity of movement shaped by the migrants' own needs and aspirations.

The first section of this chapter argues that the masculine typology of migration, in the case of Goromonzi, masks more than it reveals. I note that the feminisation of migration was particularly significant in the Goromonzi District mostly because of the relative accessibility of Salisbury. Goromonzi women went from accompanying men on labour migration to being direct actors in migration. However, their decision to migrate was not only socially-induced but also involved an economic adaptation to maximise the benefits of both rural and urban spaces.

The second section focuses on labour migrants' employment and migratory patterns. It contends that these were part of rural-household strategies aimed at attaining, in the first instance, food security. I argue that while social and economic conditions may have provided much pressure to migrate to Salisbury, the agricultural seasons still had immediacy in the lives of those who migrated to Salisbury. Thus, the livelihoods of the migrant families became dependent on rural reserve incomes and on urban incomes and both sectors were used over time to create a workable combination for economic security. The section then proceeds to describe some of the means of mobility the migrants used, and how these were entrenched in both the rural and urban spaces.

The third section focuses on the particular phenomenon of school migrancy in which children from the Goromonzi District took part. I contend that school migrancy developed directly in

response to the lack of well-resourced schools in the district. But the migratory patterns that emerged were framed around both pre-existing family structures and the demands of the urban context. I begin to make suggestions about how this form of migration had far-reaching effects on rural society – themes I will develop in Chapters 6 and 7. But this section, nonetheless, explains how the institutionalisation of school migrancy socialised children and exposed them to a nascent political culture as well as to various urban influences relayed by their friends.

The fourth section shows how welfare considerations encouraged greater rural affinities. I follow how the migrant community built the themes associated with death, burial and birth into their own social conversations. The discussion explains how these constructions perpetuated family affiliations and other kin networks in the urban space and how these were extended to include other forms of *welfarist* associations. I also show how the rural migrants based in Salisbury mastered their mobility to access several health care choices ranging from "western" medicine to "traditional herbalism" and faith healing.[1] I argue that these health-seeking patterns were not only fostered across a knowledge divide but across the rural-urban divide and this framed a form of holistic health care system the migrants developed on their own terms.

Marital Migrancy[2] and Self-Making

Rural-urban migration practices under colonialism often defied official policy. In the period following World War II, migrant flows stopped being mainly masculine as increasing numbers of women migrated to the cities. Numerous Native Affairs Department (NAD) reports contain information about women and, for that matter, about family migration and departure of children. An exasperated Native Commissioner (NC) for Marandellas admitted that "it is discouraging to find that a large number of women make their way to Salisbury, in spite of every obstacle being raised to prevent them".[3] Equally, the Department of African Administration (DAA) lamented the presence of "unauthorised females" who visited the single male quarters:

[1] I adopt the phrase "traditional herbalism" from Rolf P. A. Dauskardt, "The Changing Geography of Traditional Medicine: Urban Herbalism on the Witwatersrand, South Africa," *GeoJournal*, **22**/3 (1990), 275.
[2] This is borrowed from Teresa Barnes' notion and detailing of "Marital Migrancy" that defined migrant wives as married women who "undertook a rotating combination of urban domestic and rural agricultural labour".
Teresa Barnes, *"We Women Worked so Hard": Gender, Urbanization, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1999), 110-117.
[3] Report of the NC Marandellas for the year ended 31st Dec. 1946, 20.

> ...many of these women are claimed by the occupants of the single quarters to be affianced wives in course of marriage but in respect of whom statutory marriages have not yet been registered, on the other many are found to be plain prostitutes or yet run-away girls from the native reserves who enter into "Mapoto" agreements (concubinage) [*sic*] with men who are either single or who keep their official wives and families at home in the rural areas.[4]

To an extent, the steady drop in the proportion of urban Africans in employment reflected an improving balance in family structure as more women and children began living in town. The ratio of males to each female among urban Africans changed from 18.0 in 1904 to 3.0 in 1936 and 1.5 in 1974.[5] The disproportion of the African male and female urban population was therefore decreasing, particularly if the large number of illegal women lodgers is considered. Both Barnes and Scarnecchia note separately that by the 1940s urban family life was already fairly common, and workers' demands were partly inspired by the needs of urban women and children.[6] According to Phimister, 20 000 women were estimated to be living in Salisbury's townships in the 1950s.[7] Many of these women came to town as wives and mothers and the number of families living in town increased. Therefore, rather than a single pattern or rural-urban migration, these observations suggest coexisting circulatory migration of single males with other forms of migration to town.

This was confirmed in a 1966 Central Statistical Office (CSO) survey of the Chinamhora Reserve to find out the corresponding age and sex distributions. The survey revealed that the overall proportion of women residents was not that much higher than that of men.[8] This shows

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[4] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1951-1952, 6.
Mapoto, literally translating "pots", refers to consensual arrangements whereby a man and a woman cohabit without payment of *roora* or *lobola* (bride-wealth). The term *mapoto* is thought to have been coined in reference to women "beating" pots and utensils without and outside socially recognised and approved marriage. Culturally, a newly married woman was given a young girl to accompany her and help her with household tasks. The young girl washed the pots and other utensils for the new wife. Only women who cohabited un-customarily washed pots and dishes themselves since there was nobody socially and customarily assigned to perform this chore for them.
Rudo Gaidzanwa, *Images of Women in Zimbabwean Literature*, (Harare, The College Press, 1985), 36.
[5] Michael A.H. Smout, "Urbanization of the Rhodesian Population," *Zambezia*, **4**/2 (1975-1976), 87.
[6] Teresa Barnes, "'So that a Labourer Could Live with his Family': Overlooked Factors in Social and Economic Strife in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe, 1945-1952," *Journal of Southern African Studies* **21**/1 (1995); Timothy Scarnecchia, "Poor Women and Nationalist Politics: Alliances and Fissures in the Formation of Nationalist Political Movement in Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1950-6," *Journal of African History*, **37** (1996).
[7] Ian R. Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, (London: Longman, 1988), 259.
[8] AA de Roux, "Some Aspects of the population of Chinamora TTL," *The Rhodesia Science News* **4**/4 (1970), 135-136.

that by the mid-1960s African women were no less engaged in oscillatory migration to Salisbury. As early as 1958 the Plewman Commission had even estimated that between 40 and 50 percent of the African population of Salisbury made up family groups.[9] In other words, more and more families were transplanting their families into urban spaces. By 1970 Salisbury's municipality showed a ratio of 1.75 married to one single man.[10] Therefore, the number of urban African family social units was growing.

Because African women, compared to men, had a relatively greater potential mobility and freedom from state interference, owing to the preferential recruitment of male labour, women often chose a rotating combination of urban domestic and rural agricultural labour. This became a workable and sensible option for married women as long as rural reserves held out at least some promise of an agricultural yield. Marital migrancy therefore maintained some permutation of family life under the colonial yoke. Barnes argues that

> Migrant wives....represented the ultimate solution to the problem of the reproduction of African colonial society: they did everything. In yearly cycles, they ministered to the personal needs of urban husbands, raised children, and either managed or personally performed rural agricultural production.[11]

Women often developed their own migration routes and patterns of sequential migration. Many wives divided their time between town and country in the early years of marriage and young adulthood, mostly according to an agricultural schedule. During the rainy season, when planting and weeding chores had to be done in the reserves, and at harvest time, many of the women returned to work in the rural reserves.[12] Their evidence suggests a phenomenon that was more structured than simple occasional visits from rural wives to their urban husbands. However, the wives' visits could also have been motivated by more personal reasons – such as to ensnare errant husbands who had perhaps strayed from their marital vows.[13] The resulting "drama" from such unannounced visits was always a constant source of "entertainment" in the urban

[9] Report of the Urban African Affairs Commission, 1958 (Plewman Commission), Salisbury, 1958, 18.
[10] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing: 1970, 8.
[11] Barnes, *"We Women Worked so Hard,"* 112.
[12] Separate interviews with M. Chisvo, 14 November 2011 and A. Mushangwe on 3 January 2012.
[13] Gaidzanwa explores the treatment of this theme in several Shona novels written from the 1960s.
See: Gaidzanwa, *Images of Women in Zimbabwean Literature*, esp. Chapter on "Rural and Urban Women", 67-86.

townships, as the irate wife usually went on to "unload her anger on the semi-clad *mapoto* wife".[14]

Despite the Salisbury City Council (SCC) building new satellite townships in the 1950s, such as Mabvuku, Kambuzuma, and Mufakose, earmarked for permanent family housing, marital migrancy did not disappear. It continued to be a strategy used by some families to increase socio-economic returns. Even by the early 1970s, up to 57 percent of the hostel dwellers were married and most of them had families in the rural reserves.[15] Sixty-seven percent of the wives of married hostel dwellers would visit their husbands in town occasionally, especially, those living nearest to Salisbury.[16]

In Mufakose, which was ostensibly designed to house nuclear family constellations, 23 percent of all the household wives remained in the rural areas and 68.8 percent of the wives normally resident in town moved to the reserves during the agricultural season.[17] These wives were often not in wage employment, and were sent by their husbands – willingly in some cases, less willingly in others – to maintain the family's plot in the reserves. Muchena's survey of Highfields, in the late 1970s noted longer stays of up to six months, or longer, among some of her respondents. One of them commented:

> We have been married for 13 years and I go home [to the rural areas] every year. I should say I stay there. I only come during the holiday season. You see we cannot afford to live on my husband's wages. I help out with the food and other small things.[18]

Because women spent their time so evenly divided between town and country it was difficult to say which journeys constituted the visits, as the comment by Muchena's informant suggests. For those wives who were away for several months at a time, this could be said to have represented constantly recurring short-term migration. But in the case of those who went away to the reserves for just a few weeks at critical planting and harvest times, these may have been regarded as visiting.

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[14] Interview with T. Munaku, Mbare, Harare, 31 July 2011.
[15] Valerie Moller, "Migrant Labour in Harare Hostels," *Zambezia*, **5**/2 (1977), 145.
[16] Ibid.
[17] V. Moller, *Urban Commitment and Involvement among Black Rhodesians: A Comparative Study of Migration and Urbanisation in Three Salisbury African Townships*, (Durban: CASS, University of Durban, 1978), 242.
[18] 'Respondent' quoted in Olivia N. Muchena, "Women in Town." Centre for Applied Social Sciences, UZ, 1980.

Thus women, including those in urban family accommodation, as late as the 1970s, continued to oscillate between the rural and urban spaces. [19] While women had first migrated to Salisbury from the rural reserves to supplement rural family income, by the 1970s the inadequacy of the husband's urban wages and the limited economic opportunities for women in town sustained the trends of marital migrancy.

Colonial views and representations of African women – born of colonial fears of "unattached" and mobile women and the need to exercise control – often restricted or denied women's mobility and economic activities in the societies in which they lived. The highly masculine colonial discourse tended to inscribe negative connotations on the African female presence in the urban space. Unattached and mobile African women were portrayed as "alarmingly diseased".[20] Colonial (mostly) male officials, socialised in gendered societies, besides only counting men as the city's official migrant population often labelled women and children as "dependents." In essence, African women in urban areas were not recognised as part of the urban environment, even though they had been part of the urban landscape since early colonial times.

Jeater argues that African women's presence in town was also obscured by African men who claimed urban public spaces as "male space".[21] Equally, West details the various campaigns male members of the African elite mounted from the 1920s to the 1950s against "joint drinking," (women and men drinking together at the municipal beer-halls). These were aimed at trying to keep a social distance between the female members of African elite households, especially their wives, and "unattached" male workers who were the beer-halls' principal clientele.[22]

Such campaigns were not limited to the African petty bourgeoisie, as various social codes, perhaps influenced by patriarchal beliefs, also demarcated access to space according to gender

[19] For a similar discussion on Lesotho see: C. Murray, *Families Divided: The Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) esp. the Introduction.

[20] Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, "Women in African Colonial Histories: An Introduction" in *Women in African Colonial Histories*, eds. Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 2002), 6.

[21] Diana Jeater, "No Place for a Woman: Gwelo Town, Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1920" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **26**/1 (2000), 42.

*Jeater was referring to Gwelo (now Gweru) women before 1920 but this was equally true for Salisbury women even during the later part of the colonial period. See also: Teresa Barnes, "Virgin Territory?: Travel and Migration by African Women in Twentieth-Century Southern Africa," in *Women in African Colonial Histories*.

[22] See: Michael West, "Liquor and Libido: 'Joint Drinking' and the Politics of Sexual Control in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1920s-1950s," *Journal of Social History* **30**/3 (1997).

among the African working classes. Wilson Madimu recalls that one of the bars he used to frequent was referred to as "Makoti," which no women were allowed to patronise.[23] In essence, men viewed beer-halls as male institutions, chiefly because they were the first to migrate to the towns in large numbers. Scarnecchia argues that "for the working classes and non-elites, the city-rural distinction was often the more important" as they created a "moral and physical division between the rural home (as a place of parental authority) and the city (as a place where young women are constantly at threat from young men)".[24] So, in much the same way that the European coloniser tried to use domesticity to separate African female and male labour, African men also tried to divide the living space and to redefine "much of urban space as a male domain".[25]

In response, some single Shona women were driven into marriages of convenience with urban-based men, or other types of paid sexual relationships, to access housing because colonial housing policy regarded them as constant minors.[26] But this was also in part motivated by attempts to escape patriarchal sanctions some women associated with rural society. It is therefore not difficult to explain why some Shona women entered such unions with foreign men from matrilineal-based societies, especially from Malawi.[27] Such unions simultaneously redefined and challenged prevalent gender and moral debates. The inevitability of non-sanctioned marriages and living arrangements, such as *mapoto* marriages, led some Shona men to denigrate the women

[23] Interview with Wilson Madimu, Madimu Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.
Makoti refers to a newly introduced bride within the extended family and as such this person had to observe great social exclusion until she had been fully integrated and introduced to the family.
[24] Timothy Scarneccchia, "The Mapping of Respectability and the Transformation of African Residential Space" in *Sites of Struggle*, 153.
[25] Ibid, 152.
[26] Koni Benson and J. Chadya, "Ukubhinya: Gender and Sexual Violence in Bulawayo Colonial Zimbabwe, 1946-56" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **31**/3 (2005), 590-591.
*Until 1976 no woman without a valid marriage certificate (registered or solemnised) was put on the housing waiting list and in the event that the woman's husband died the DAA would endeavour to try and establish who the legal guardian was and in most instances this would be the woman's father or brother but in any event the end result would see the woman vacating the house and returning to relatives in the rural reserves.
See: "A Study of the Life of the African at Harare African Township, Salisbury: Part 1, Housing," *The Central African Journal of Medicine*, **7**/2 (1961); Annual Report of the Director of Native Administration, 30th June 1955; Muchena, "Women in Town".
[27] Except for the Tumbuka and the Ngoni, the majority of the migrants who emigrated from Malawi, who were mainly Chewa, were matrilineal. Among the Shona, as in all patrilineal societies, the man pays *roora* 'bride-wealth' to his bride's parents and the bride goes to live with the man and his family. In contrast, Chewa men pay very little or no bride-wealth and it is the man who goes to live at his wife's home.

in such unions. To the Shona men, the Chewa matrilineal customs threatened Shona marriage customs and male authority over women and this made Malawian men "lesser men".[28]

Scarnecchia also notes that by the early 1950s there was often a "need" for the poorer, less educated and newly arrived female immigrants from the rural areas to define themselves as prostitutes owing to the limited possibilities for a woman living in town and needing accommodation.[29] Further, because of the unbalanced nature of colonial legal rights, if a marriage broke down as a result of adultery, the man could sue for compensation while the woman could only sue for divorce. So, by feigning the prostitute identity some women were able to integrate themselves bodily on to the urban space and this also assumed the role of a defence mechanism that was successfully employed during court cases.

The strategies female urban migrants employed within Salisbury amount to a form of "body politics" (that is, the dominated challenging the institutionalised or internalised confinements of the dominant).[30] Such forms of "body politics" were encouraged by the migratory experience and allowed women to transfer their experiences of new ways of being into local contexts through acts of consumption and labour deployment. Such "body politics" mirrored *new* takes at self-making by marginalised social groups at the level of identity that sporadically enabled disempowered migrant groups to reject fixed structures of authority and oppression.[31]

However, the "downside" was these women increasingly appeared less like the *mapoto* wives of the pre-1940s than as commercial prostitutes. The moral stigma attached to *mapoto* unions often collapsed into the emerging township definition of prostitution. The inaccurate double-barrelled idea which was often used (that is *mapoto and* prostitution) conflated clearly diverse social

[28] Interviews with Baison and Bechani quoted in E.K. Makombe, "Place Attachment, Operational Memory, and Symbols of Home '*Mumusha Wembare*'" (Paper presented at IFAS: Memory and City International Conference in Johannesburg, SA on 14 Sept. 2011). See also: Pedzisai Mashiri, "The Language of Ethnic Contempt: Malawian Zimbabwean-Shona Rivalry" (African Languages and Literature Seminar Paper, University of Zimbabwe n.d).

[29] Timothy Scarneccchia, "The Mapping of Respectability and the Transformation of African Residential Space" in *Sites of Struggle*, 153.

[30] "Body politics" is an idea championed by radical feminist literature that identifies the body surface as a uniquely important locus for the configuration and reconfiguration of identity, sexuality, and gender.
See: Judith Butler. *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex".* New York: Routledge, 1993; Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile bodies: Toward a corporeal feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

[31] See: Lynette A. Jackson, "When in White Man's Town: Zimbabwean Women Remember Chibeura", in Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi (eds), *Women in African Colonial Histories*, 192; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 168-9.

practices. Similarly, female *shebeen* dancers were often grouped with prostitutes because various groups associated *shebeens* with the commercial sex trade. In this way, the prevailing gender relations helped to map, or inscribe, notions of respectability on different sections of the township.[32]

The growing participation and experiences of Goromonzi women in the urban workforce, particularly in the tobacco export-processing firms of Salisbury, captures the ambivalence of, and transformations in body practices associated with female migration. On the one hand, migration provided women with an opportunity for employment previously denied them. On the other hand, it tied women to forms of duty and social control that fixed new forms of subordination and domination. The European employers often developed stereotypes of the economic performance of Africans and consequently tried to assign the few African women engaged in Salisbury in certain niche tasks. For instance, Felistas Makiwa from Chikwaka who felt that she was fairly educated, having completed Standard 6, was employed in the monotonous task of cutting thread at a certain shoemaking company when she came to look for urban employment in 1966.[33] Quarries farm in Salisbury South, which employed 15 women (in 1960), "considered [women] to be more satisfactory and conscientious workers than men".[34] The Tobacco Export Corporation and the Downend Tobacco Grading Company, believing that women had more nimble fingers, also had a preference for female labour, especially in grading and packing.[35] A Mr Meyer, the Manager of the Bernstein Manufacturing Company, engaged the services of six women as sewing machinists, but his primary motivation was to try to avoid the increasing rates of pay for male machinists.[36] In this way, women were used to undercut male wages in Salisbury's industries such as in tobacco processing barns.

Apart from the opportunities to aim for personal autonomy and self-expression through engagement with "modernity" and progress, women were in equal measure attracted to the urban areas because of the continuing need to relieve cash-strapped rural households. Vambe's recollections of a certain woman named Misi, who left their village in Chishawasha to become a

[32] Scaneccchia, "The mapping of respectability," 151.
[33] Interview with Felistas Makiwa (nee Mabeza), Mbare, Harare, 25 April 2012.
[34] (Restricted) SR Dept. of Labour Monthly Report: July 1959, 4, in NAZ S2239 Labour Reports.
[35] SR Dept. of Labour Monthly Report: February 1960, 11, in NAZ S2239 Labour Reports.
[36] SR Dept. of Labour Monthly Report: Nov. 1959, 5, in NAZ S2239 Labour Reports.

prostitute in Salisbury, emphasises this point. Before Misi left for Salisbury she had struggled to support her children because her husband, a migrant labourer, provided little support and would "come and see his family very rarely". However, once she became a prostitute, Misi's economic standing improved dramatically as "she came to her parents' home loaded with gifts".[37] Women who entered urban employment because of the absence of male remittances did not simply couch their decisions in the collapse of established practices. Instead, they spoke of performing duties within the family. This shows that, in much the same manner as male labourers, female labourers migrated to Salisbury as a result of crises in peasant rural households in the Goromonzi District.

Women, apart from engaging in prostitution, were also centrally involved within the informal sector, especially in market gardening, as we shall explore in the next chapter. While there was some liberating potential in such acts of self-making, women who tried to assert their independence in this way were often in *danger* of being ostracised from rural society or being labelled as morally corrupt or "loose" by both the urban authorities and their African male colleagues.[38] This theme will be explored further in the next chapter. However, at this stage, it is important to point out, following White's thesis which views sex work as reproductive work, regardless of how the money was earned, repatriated incomes from "working" daughters generated consumption opportunities for parents which raised the family's social status.[39]

Straddling, Commuting and Avoiding Unemployment Outcomes

African male migrants from Goromonzi were engaged in similar patterns of oscillatory migration. The prevailing atmosphere of job insecurity in the city forced many to fall back on the social security system of peasant farming communities. Most of the migrant workers from Goromonzi reserves were low-paid labourers, who usually got employment as domestic workers or building assistants. Thus, despite the high levels of male absence from the reserves, many rural immigrants were, to varying degrees, part of the rural social scene either as weekend or

[37] L. Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, (London: Heinemann, 1972), 199-200.
[38] Michael O. West, "Liquor and Libido", 647.
See also: See: Gaynor Paradza, "Livelihood Decision-Making Experiences of Single Women-Directed Hearth-Holds in Communal Farming Areas of Zimbabwe," (Conference Paper presented to the Colloquium on Exploring Hidden Dimensions of the Zimbabwe Crises, University of the Witwatersrand, 2 July 2009).
[39] See: Louis White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

part-time visitors (see table 3.2 below). Owing to the low wages in industry, families deliberately organised themselves to maximise returns from the rural and the urban sectors. In this way there were always some members away earning cash incomes and some members looking after the rural home. Others, however, only went to find waged employment periodically as the need arose.

Native Tax Registers are a useful indicator of the transience of African rural-urban migrants from the 1940s into the early 1960s.[40] The following table culled from the tax returns from a village under Tawanira Mhembere, a Headman in the Chihota Reserve next to Seke, probably captures, in part, the working life cycle of some of the men who migrated to various centres of employment.[41]

Table 3.1: Tax Returns: Mhembere Village 1947-1951.

Name	**1947**	**1948**	**1949**	**1950**	**1951**
Mungati	Prison – Salisbury	Salisbury	Salisbury	Salisbury	_
Jero	_	Salisbury	Salisbury	Salisbury	Salisbury
Mugarisanwa	Ex RAR-Salisbury	Irrigation Department	_	Gwelo	QueQue – Roads Department
Zwomunu	Salisbury a/c	Salisbury	Salisbury	Salisbury – Dale Dev. Pen	Marandellas
Musarurgwa	Salisbury a/c	_	Salisbury	Salisbury n/e	Salisbury n/e
Takundwa	Zwemuna – Salisbury	Salisbury	Salisbury	Salisbury – Makoza	Salisbury – T.O. Jenkins
Kufakunesu	Atlas Quarries – Salisbury	Jackson Brothers – Salisbury	_	_	_

Source: NAZ S3540/1-2 Chief Chihota: Native Tax Registers 1947-1951.

A series of surveys by NAD officials in the Goromonzi District in the 1950s, aimed at tightening the remission of Native Tax, revealed that the maximum number of male taxpayers at any given time did not exceed 50 percent in many of the reserves, as shown in the table below.

[40] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC for the Year 1961, 5.

[41] While the Chihota Reserve was located in the adjacent Marandellas District it shares cultural and environmental affinities with the reserves in Goromonzi and other strong parallels such as distance and the preoccupation of its inhabitants such that this example holds. I was unable to obtain tax registers that pertain particularly to the reserves in the Goromonzi District. So, the data from Chihota is to be taken as surrogate evidence.

Table 3.2: Male Absenteeism in Selected Goromonzi Reserves.

Reserve	Year	Total number of taxpayers	Permanently resident (%)	Weekend visitors (%)	Part-time visitors (%)
Chinyika	1953	450	20	n/a	n/a
Chinamhora	1953	2 121	41	n/a	n/a
Special Native Area B (Dema)	1957	126	42	33	25
Special Native Area C (Rutongo)	1957	n/a	50	50 (weekend + part-time visitors)	
Kunzwi	1957	652	48	28.7 (weekend + part-time visitors)	

Source: NAZ S 2808/1/26 Seki, Chikwaka, Goromonzi and Chinamhora Reserves: 1952 August 4 – 1959 Dec. 16

Further, micro-studies by the NAD at village level to find out the levels of male absenteeism in the Chinamhora Reserve observed that the "really permanent male resident is the man who has both stock and land", as shown in table 3.3 below.[42] This observation would serve to further qualify the discussion on the peasant option that I touched on in Chapter 1. It appears there was a further binary which emerged between those who had both land and stock and those who either had one of these (that is land or stock) or none at all. The former grouping was largely able to continue in the pursuit of peasant strategies and managed to exercise a degree of discretion in their decision to be engaged in wage employment well into the 1960s. The latter grouping however, was more prone to enter the urban areas in search of work. Riddell notes that "in some areas 40 percent of men between the ages of 16 and 30 [were] landless" and these are precisely the age groups that migrated into the various centres of employment.[43]

Table 3.3: Chinamhora Reserve: Random Sample of Male Absenteeism (Oct. To Dec. 1952)

Name of kraal	Number of taxpayers	Number of resident males	Total number of stock-owners	Total number of land-holders	Total number of stock and lands	Total number with stock only	Total number with lands only
Mabgaka	15	7	7	9	4	3	5
Guwa	53	21	20	30	14	6	16
Zhanda	44	32	20	21	17	3	4
Cheza	19	19	16	19	16	_	3
Sasa	34	17	15	22	13	2	9

Source: NAZ S 2808/1/26 Seki, Chikwaka, Goromonzi and Chinamhora Reserves: 1952 August 4 – 1959 Dec. 16.

[42] NAZ S 2808/1/26 Seki, Chikwaka, Goromonzi and Chinamhora Reserves: 1952 August 4 – 1959 Dec. 16; Report: Chinamhora Reserve (Goromonzi District) for Consideration by Assessment Committee appointed in terms of the LHA, 1951 by W. von Memerty (Asst. NC), dated 25th Feb. 1953.

[43] Roger Riddell, *The Land Question*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1978), 9.

There was therefore a gradient of absenteeism from the reserves varying from complete absence throughout the year, including the growing season, down to those who hardly ventured forth at all. For instance, in trying to make further contacts, I enquired from one of my informants, Wilson Madimu, if we could approach his sister and his response bears testimony to those who never ventured outside the reserves: "Aaaah *Tete* [his sister] NEVER went to Harare...so you could be wasting your time".[44] Vambe's memoirs capture a similar point when he notes, "not once in my life in Chishawasha did she [his grandmother, Madzidza] feel any need to go to the white man's jungle, Salisbury".[45] Also very few traditional healers/diviners living in close proximity to Salisbury ever engaged in labour migration because the diviners could acquire money through their craft, as we shall see below.

Migration, in any case, was not, in itself, an irreversible choice: several options were available between the extremes of going away forever and never moving. Besides, even those who had settled in town could still return to their rural homes to settle down in retirement. Overall, there was a high degree of mobility among people of all ages and sexes in the rural communities surrounding Salisbury. Consequently, Jordan argued that when calculating the population land factor, the *de jure* population had to be defined "as all those people who have a claim on the resources of the reserves for their subsistence regardless of whether they are in employment or away from the area."[46] This, in turn, points to the flows, and complex webs of economic and social relations of co-dependency, which tied together rural and urban localities.

Inversely, in 1958 the DAA reported that, "irrespective of the conditions under which they [Africans] live or are accommodated, in approximately 70 percent of the cases, the men concerned work an average of only 5.3 months for one employer before leaving in search of pastures new."[47] In figures provided by the Urban African Affairs Commission (UAAC), covering the period between July 1950 and June 1955, African labourers from within Southern Rhodesia alone were estimated to have turned over about 3.9 times yearly.[48] In 1957 the DAA estimated that each Southern Rhodesian migrant while working in Salisbury served an average of

[44] Interview with Wilson Madimu.
[45] L. Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), 132.
[46] J.D. Jordan, *Local government in Zimbabwe*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984), 3.
[47] George Hartley, "The Development of an African Urban Community," *NADA*, **35** (1958), 92.
[48] NAZ S51/3-6 Urban African Affairs Commission.

2.2 employers before leaving for his rural home.[49] Domestic servants, especially, received derogatory mention as being in "a state of habitual restlessness".[50]

Before the 1960s it is more than likely that cyclical climatic patterns, rather than the wage level, influenced the duration of stay on a job. This can also be deduced from the fact that the heaviest discharges of the SCC's labour force occurred during September and October.[51] And, while the SCC had begun registering successes in its efforts at labour stabilisation from around 1951, the DAA still lamented "that of those discharged 30.4% were married men for whose families quarters were provided".[52] This suggests that the concerns of the labour force went beyond being provided with family accommodation. Instead, people stayed longer in jobs according to the variable returns from the land (often determined by the annual rainfall).

Thus, an observable seasonal pattern emerged in the reserves, in which there was a build-up of personnel in December and January at the height of the growing season to help with agricultural tasks. This would later fall off as the men went out to look for work. However, for both sexes the highest proportion of the total population were present in the reserves in December, the main planting month, and the greatest proportion was absent in August, in the middle of the dry season. Therefore, the reserve communities in the Goromonzi District were no more disorganised in the period under investigation than they were in the pre-1940s. The export of surplus labour to the towns in a context of critical land shortages not merely prevented breaking up the rural social order, but positively reinforced it. Put differently, rural-urban relations arrived at a state of relatively stable equilibrium.

A drop in the labour turnover began to be noticed in the 1960s. For instance, in 1960 a drop in the labour turnover to 78.3 percent was recorded as opposed to 84 percent in the previous year.[53] At this time, the number of Africans in employment decreased as well as the percentage turnover of labour. This was, in part, because of the trade recession, but also partly the effect of an increase in wages from various labour adjustments and the resultant decrease in the size of the African labour force employed by industry. With growing unemployment among Africans they

[49] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1956-1957, 129.
[50] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1951-1952, 46.
[51] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1953-1954, 65.
[52] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1951-1952, 26.
[53] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1959-1960, 32.

were more reluctant to give up their employment. By the 1970s the period of time men spent away from the villages on their trips to town increased in large part because of the difficulty of getting another job after a long stay in the villages.[54]

However, a high turnover of jobs continued to be recorded in Salisbury well into the 1960s and 1970s, especially, among those earning lower incomes. This is corroborated by quantitative data which suggests migratory trends did not necessarily respect the employment curve. Moller estimated that, even by 1973, one in four jobs held by hostel dwellers (i.e. generally the worst paid) changed each year.[55] Also, 96 percent of hostel dwellers were (almost always) first generation urban as late on as the early 1970s. This is a sign that unemployment was not always a necessary deterrent in curbing the drift to the towns.[56]

Cornwell and Inder's findings among rural migrants in South Africa support this conclusion. They rightly argue that urban unemployment is not enough of a deterrent, as many "rural-urban migrants are remarkably successful in avoiding unemployment outcomes". They contend that "there is something about the motivation or qualities of the migrant" which transcends any economic modelling and "affords them greater success in avoiding unemployment".[57] Cornwell and Inder ventured to explain this by proposing that, "in giving up her [or his] roots the [rural] migrant would possess a great deal of motivation to search for employment, to the point where she [or he] may take up work which the non-migrant would not consider".[58] Bourdillon's 1973 field study of labour migrants from the north-western parts of Rhodesia confirms this point. It gathered that "people tend to judge their chances of finding employment on their own experiences and that of their close relatives rather than on rumours that employment is hard to find".[59]

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[54] Gordon L. Chavunduka, "Rural and Urban Life," *Zambezia*, **4**/2 (1976): 72.
[55] Moller, "Harare Hostels," 146.
The median income of the sampled hostel dwellers was Rh$32 and only 2 percent were receiving incomes above Rh$54.
[56] Ibid, 145.
[57] Katy Cornwell and Brett Inder, "Migration and Unemployment in South Africa: When Motivation Surpasses the Theory" (Working paper 02/04, Monash University, Australia, January 2004), 16.
[58] Ibid, 17.
[59] M.F.C. Bourdillon, "Labour Migrants from KoreKore Country" (Paper presented to the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa, Lesotho 1973), 5.

Sometimes migrants carved out exceptional relationships over the years with previous or regular employers: usually that "boss" would be the first port of call when looking for employment. Robert Chihoro, for instance, recalls that "I had a white man of mine [who lived in Msasa] and he could always find something for me".[60] Because wage employment was seen as a necessity it had to override possible difficulties. So, those who went looking for jobs had to be prepared to do whatever was thrown at him - however menial - because of the urgency of the situation back in the rural reserves.[61]

However, the job still had to be compatible with the weekend visits many Goromonzi migrants made to their rural homes. While some employers enforced some measures directed at "stabilising" their labour force, others made little effort even by the early 1970s. Tendai Chikove remembers his tenure at a certain security company as his worst job since he was only let off for one day in a month. This was unlike the free weekends he enjoyed while he worked at the police dog section in Mabelreign from 1965 to 1968 as a Dog Trainer. Chikove therefore decided to abandon the security job after only 11 months, even though he had not secured any alternative employment. Instead, he opted to return to his rural home in Mahusekwa to mull over his next move.[62]

Both quantitative and qualitative data (corroborated by my informants) point to the fact that there was a recognisable increase in the rate of oscillatory labour migration experienced in the 1960s and 1970s.[63] With improving transport communication it became possible for most men from Goromonzi to visit their rural homes nearly every weekend and on public holidays to supervise farming and see their families without having to stop employment. As a result, many locations in Salisbury were heavily "de-populated" over the weekends. This also made it possible for people

[60] Interview with R. Chihoro in Magodhi line in Seke on 12 November 2011.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Interview with T. Chikove, Hatfield, Harare, 18 May 2010.
[63] See: Gordon L. Chavunduka, "Social Change in a Shona Ward" (Occasional Paper Number 4, Dept. Of Sociology, University of Rhodesia,1970); Garbett, "Growth and Change in a Shona Ward" (Occasional Paper Series Number 1, African Studies Department, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland,1960); O. Muchena, "The Changing Perceptions of Women in Agriculture" in *Zimbabwe's Agricultural Revolution*, eds. Mandivamba Rukuni and C.K. Eicher, Harare: UZ Publications, 1994, 351; City of Salisbury: African Affairs Urban Plan: Objectives and Policies (Corporate Development Group), 13th September 1974; "Report on the African Affairs Section of the Urban Plan" 3; Also refer to Appendix 3.1.

like Wilson Madimu to be employed at Cairns Motors for 20 years from the early1960s.[64] Similarly, George Mujoma was employed by the British South Africa Police (BSAP), as a builder, from the early 1970s into the early 1990s, after it had been reconstituted as the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP).[65] This improved communication made the prospects of extra-local work more viable for the members of the rural reserves in Goromonzi and allowed for a greater rate of transfers of the influences and experiences within Salisbury.

By 1968 the traffic to and from Salisbury had grown so large that the Director of African Administration complained that "the Musika [bus] Terminus is no longer capable of carrying the traffic".[66] The bus terminal was often thronged with town-dwellers about to depart on rural visits and with rural dwellers arriving to visit town-based kinsfolk. Even those born in the city regularly visited the rural area occupied by other branches of their family. These visits came to represent a far greater volume of personal movement each year than the initial migrations. However, it is difficult to really draw a sharp distinction between them more so in the case of those who had "temporally" relocated to the reserves in between jobs.

A survey of bus movements conducted at the terminus in the Harare Township in early 1972 revealed that on an average weekday 9 600 passengers travelled to or arrived from African rural areas (nationwide) between 6am and 6.30pm. This figure rose to 13 700 on Saturdays and fell to 5 900 on Sundays. On the weekend, the survey noticed a marked outflow of 4 400 passengers between 12:30pm and 2:15pm on Saturdays and a heavy influx of 2 200 passengers between 4:30pm and 6:30 pm on Sunday.[67] This weekend cycle was reflective of a significant link between many urban Africans and rural society and how the work schedule ordered rural visiting schedules.

Many Africans travelled immediately after "knocking off" from work at midday on Saturday known in popular speech as a "half-day", and would return late on Sunday in time for work the following day. However, according to Absoleme Chikwanha, from the Seke Reserve, many still preferred to spend all Sunday at their rural home (*kumusha*) and catch the earliest bus back to

[64] Interview with W. Madimu.
[65] Interview with G. Mujoma at Mujoma Village on 14 November 2011.
[66] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1967-1968, 55.
[67] P.A. Hardwick, "the Transportation Systems" in *Salisbury: A Geographical Survey of the Capital of Rhodesia*, eds. G. Kay and M. Smout (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), 107.

Harare on Monday morning. They would then proceed directly to their workplaces and only return to their urban accommodation in the evening after work.[68] Undoubtedly, the shorter distances and accessibility of many of the reserves in Goromonzi made this option possible.

The migrants from the more distant reserves could only afford to make only one or two visits a year, often lasting about two weeks, whereas those from Goromonzi and Mazowe could make and receive, frequent and brief visits. In the 1970s, the median cost per occasional visit expressed in terms of the journey from Salisbury to the destination, was Rh$1.20 against Rh$0.70 for a regular visit.[69] According to Wilson Madimu, the bus fare (alone) from Salisbury to Seke cost "just 20 cents" and children would only pay half this amount during the 1960s and 1970s.[70] The frequency of visiting increased as more and more vehicles were introduced on an expanding road network; and as migration patterns moved closer to the long-term family migration. Shorter visits therefore replaced the longer periods of residence back in the reserves that were characteristic of circulatory labour migration.

By 1955, 61 public service licences had been issued to operators (nationwide) of what were termed Native Omnibus Services. The licensed operators were allowed to ply recognised routes when entering the city from the rural reserves and from the terminus in the Harare Township to the neighbouring reserves.[71] There were, however, some bus services, trucks and other miscellaneous vehicles used by small private companies or individuals, at the weekend or month-end, associated with peak periods of movements after paydays. Such operators were usually unregistered and worked at the fringes of the law. In this way, the Harare Township became an important centre of interaction for a wider group of men and women than those who actually lived in them and nearly all the Goromonzi rural population had at least seen and had a brief experience of Salisbury.

Wild argues that, "African transport operators could exploit fairly unrestrictedly a booming market and they controlled rather effectively rural passenger transport" in the 1950s.[72] However,

[68] Interview with A. Chikwanha in Mbare on 17 August 2011.
[69] Moller, "Harare Hostels," 148.
[70] Interview with W. Madimu, Madimu Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.
[71] Unfortunately, the Road Services Board stopped keeping records of the number of operators and vehicles which serviced the routes between the city and African reserves in 1956 – So the data terminates in 1956.
[72] V. Wild, "Salisbury Municipal Policies in Respect of African Businessmen, 1935 to 1953," (Pamphlet, n.d.), 2.

African operators servicing the Goromonzi District faced cut-throat competition from the Salisbury United Bus Company because it was a profitable route. The Salisbury United Bus Company was granted a monopoly in 1954 titled "the franchise clause" to operate within a 16 mile (approx. 25 km) radius of Salisbury, which included parts of Epworth and Chishawasha Mission Stations, as well as the Seke Reserve.[73] This led transport operators like Bernard Vito, from Chishawasha, who had extended his services in the urban and peri-urban areas of Salisbury, to fold his business.[74] The other operators who serviced the rural reserves around Salisbury continued but they were still not allowed to pick up passengers within the "franchise area".

Telephone Chanakira and Chigodora, both from the Chinamhora Reserve were among the early transport operators who serviced the Goromonzi/Murehwa/Marandellas/Mazowe Districts following the promulgation of the Roads and Road Traffic Act in 1938. Their buses went as far as Mutoko.[75] Following the Second World War, new entrants, such as Peter Nyangoni, servicing Chiweshe in the Mazowe District, also came on board.[76] Isaac Samuriwo, from Chihota, also set up a bus service linking his home area with Salisbury and Marandellas.[77] Isaiah Madimu recalls that Seke was serviced by a company known as Modern Express.[78] Luxmore Mukaha from Chinamhora notes that Guzha Express Coach was the prominent bus operator in the reserve.[79] By the late 1950s, there were several African-owned buses running in all the Goromonzi reserves except for Kunzwi. A survey of Kunzwi conducted by the Land Development Officer (LDO) for Goromonzi, Margesson, reported in 1957 that, "there are no buses running at all and the people are very badly served, there is too much dead ground between Kunzwi and Salisbury to warrant a decent bus service via Melfort".[80] The African experience of mobility for immigrants from

[73] M.J.M. Sibanda, "Internal dependency and African Economic Performance: The Case of Bus Operators in the Salisbury Rural Areas, 1938-1970" in *Zimbabwean History* **X** (1979), 60; S/SA 6175 Annual Report of the Director of Native Administration for the Municipal Year 1st July 1954 to 30th June 1955, 71.
[74] Sibanda, "Bus Operators in the Salisbury Rural Areas, 1938-1970," 60.
*Bernard Vito was the son to Sergeant Vito Chidyausiku who had been the head of the Harare Location police from the 1930s up to the 1940s.
[75] Ibid, 54.
[76] Leslie Bessant and Elvis Muringai, "Peasants, Businessmen, and Moral Economy in the Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe: 1930-1968," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **19**/4 (1993), 575.
[77] Sibanda, "Bus Operators in the Salisbury Rural Areas, 1938-1970," 54.
[78] Interview with I. Madimu, Madimu Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.
[79] Interview with Luxmore Mukaha, Murape Village, Chinamhora, 5 January 2012.
[80] Survey Report: Kunwzi Reserve (Goromonzi District) for consideration by Assessment Committee appointed in terms of the NLHA, 1951 from TVH Margesson, LDO dated 18th March 1957.

Marandellas was in stark contrast to the experiences in Kunzwi as the NC for Marandellas reported:

> Native-owned buses, many of a luxurious type, serve every corner of the district and Natives are able to travel freely. Very few Natives of this district ever undertake journeys on foot. Most Natives own cycles, several own motor cycles, and a number private cars, and on several occasions during the past year, Natives have travelled to this office from Salisbury (47 miles) by taxi, a luxury of which few Europeans could afford to avail themselves.[81]

By 1957 there were three official entrances into the Seke Reserve, namely through the Prince Edward Dam Road, Chihota and Bromley, making up 53 miles in total. Aside from the route from Chihota, the roads were bridged and all the main routes were passable by heavy buses weighing up to 28 000 lbs.[82] Similarly, the Chinamhora Reserve maintained 100 miles of road.[83] This reduced the overheads involved in running public vehicles and more African transport entrepreneurs joined in.[84] The growth of market gardening in Goromonzi also provided an incentive for Africans to take part in the transport industry. The Chinamhora and Seke Reserves formed part of a green produce supply belt to the African townships in Salisbury. I will expand on this in the next chapter.

The NAD, however, complained that the "multiplication of buses and lorries on our roads continues to jeopardise our lines of communication...the heavy bus is now a feature of even the remotest areas".[85] And the Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) argued that "this growing traffic is the major reason for rising maintenance costs, as the majority of the roads are of earth or gravel, requiring continual attention".[86] As a consequence, some reserves were still badly

[81] NC Marandellas quoted in Report of the CNC: 1952, 22.
[82] Seke Reserve: Summary and Report by H.A. Lawrence (LDO) dated April 1957.
[83] Report: Chinamhora Reserve (Goromonzi District) for Consideration by Assessment Committee appointed in terms of the LHA, 1951 by W. von Memerty (Asst. NC), dated 25th Feb. 1953.
[84] A 1982 assessment of the variations in social conditions measuring the Accessibility Index of the Goromonzi District based on the number of bus permits granted and motorable road density (m/km^2) determined a location quotient (LQ) of 1.75 and above of which a LQ greater than one indicates that, at the present level of development of that variable throughout all the districts, the particular district has more than its fair share of that facility or service. Overall the CSO report deduced that the highest accessibility index was found in districts within a radius of approximately 100km of Harare (read Salisbury) and Bulawayo. The Mhondoro district, that falls outside such a radius, for instance, had an accessibility ratio of 0.75 – 0.99. A LQ of less than one suggests that the district has less than its fair share of the service.
See Appendix 3.2.
[85] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1960, 11.
[86] SR: Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs and CNC: 1962, 1.

serviced by transport operators since most of the gravel roads became impassable during the rainy season, forcing many returning migrants to complete the journey to their rural homes on foot.[87]

Apart from those travelling by bus, the flow of daily commuters could also be seen each morning on any of the roads leading into Salisbury, starting with those moving on foot, followed by those on bicycles, who did not need to set off so early and finally by those travelling in crammed "pirate" taxis. Many Africans living in the nearby reserves preferred to cycle to Salisbury. There was a noticeable daily upsurge of African labour from outside Salisbury's municipal boundary observable in the peak 2 hours of the day, making up 50 percent of the traffic, showing that much of it was, in fact, journeys to work. Hardwick observed that "some 4000 Africans, mostly men, entered and left the city each day by bicycle alone during the first three months of 1972".[88] Of these (4 000), 800 were estimated to have cycled their way into Salisbury from the St. Mary's Township area which was about 20 km away.[89] It took "less than two hours [to cycle to Salisbury] from any Chishawasha village".[90] This journey to work, although technically extra-urban, was therefore clearly a part of the intra-urban system, arising out of the scarcity of African accommodation in Salisbury and lower costs in the surrounding reserves. One informant, Isaiah Usaihwevhu Madimu testified to cycling distances of over 30km daily to work in Salisbury from the Jonasi area in Seke.[91]

In exceptional circumstances some were prepared to walk such distances. Tendai Chitimbe, who lived in Jonasi, recalls that sometime around the early 1950s his maternal uncle sent word for him to come and start work as a "General Hand" at the Morris Depot police station in Salisbury. However, he had no money and no one could lend him money for bus fare. So Chitimbe's only resort was to walk from Jonasi to Salisbury - a distance exceeding 30km - in the middle of the night embarking on the journey at 12 midnight.[92] However, those on foot commonly came from

[87] Interview with A. Chikwanha
[88] Hardwick, "the Transportation Systems," 106.
[89] Ibid, 99.
[90] L. Vambe, *An Ill Fated People*, 198.
[91] Interview with I.U. Madimu.
Isaiah only stopped this practice in 2002 (when he was already above the age of 60) after a 76 passenger bus rammed into him on his bicycle and he suffered a fractured leg.
[92] Interview with Tendai Chitimbe, Seve Village, Seke, 14 November 2011.

homes seven or eight kilometres from the edge of the city or twelve kilometres from its centre. Hardwick's 1972 survey estimated that an average of 150 people walked to work from the St. Mary's Township to Salisbury. But it is not implausible to suggest that part of this was also made up of others coming in from further afield (that is from the Seke Reserve proper).[93]

Commuting from the individual's viewpoint made much sense. As already stated, the industrial establishment in Salisbury paid shockingly low wages to its African employees that were barely enough to cover the costs of urban accommodation. Commuting therefore offered clear economic advantages over residence in town, especially considering that urban employment was predominantly for men while women and children were concentrated in the reserves. So not only was there a saving of rent, but fewer basic foodstuffs had to be bought. This represented fuller employment for the family as a whole than would have been possible with urban residence. It also provided a relatively higher standard of living and offered much greater security in the event that the man lost his job.

There were many advantages in non-economic terms too, for the situation was one in which rural dwellers could benefit from urban employment without either the upheaval of moving from a familiar social setting to an unfamiliar one, or from prolonged separation of husbands and wives. The advantages this presented to the SCC were also great, in that pressure on their own housing and service provision was reduced. Resultantly, (as I will expand on in the next chapter) many African employees lived outside the rather tightly-drawn town boundary. Many more lived in the peri-urban settlements and in the reserves.

School Migrancy

Although families were often in flux and broken up as they made the "transition" to the nuclear modes espoused by the DAA, the endurance of the extended family was remarkable. Numerous family constellations were fashioned by sending children to schools in the reserves as well as increased instances of marital migrancy. This, in part, arose as we shall explore in the next chapter, from the shortages and costs of urban living in Salisbury's African townships. Out of a possible 5 200 children of school-going age registered in the Harare Township in 1951 only 2

[93] Hardwick, "the Transportation Systems," 99.

296 were enrolled in the township and its surrounding areas.[94] The difference can partly be explained in that some children enrolled at schools within the Goromonzi District. But many juveniles, particularly males, also took up employment as soon as they earned a junior registration certificate. Moller's survey of Mufakose in the 1970s revealed that while the average size of the family was 6 people only 3.5 children from a mean of 5 children habitually lived in town.[95]

The patterns followed in school migrancy were, however, not unidirectional. Among my informants Johannes Ngwerume began his Grade 1 at a rural school in the Jonasi area of Seke but left to complete his primary schooling at Snake Park near Norton.[96] Malvern Samuriwo's schooling followed a similar pattern. Samuriwo changed schools between Chogugudza and Parirewa Primary in Domboshawa, where his mother lived, and Pfumo Primary in Zengeza, where his maternal grandmother resided. When Samuriwo completed his primary level education he had changed schools six times. This trend continued into his secondary schooling where he enrolled in 3 different schools by the time he completed Form 4.[97]

A survey of Salisbury's Dzivarasekwa Township in 1967 showed that up to 20 percent of the households consisted of extended families.[98] These extended family members included schoolchildren staying with relatives while attending school in the area and some adult relatives. Of the remaining households, 3.9 percent of the total consisted of fragmentary elementary families, in which one parent was absent - mostly women staying in the rural areas.[99] The Passmore survey of Old Bricks in 1963 listed 227 dependent children and a further 142 people who acted as "guardians to deceased relatives' children".[100] The extended family arrangement drew on traditions of positive duties towards children of the deceased. These observations point

[94] Chavunduka, "Rural and Urban Life," 71.
[95] Moller, "Harare Hostels," 138.
[96] Interview with J. Ngwerume, Madimu Village, Seke, 14 November 2011.
[97] Interview with M. Samuriwo, Hatfield, 13 June 2010.
[98] Gordon L. Chavunduka, "Research Report: A Social Survey of Dzivarasekwa Township, Salisbury," *Zambezia* **2**/2 (1972), 68.
* Dzivarasekwa was opened in 1961 and it mostly accommodated domestic servants employed in Mabelreign and Meyrick Park.
[99] Ibid, 69.
[100] D. Passmore (Housing and Welfare Officer): Report on the Social and Economic Conditions of Persons Residing in "Old Bricks" (Sections 1, 2, and 3 Harare) 1963, 4.
* I use the term "Passmore Survey" in reference to a survey of the Old Bricks section, of the Harare Township carried out during February and March 1963 by D. Passmore, the Housing and Welfare Officer of the SCC.

to emerging family constellations that were outside the strict definition of an elementary family unit. They also point to non-discretionary movement of (mostly-orphaned) children from the rural areas to attend school in Salisbury's African townships while drawing on their kinfolk for support.

As we saw in Chapter 1, very few rural migrants from Goromonzi could hold better-paid skilled employment because schools in Goromonzi in the pre-1950s were undeveloped and, as a result, general education levels were low. However, in the changing circumstances in Salisbury, especially once large-scale unemployment started emerging in the late 1950s, many migrant labourers prioritised schooling for their sons and daughters to ensure that they secure reasonable employment. Many of the older migrants therefore placed a high premium on educating their children, as they viewed education as the key route to upward social mobility. While a few families moved back to the reserves to help their children's education, the more common pattern was for children to be sent there to stay with grandparents or other kin and for their parents to send back money for their support. In yet fewer instances, the children would even occupy their parent's rural homestead, especially if the parents felt the children could take care of the household while they continued to work in the city.[101]

In Goromonzi children started engaging in school migrancy at the higher primary school level (that is above Standard 3). Places had to be found at mission schools since there were not enough school places for the children at this level within the reserve areas of Goromonzi. It therefore comes as no surprise that many secondary schoolchildren of Goromonzi migrants to Salisbury were schooled outside their villages, where schools were much better provisioned. However, even for children in the lower primary school, especially those below the age of 10, there was some seasonal variation as they would escort both or one of their parents on outside visits in the dry season. Children between the ages of 10 and 15 generally did not move away because of the school schedule. As Joseph Muzuva recalls:

> During school holidays my mother, Diana, would travel to the city with my siblings for the holiday [to visit his father in the Harare Township]. I did not like this because usually my senior brother and I would be made to remain at home to take care of the house and

[101] Interview with Melody Madondo, Ardbennie, Harare, 11 September 2012.

> livestock. But there were instances when we could also be taken to town and it was very interesting.[102]

The shortage of schools for Africans extended into the urban areas and, because of this, some urban-based schoolchildren also attended schools located in the nearby mission stations. For instance, in 1969 there were only two running primary schools in the Mabvuku Township and this led some pupils from this township to enrol at the Goromonzi Secondary School after completing their primary school. The school, however, because of the distance, ran a special bus service to and from Mabvuku for the convenience of Mabvuku pupils.[103] The Goromonzi Secondary School was situated near the Goromonzi District Offices and it was the first government-funded academic school for Africans in the country, opened during 1946 (followed by Fletcher in Matabeleland, opened in 1954).[104] By 1949 Goromonzi had an enrolment of just over 200 boys and 31 girls.

From the late 1950s onwards later streams of migrants generally had better access to upper primary level (Standard 4-6) as well to junior secondary schooling, and could secure semi-skilled technical employment or clerical positions in Salisbury. This is because there was a rapid increase in the number of schools in and around the reserves at this stage. Primary schools, mainly found in the largest villages, were scattered across the district. Local secondary schools soon followed. The mission stations and the villagers themselves took the lead by investing large sums of money each year towards the expansion of schools.[105] For instance, in Chishawasha, the Roman Catholic Church opened several schools, such as Peter Claver, Francis Xavier, St. Dominic's (for girls) and St. Ignatius (for boys), opened in 1962. Children from the bordering Chinamhora Reserve could also access these schools. The net effect of these changes is that the proportion of single males away from the rural areas decreased from the late 1950s because young men began staying in school longer than in the previous decades. As a result, the mean age at which men made their first journey out of the villages to the cities to seek work increased.

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[102] Interview with Joseph Muzuva, Harare, 11 September 2012
[103] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1968-1969, 30.
[104] N.B.: The first academic secondary school for Africans in the country as a whole was the Anglican Mission of St Augustine in Penhalonga near Umtali opened during 1939.
N. Atkinson, "Racial Integration in Zimbabwean Schools, 1979-1980," *Comparative Education*, **18**/1 (1982), 78.
[105] The villagers' role in the expansion of primary and secondary schools is discussed in Chapter 6.

The prejudice against educating women was also breaking up. Changing circumstances reduced the reluctance to educate females, and the sex ratios in the schools started evening out by the late 1970s.[106] Felistas Makiwa who was born in the Chikwaka Reserve remarks that "I was fortunate because I grew up with a big body so I was able to go to school at the same time with my brother who was a year older [therefore earlier than usual]".[107] This change of attitude was also aided by increasing opportunities for educated women in the urban areas, especially as "nurses" or "nannies" in hospitals and European homes respectively. Many working-class migrants settled in Salisbury reconsidered their previous views about educating their daughters. Female migration rates increased along with increases in female education. Male-only migrancy became less of a norm, as women's urbanisation became a viable alternative, relieved of its former harsh moral stigma. The role of education was therefore important in the emerging female rural-to-urban migration system in the 1950s and 1960s.

The institutionalisation of school migrancy exposed the children to both rural and urban influences. For instance, St. Mary's primary school, which was situated on the northern edge of the Seke Reserve, had an enrolment of 578 pupils. Nearly half of those pupils came from the villages and the other half from townships in the Seke area.[108] A former student of St. Ignatius College, Sylvester Makunzva from the Murehwa District, explains that when he enrolled for Form 1 in 1970 there was a significant "coloured" (that is mixed race European and African) enrolment with even a few "white" students at the secondary school.[109] Makunzva notes the enrolment became largely African when the Liberation War intensified. So by the time he began Form 4 there were only a few coloureds at the school.[110] Goromonzi Secondary and St. Ignatius College also had a curriculum which was broadly similar to that of secondary schools for white pupils. These schools retained the examinations of the Cambridge Overseas Syndicate and did

[106] R.E. Mazur and M. Mhloyi, "Women's Work and Fertility in Zimbabwe: Ending Underdevelopment with Change" in *Gender, Work and Population in Sub-Saharan Africa*, eds. A. Adepoju and C. Oppong (London: James Currey, 1994), 139.
[107] Interview with Felistas Makiwa.
For further discussion see: J. C. Wells, "The Sabotage of Patriarchy in Colonial Rhodesia, Rural African Women's Living Legacy to Their Daughters," *Feminist Review: Identities* **75** (2003).
[108] Clive Kileff, "Some Aspects of Peer Group Socialization in Seki: Play forms and their Implications," *NADA* **XI**/1 (1972), 15.
[109] Informal conversation with Sylvester Makunzva on 13 September 2012.
[110] Ibid.

not change to the certificate examinations of the Southern Rhodesia Associated Examining Board.[111]

The diverse enrolment at schools like Goromonzi Secondary and St. Ignatius College had a marked influence in socialising pupils from different social backgrounds, as I will continue to explore in Chapter 6. But the schools' location being so near Salisbury saw the institutions assume an almost immediate political importance in the emerging nationalist cause of the 1950s. The high schools with their core of intellectually adept students and their ready-made network of extramural associations were receptive to the nationalist ideology which filtered down from the African intelligentsia and early nationalist leaders.[112] The veteran nationalist, Didymus Mutasa, who was a student at Goromonzi Secondary from 1951 to 1957, writes that the Makoni Students' Association began to work very closely with the Salisbury based City Youth League (CYL) when the group invited the CYL leader James Chikerema to its meeting (that was dubbed a Conference) in May of 1957.[113] Zimbabwe's current Defence Minister, Sidney Sekeramayi, who was born in the Chihota Reserve, also explains that he was recruited into nationalist politics when he was a student at Goromonzi Secondary School. Sekeremayi was expelled from the school in 1961 when he was in Form 3 (aged 17) after he helped organise a demonstration against the 1961 constitution. The National Democratic Party (NDP) which had its headquarters in Salisbury played a major role in organising this demonstration.[114]

The schools also provided a convenient platform through which Salisbury's influence was felt in the Goromonzi District through some of its teachers who had become politicised early on, such as Alfred Mwamuka and Josiah Chinamano. Josiah Chinamano, who was a leading figure in the nationalist cause in the 1950s, was born in Chiremba close to the Epworth Mission and he became the Supervisor of pupil teachers at Waddilove Mission (a Methodist institution adjacent to the Goromonzi District) from 1945 to 1948 and in 1954 he became the Supervisor of 26 Methodist schools throughout Mashonaland. In 1957 Chinamano became a teacher at the same

[111] Norman Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians: A History of Educational Policy in Rhodesia* (London, 1972), 118-20.
[112] See: David B. Moore, "The Ideological Formation of the Zimbabwean Ruling Class," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **17**/3 (1991).
[113] Didymus Mutasa, *Black Behind Bars: Rhodesia 1959-1974*, (Harare: Longman, 1983), 27.
[114] Diana Mitchell, *African Nationalist Leaders in Zimbabwe: Who's Who 1980; Independence Souvenir Edition* (© D. Mitchell 1980), 55.

Waddilove Mission and he was able to use his influence to mobilise support in the initial stages of protest against the Land Husbandry Act (LHA).[115]

Burials, Births and Health-seeking

Deaths and burials provided an important linkage between rural and urban areas, outside the reach of the SCC, as most migrants were buried in their rural areas of origin. This partly explains why an exasperated DAA estimated that while "three Natives die every day in the city [Salisbury]" only 37 deaths, for the whole year in 1956, had been reported to the department.[116] However, urban burials were on the increase, with 133 burials reported to have taken place in 1969 in the Highfield Township; this forced the extension of the local cemetery by 6 acres.[117] This trend excluded Goromonzi migrants because of the shorter distances which made transporting the bodies for burial relatively easy. As Masora Dende, from Seve Village in Seke, notes "in the event of death we would just pass on the news among ourselves as we arranged to transport the deceased for burial *kumusha* and those who failed to make it in time to catch the arranged transport would always follow by bus".[118]

The display of family solidarity captured in Masora Dende's evidence was both a possible and necessary result of conditions of modernisation and urbanisation. "Modern" communication systems (e.g. posts and roads) had developed to a point where easy contact (in transmitting messages and money) compressed time and space between the Goromonzi District and Salisbury. This made it possible for traditional kinship structures to remain viable. The kinship group also continued to perform traditional support and aid roles because municipal welfare institutions had not developed enough to meet the town-dwellers' needs.

Thus, transporting the bodies of deceased migrants was partially a result of the shortage of burial space in the urban areas, as the SCC made little investment in providing cemeteries for African urban dwellers. But burying migrants' *kumusha* had other connotations. In the main, it reflected a continuing "place attachment" to the rural reserves and, as a corollary, also marked the

[115] R. Cary and Diana Mitchell, *African Nationalist Leaders in Rhodesia*, *Who's Who* (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia Publishing Co., 1977), 174-175.
[116] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1955-1956, 94.
[117] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st Dec. 1969, 14.
[118] Interview with Masora Dende, Seve Village, 14 November 2011.

emotional distance many continued to feel towards the urban environment.[119] Bringing back the bodies of dead migrants was considered necessary to ensure a proper and harmonious relationship between the living and the dead.

The burial arrangements which began while the deceased's body was still in Salisbury also signalled new forms of organisation which appeared and were shaped by the changing circumstances of migrants. It became increasingly common for work colleagues to escort their deceased colleague's body back for burial to the deceased's home village. However, his form of organisation never translated into fully fledged burial societies. They remained loosely based forms of common support which came into effect in the event of a colleague's death. They would also help the deceased's family in coming up with money for burial and travel expenses. These support mechanisms played a vital role in helping migrants keep their footholds in both the rural and urban areas.

Beyond deaths and burials, childbirth and the health-seeking patterns of rural migrants fixed important linkages between Goromonzi and Salisbury. Just as in the insistence that urban-based migrants had to be buried *kumusha*, a socially-generated tradition that women had to give birth at their husbands' rural home was also developed. This was supposed to settle a connection between the child and his or her ancestors. This stipulation was, however, especially enforced particularly for first time pregnancies. Felistas Makiwa, for instance, recalls she gave birth to her first child in 1970 in Chikwaka, where both she and her husband (Michael) come from, but afterwards all of her later children were born in the Harare Township.[120]

As part of fixing a connection between the newly born child and his or her ancestors a ceremony or ritual known as "*kucherera rukuvhute"* was performed once the baby was born. During the ritual the newborn baby's umbilical was taken immediately after childbirth and buried at the entrance of the house. During this ceremony chants or prayers were made to the guardian spirits (*vadzimu*) to ward off evil spirits before the baby could be allowed to be taken out of the house. This ceremony was also an important signifier used to show an attachment to the rural space. However, even those who had cut-off ties with their rural origins could successfully adapt this

[119] E.K. Makombe, "Place Attachment, Operational Memory, and Symbols of Home '*Mumusha Wembare"*" (Paper presented at IFAS: Memory and City International Conference in Johannesburg, SA on 14 Sept. 2011).
[120] Interview with Felistas Makiwa.

practice in Salisbury. For instance, Joyce Jenje-Makwenda, a second-generation migrant born in 1958, identifies strongly with a section of the Harare Township known as the Jo'burg Lines because that is where her own umbilical cord was buried.[121]

Childbirth also presented an important arena in which "traditional" and rural-originating medical practices were merged into the social health practices of the townships. The expectant mothers would give birth with help of post-menopausal women known as *vananyamukuta* who had an acquired knowledge of midwifery. *Vananyamukuta* either lived within the townships or they would travel from the reserves to come and help during childbirth. Some of the methods *vananyamukuta* used entailed introducing the expectant mother to a specially prepared porridge (*bota*) fused with certain herbs to help ease the pangs of childbirth.[122]

The general shortage of western medicine and medical services in most African residential areas contributed to the health-seeking patterns exercised by many rural migrants, who continued to access "traditional" medicines from Goromonzi. The "traditional" medical practice, self-treatment and faith healing advanced by the Pentecostal and Zionist or Spirit churches all contributed towards a "plural medical environment" in the Salisbury and Goromonzi *belt*.[123] To be sure, there was fierce competition between "western" medical practices and traditional herbalism, and a good deal of denigration of the latter, mainly from the African media and African middle-class. However, the point is that, despite this, the manner in which rural migrants accessed the resources from each health sector (as it were) meant that in effect a plurality of options was being exercised.

Even though numerous "traditional" health practitioners worked in Salisbury's African townships (as we shall explore in the next chapter), most urban-based patients who sought traditional medicine still preferred visiting rural-based practitioners.[124] The reasons for this are

[121] Interview with J. Jenje-Makwenda, Mabelreign, 17 August 2011.
[122] Interview with Mai Jeena, Madimu Village, Seke, 14 November 2011
[123] This as a range of medical strategies and options that coexist to form a "more or less pluralistic, more or less integrated, and more or less syncretic regional system".
Dauskardt, "Urban Herbalism on the Witwatersrand," 275.
[124] Chavhunduka's survey noted that up to 69.7 percent of those who consulted traditional healers preferred healers from their own rural areas.
See: Gordon Chavunduka, *Traditional Healers and the Shona Patient* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, Zambeziana No. 3, 1978), 41.

varied, but one reason is that many urban-based healers had a poor reputation as confidence tricksters and as less qualified than rural-based healers. Rural migrants were also motivated by attempts to avoid the social stigma, strong among puritanical Christian folk, of being seen visiting traditional healers in the city. Rural-based healers were also cheaper than their urban counterparts, since they were willing to accept non-monetary payments such as a goat or other property items.[125] In contrast, urban-based healers practicing in Highfields between 1968 and 1972 charged monetary fees ranging from 50 cents for simple consultations involving throwing *hakata* (divining bones used in diagnosing the causes of illness) up to $25 charged for either treatments or performing rituals intended to exorcise evil spirits.[126] However, the main reason was that many people preferred receiving treatment near their kinfolk because of the support and care this group would accord the patient which was not as intimate in the urban environment. Furthermore, since the recourse to traditional healers was often considered the last resort for many, the patient was also deliberately transiting towards his final resting-place after death if the local rural healer failed to find a cure.

In theory, hospitals staffed by western-trained personnel were not supposed to refer a patient to a traditional healer because this would infringe on the code of the medical profession. However, many of my informants admitted that this was a common practice among the female African nurses especially if the European doctor was not within earshot.[127] Even if the nurse did not directly state which healer to visit, the mere suggestion that a patient "try other means or ways [of treatment]" was taken as coded language to imply recourse to traditional medicine. Willard Chidemo from the Chinyika Reserve recounted such an experience that occurred in 1971 after he developed "inexplicable growths or moulds on his body that refused to go away". These "growths" were later diagnosed at Harare Central Hospital as *nhuta* (tumours). Chidemo states that after he was admitted for 15 days one of the nurses urged him "to go and try traditional medicine because she said they could not help me". Willard then moved to Murehwa for about a

[125] Reynolds estimates that healers in the countryside earned around $20 while those in town could earn up to $500 in the early 1980s.
See: Reynolds, "The training of Traditional healers in Mashonaland," 169.
[126] Chavunduka, *Traditional Healers and the Shona Patient,* 66-9 and 124-5.
[127] Separate interviews with W. Chidemo (7/9/12), L. Mukaha (5/1/12) and R. Muza (24/7/11).

year where he stayed with his mother's brother and received relief from the local healers until he recovered in 1972.[128]

However, such traffic was not necessarily one-way, as some patients also came from the reserves to seek fresh medical advice in Salisbury. But most of these patients came in to consult "western" hospitals. These medical facilities were highly concentrated in the urban areas though due to the large and continuing involvement of missions in Goromonzi there were a few relatively well-resourced dispensaries and clinics. But there were still some distortions that arose from the distance that villagers had to travel to these facilities. Therefore many residents from the Goromonzi District accessed health care treatment from Salisbury as either out or in-patients. And there were more who came to stay in town with relatives while seeking treatment. This generated a remarkably high proportion of journeys to the cities either for treatment or for visiting relatives in hospital. In 1960 the Director of the DAA observed that

> ....many [people] travel to Salisbury in order to obtain medical treatment, despite the fact that free treatment is available throughout the country, apparently working on the basis that the bigger the hospital the better the treatment. These families, having arrived and settled with the employed husbands on licensed private premises, obtain out-patients cards at the hospital and commence receiving treatment, usually ante natal or post natal.[129]

Realising that the traffic of Goromonzi residents seeking medical care in Salisbury had become routine the SCC's Medical Officer of Health in 1957 arranged to inoculate all children in the Seke Reserve against poliomyelitis for a fee of 6 pence.[130] Consequently, the NAD began clamouring for a better serviced clinic at the Goromonzi District Offices to ease pressure on the clinics in Salisbury.

Completing the plural medical environment accessed by the Goromonzi migrant community was faith healing. Many adherents saw faith healing as an alternative to the more expensive and less accessible western medicine and many Christians were critical or suspicious of the traditional health practices of herbalists and traditional doctors. Some of the faith healers set up churches in

[128] Interview with W. Chidemo, Mbare, Harare, 7 September 2012.
[129] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1959-1960, 16.
[130] NC Goromonzi quoted in Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1957, 17.

Salisbury's African locations and in the surrounding rural hinterland.[131] For instance, Mai Chaza, a female spiritualist healer, began her ministry to barren women in Highfields at a low-key in 1948 charging people 2/6d for each consultation. In June of 1954, Mai Chaza was "led by the spirit" to set up a religious community that functioned as a healing-compound known as *Guta ra Jehova* (City of God) in the Kandava Village of the Seke Reserve.[132]

I will examine the imprint this religious community had on the spatial geography of the reserves in the Goromonzi District in Chapter 6. But the immediate result was seen in showing some continuity between the rural and urban population in accessing social and medical services. Within her first month of residency at Kandava Mai Chaza reportedly healed 40 people from the neighbouring villages, and by September of 1954 people were coming in from all over Southern Rhodesia.[133] Scarnecchia notes

> ...Mai Chaza's healing powers, especially...her promise to heal barrenness, came at a time when the ability to provide children in a marriage was of crucial importance to the continued access to urban residence for many marginalised women.[134]

This would have, no doubt, attracted a large urban female clientele to Kandava. Mai Chaza's healing-compound created a remarkable traffic as local bus operators plying the routes between the Harare Township and Seke came and went with a steady stream of patients.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the phenomenon of intra-national migration and its evolution as the outcome of complex forces and interests in which the migrants' own socio-economic and cultural motivations remained central. From the 1940s Salisbury's Goromonzi population moved in and out in complex intersecting migration patterns that determined diverse continuities with the countryside. Their precarious existence in both the rural and urban spaces compelled further

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[131] Some of the prominent faith healers who emerged in the late 1940s and early 1950s included independent and Pentecostal evangelists like Enoch Gwanzura from the Zvimba Reserve, Shonhiwa from Rusape who "felt called to minister independently as another John the Baptist".
See: Carl F. Hallencreutz, "Religion in the City" in *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, eds. B. Raftopoulos and T. Yoshikuni, (Harare: Weaver Press, 1999), 212-3.

[132] Timothy Scarnecchia, "Mai Chaza's Guta re Jehova (City of God): Gender, Healing and Urban Identity in an African Independent Church," Journal of Southern African Studies, **23**/1 (1997), 92.

* The *Vapostori* established a similar faith-healing centre in Gandanzara in the Makoni district.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid, 94.

efforts to maximise their income levels and, to achieve this, upholding rural links was an important strategy in increasing the households' income levels. This gave rise to various family constellations in which either the children or mothers engaged in oscillatory migration patterns to varying degrees. The fathers also manipulated the urban labour market to the same effect.

This chapter has shown that actual migration patterns by the migrants from Goromonzi challenged the androcentric framing of migration and travel in colonial Zimbabwe. Travel and migration were not in reality a male preserve. The chapter argues that women were, above all else, pivotal in expressing African aspirations laterally between the rural and urban spaces as they, more often than their male counterparts, were shuttling between the reserves and the city. As a result, Salisbury's African population became mixed and included large numbers of local women and children. The 1950s became associated with a sharp increase in the proportion of African women in the cities, with African family life emerging on a large-scale.

I went on to argue that the high levels of labour turnover that were recorded in Salisbury were in fact part of wider migrant strategies in which they sought to preserve their households and extended family network. These strategies entailed partitioning time between the rural and urban spaces so as to continue with rural-based agricultural venture, or extend positive duties to orphaned children in the urban areas, which produced varying family constellations. The migrants were similarly able to take advantage of the advances made in transport and communication in the 1960s and 1970s to secure themselves more effectively in both the rural and urban areas. The seasonal movements or other forms of short-term circulation such as daily or weekly commuting, discussed in this chapter may not have contributed much to city growth, but effectively bound city and country together.

The chapter proposes that the social constructions around death and birth were not merely an extension of rural values in the urban space but signalled the migrants' response to the SCC's narrow investment in the welfare of African urban dwellers. Further, the arrangements that went into funeral preparations represented an important way in which cross-cultural and extroverted community affiliations could be fostered. The health-seeking patterns by the migrant community were a response to the same paucity of medical facilities in the African townships but they were equally crucial in knowledge production and transfer. The health care patterns the migrants

accessed through their movements between Goromonzi and Salisbury inscribed much continuity in social and medical services.

I contend that out of these patterns of mobility most of Goromonzi's population was exposed to some modernising influences. For instance, out of school migrancy Goromonzi children were effectively socialised in two worlds. The extended family networks spanned both the spheres of production/urban and reproduction/rural livelihoods. So, in essence, the migrants' oscillatory movements enlarged their socio-cultural and economic arena to include both the rural and urban areas. And this presented distinct features in the manner in which the Goromonzi migrant community expressed themselves in this social sphere; I will proceed to examine these in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER 4: Migrant Survival Strategies in Salisbury

This chapter follows several practices that Goromonzi migrants in Salisbury used to challenge the modernist impositions of the colonial city. The chapter contends that, while the migrants were symbolically displaced from the urban space, their daily struggles, practices and initiatives made up parts of a counter-hegemonic discourse. The migrants in Salisbury were essential to the city's functioning and to the socio-spatial formations and transformations of the city. From these local platforms, they connected with others elsewhere in their city, country, and region. This had wider implications culturally and in the manner in which migrants expressed themselves socially and economically.

The first section of this chapter examines several "violations" that Goromonzi migrants "committed" on the modernist vision the colonisers tried to impose on the cityscape. These were either direct or indirect practices the migrants adopted as they sought to impose themselves spatially and economically within the urban spaces. Technically, the moment the African stepped into a prescribed urban area he or she had to report immediately to the local authorities, to get their written permission to look for work or stay for a limited period. However, as the section argues, the urban context as laid out in the Department of African Administration's (DAA) policy reports was more often than not the same one the African people experienced. The section notes that residency by many rural immigrants in nearby mission stations and private locations made these locations potential and convenient sources of income (be it legal, semi-legal or illegal) and sites for interstitial cultural activity.

The second section explores some of the income-generating ventures the Goromonzi migrant community drew on in the hope of cushioning their existence in an otherwise harsh environment. These "informal" ventures included market gardening, informal employment in such trades as herbalism, porterage and other varied forms of self-employment that were largely born out of the limited opportunities for Africans outside formal employment in the cities. The section suggests that the more feasible forms of self-employment were in those ventures that managed to draw on the resource base in the Goromonzi District such as market gardening. Such ventures simultaneously encouraged workable translocal family constellations between the rural and urban spaces. I also point out that the proximity of Goromonzi to Salisbury, in many ways,

regulated the entry of migrants in certain trades. And, in other ways, the rural antecedents of some migrants also shaped the activities that many would-be informally employed migrants opted to engage in.

Superimposing Land-use patterns

Goromonzi migrants experienced a whole range of conditions on their entry into the urban space of Salisbury for which they quickly had to adapt if they were to remain in town. Housing conditions, influx control policies, access to business opportunities, and the like were just part of this particular urban matrix in Salisbury. Certain family constellations clearly stemmed from these determinants. For instance, the feasibility of the extended family unit within both the rural and urban spaces was directly related to Salisbury's housing policy. Further, Goromonzi's distance from Salisbury made this a viable choice and would also partly explain the general apathy that many Goromonzi migrants displayed towards joining any mutual aid associations.

The policy imperatives outlined and detailed in Chapter 2 compelled African urban settlements to provide only a dormitory function.[1] However, the wages earned by the lowly paid African workers were not enough to enable them to afford the minimum accommodation acceptable to the settler-administered urban community. Even those without formal jobs also had to access accommodation during their stay in town. The responses by these groups of rural immigrants therefore amounted to superimposing an autonomous socially-engineered spatial structure on the colonial imaginary of Salisbury as a garden city.

Despite council regulations linking occupation of municipal housing to continuous employment, many houses came to be occupied by unemployed men and their families and occasionally even

[1] A Dormitory settlement provides subsidized housing and essential services for the labour force working in the formal sector. It is noted for its formal and monotonous layout of housing units, high density of people per square metre and for providing the barest minimum of urban amenities. Its links to the rural sector are essentially one-way with workers disbursing funds and goods to relatives in the rural areas. The family agglomerations in this particular categorization also do tend to be more "formalized" comprising of the nuclear family unit in the most or of "single" male labourers.
See: M. Smout, "The Village Component of African Cities," (Geographical Association of Zimbabwe Proceedings 1980), 13.

widows and divorcees.[2] For instance, in 1959 the DAA reported that the number of Africans evicted from municipal accommodation because of being persistently unemployed was nearly four times greater than the relative figure shown in the previous year.[3] More and more of the council's houses, originally built for workers, came to be occupied by people who were in their old age and who were probably never going to work again. And this was at a time when the number of working people on the waiting list for accommodation was increasing. In this way, some individuals came to hold long-term leases on council properties even following their retirement from "formal" work. It is difficult to find out empirically how widespread this was, but my informants told me that this was a fairly common practice. For instance, the house that Wilson Madimu's son now stays in is the same house that Wilson was assigned in 1959.[4]

While the semi-detached houses in the townships were evidently designed for nuclear family accommodation, very few homes housed elementary family members. A series of research surveys conducted around the 1970s in many of Salisbury's townships disclosed that there was a significant section of the urban population that did not have formal family residential rights.[5] Such people comprised of lodger families, lodgers who would bring their families to town for accommodation and children for education, young families living in parents' houses and related lodgers, some with their families already in town and others with a wife and children in the rural area.

In 1962, Q.A. Austin, the Acting Secretary for Local Government and Housing, estimated that Highfield's population of 67 000 people was made up of "at least 23 000 lodgers" and "numerous sub-tenants whose numbers are unknown".[6] By the late 1970s, there was a mean of 2.16 lodgers in each housing unit and 8.8 percent of the houses were occupied by lodger families

[2] The SCC was able to determine this through increase made on the council's rent assistance claim from the national government that gave an indication of how many tenants were occupying council housing without a source of income.
[3] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1958-1959, 11.
[4] Interview with Wilson Madimu, Madimu Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.
[5] See: G.L. Chavunduka, "Research Report: A Social Survey of Dzivarasekwa Township, Salisbury," *Zambezia: A Journal of Social Studies in Southern and Central Africa*, **2**/2, (Dec. 1972); V. Moller, "Some Aspects of Mobility Patterns of Urban Africans in Salisbury," *Geographical Association of Zimbabwe Proceedings* **7** (Dec. 1974).
[6] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st Dec. 1962, 5.

and single lodgers.[7] Some of the enlarged families would consist of at least two elementary families which suggest that several households were living in one housing unit.

The *need* among residents to take in relatives and other visitors to town ensured that "single" accommodation was "single" in name only. There were many reported cases of some supposedly single hostel dwellers who continued to "put-up" their wives in the single dormitories to the "great inconvenience of other single occupants".[8] Officially, "single" accommodation provided for 5 men in a room of 200 sq. ft but unofficially many more cramped into those living spaces.[9] Many of the Africans without accommodation could also sneak into their employers' business property at night after-hours for a place to sleep. In the 1951/52 municipal year, 715 raids or "inspections" in the council's nomenclature, were made and up to 170 African women and 120 children were removed following complaints from the property owners.[10] These raids caused a tremendous amount of indignation all over the townships. This served to galvanise the communities and led to their coalescence around bodies like the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union (RICU) that spearheaded a campaign from 1947 to 1952, for "the marital rights of township men and for township residence rights for women".[11]

The worst cases of overcrowding were recorded in one section of Harare Township known as Old Bricks. The official population based on a figure of two "single" men a room in 960 rooms would have put the total population at 1 920 men in the area. However, a census carried out by the Central African Statistical Office (CASO) in April and May 1962, found that Old Bricks housed 4 042 people made up of 2 610 adult males, 683 adult females and 749 children.[12] The census was however, only concerned with the people present during the census. And since the 4 042 figure was counted over the period of April and May, which was the school holiday period

[7] D. Stopforth, "Some Local Impediments to Social Change among Urban Africans," *Zambezia* **5**/1 (1977), 33.
[8] "A Study of the Life of the African at Harare African Township, Salisbury: Part 1, Housing," *The Central African Journal of Medicine*, **7**/2 (1961), 68.
[9] SRG 4: Miscellaneous Reports 1958; G. Ellman Brown (Minister of Housing), "Urban African Housing in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia," 2.
10 Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1951-1952, 54.
11 Teresa Barnes, *"We Women Worked so Hard": Gender, Urbanization, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1999), 134 -144.
[12] Housing and Welfare Officer, 1963: "Report on the Social and Economic Conditions of Persons Residing in "Old Bricks" (Sections 1, 2, and 3 Harare), 1.

as well as harvest time in the reserves, the figure reflected the low end of a fluctuating population.

Despite overcrowding, the Harare Township remained the main receptacle for most people coming from the bordering rural areas and people attracted to work in the new factories. By the close of the 1950s 59 percent of the males and 88 percent of the females staying in the Harare Township had been born in Southern Rhodesia.[13] The Highfield Township was the other main destination for Africans from within the colony and by the late 1950s 59.27 percent of families and 74.99 percent of lodgers in Old and New Highfield were from within Southern Rhodesia.[14] In these instances, "homeboy" support would prove invaluable as more settled migrants played a leading role in welcoming and housing first time migrants to the city. The DAA's policy of providing transients with overnight accommodation to temporarily house newly arrived jobseekers was purposely designed to ease the circulation of unskilled labour. This left no room for community ties, let alone friends and families. This system treated the African, from the moment he entered the urban area, as a virtual foreigner heightened by the hovering sense of insecurity that forced evictions instilled in the transient visitors. However, Wilson Madimu recalls that on his first visit to Salisbury in the mid-1950s he was received in the Harare Township by a "brother"/homeboy from his home village in Seke.[15] Thus, the newly arrived migrants rarely arrived as complete strangers and did not find it difficult to establish wider social contacts.

The network of rural ties kept in Salisbury saw relatives and others help one another in finding accommodation and getting jobs, often with the same firm. It is possible to decipher in the Native Tax Registers some of the popular employment centres that many of the men from the Goromonzi District found employment in the late 1940s to early 1950s. For instance, most men from the Chihota Reserve were employed by Steel and Concrete Co., Porters Cement and Lycos Bazaars.[16] Often some of the longer serving employees would help the firm in recruiting his or her "homeboys" from the same rural reserve and this led to village clusters developing at specific

[13] *African Daily News*, 16/7/59.
Refer to appendix 4.1 for the distribution in the Harare Hostels.
[14] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 17.
[15] Interview with Wilson Madimu.
[16] NAZ S3540/1-2 Chief Chihota: Native Tax Registers 1947-1951.

factories. Several of my informants confirmed that the presence of "homeboys" at certain firms played a big role in deciding the choices that one made in getting employment.[17] For instance, Tendai Chikove was actively recruited for his first ever job as a dog trainer by his cousin Kennedy Mangwadu at the Dog Section of the British South Africa Police (BSAP) in Mabelreign.[18] Similarly, Joseph Muzuva recalls:

> In 1979 my father [William Musarurwa Muzuva] sent word that I was supposed to come to Harare as a matter of urgency. His company [Lever Brothers] had made a generous offer that its employees who had their children who wanted work could come. I came to Harare and subsequently got employed by Lever Brothers. I was staying with my father in Mbare [i.e. Harare Township] then.[19]

Thus, Salisbury provided the context for the generation of mutuality and homeboy affiliations. These developed out of and closely reflected the *welfarist* preoccupations of the Goromonzi migrants in a precarious urban environment, on the one hand, and the closely knit identifications in the rural areas, on the other. These did not however, reflect any degree of social and psychological detachment from the urban community and, if anything, they integrated new migrants into the urban spaces. For instance, Tendai Chikove's older brothers who had migrated to Salisbury in the 1940s sent for their 14-year old younger brother (Tendai) in 1959 to come and stay with them in Salisbury. Tendai's brothers also paid for his secondary schooling at Harare High School.[20] Beyond this, the migrants were also able to arrive at a significant degree of socio-cultural integration in alternative and mutually reinforcing avenues and structures that fell outside the Salisbury City Council's (SCC) civic structures.

The turnover of residency in the Harare Hostels was reputedly very high since "bachelors'" accommodation was viewed as a short-term solution to urban accommodation. For instance, between 1960 and 1962, 26 749 certificates of occupation were issued but, by the end of that period, 24 846 of these had been cancelled. If this is weighted against the total units of "single" accommodation in Harare numbering 19 333 it becomes clear that the turnover from the "single" hostels was well over 100 percent.[21] The exceeding prevalence of men housed in the hostels in

[17] Separate interviews with W. Madimu (13/11/11), M. Dende (14/11/11), C. Kajasi (5/6/10) and E. Seve (10/7/11).
[18] Interview with T. Chikove, Hatfield, Harare, 18 May 2010.
[19] Interview with Joseph Muzuva, Harare, September 2012.
[20] Interview with T. Chikove.
[21] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1960-1962, 15.

their early adulthood stage (shown in the table below), suggests that hostels offered the first urban accommodation to migrants in town. However, most of the men held in the hostels regarded life there as "unnatural" and unsatisfactory because they were in fact married.[22]

Table 4.1: Age Distribution of Hostel Dwellers

Age in Years	Number	Percentage (%)
15-19	34	8.7
20-29	202	51.8
30-39	103	26.4
40-49	32	8.2
50+	19	4.9
Total	390	100

Source: V. Moller, *Zambezia*, 144.

Another reason that accounts for the high turnover in hostel accommodation was that owing to the internal subsidisation of married accommodation by bachelors' rents many of those staying in the hostels deserted the relatively expensive bachelor accommodation preferring lodging in family accommodation.[23] They would then be able to share the sub-economic rent with their landlord and other lodgers and get to bring in their families. Therefore, possibly part of what the DAA could have termed overcrowding was actually proof that many labourers could not afford to rent single rooms and so either had to share or settle for part of the veranda. However, even in married accommodation, the turnover in tenancy continued on the high side as shown in the table below:

Table 4.2: Change of tenancy among tenants in existing married accommodation for selected years:

REASON	1951	1952	1953	1955
Relinquished Tenancy	910	55	70	659
Absconded	881	1587	2031	912
Died	20	29	37	35
Desertion Reported	16	5	6	10
Moved to Employers' Premises	234	269	343	59
Totals	2 061	1 945	2 487	1 675

Source: DNA Reports 1951 to 1955.

The table above, modelled from several DAA reports, only represents figures of houses that had officially changed tenancy. In Mabvuku a campaign undertaken in 1969 targeted at removing

[22] Separate interviews with Munyaradzi Chironga (5/3/12) and Musiiwa Matema (10/7/11).
[23] This meant that rent paid in both family accommodation and bachelor housing was equal. Rents were then pooled at a figure where "profit" on bachelor accommodation liquidated "losses" on family housing.

"unauthorised" people from municipal housing led to 76 Certificates of Occupation being cancelled.[24] This implies that a similar number of registered tenants had abandoned their houses to unauthorised tenants. Several informants from the northern territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland referred to as *maBrandaya* (i.e. from Blantyre) by local Africans who similarly referred to all local migrants as *maZezuru* confirmed this to me. The *maBrandaya* often chided the *maZezuru* people as "foolish" because on several occasions they would voluntarily cede their residential rights to municipal housing each time they left to return to their rural homes during the harvest season.[25]

It appears that such distaste for urban houses could have indeed influenced the *maZezuru's* own conception even though greater numbers continued to seek employment within Salisbury. This, in part, marks the extent to which some colonial social terminologies and classifications were internalised by the subalterns themselves. For instance, Isaiah Usaihwevhu Madimu from the Seke Reserve supported his strong resentment for urban housing by reflexively arguing that "we are people from the reserves – we do not want [urban] houses – that is why we failed to get houses".[26] Thus, the guarantee of urban accommodation was not, in and of itself, enough guarantee to ensure permanent settlement in the urban areas and the prospects it offered had not yet replaced the guarantees of rural social and economic life.

Many of my other informants, particularly among first generation migrants to the city, self-consciously expressed a rejection of the influence of the town and idealised the reserves as "home" (that is *kumusha*) and the social lives there as moral and comprehensible.[27] "Home" as Ndlovu has framed, is an "emotionally loaded" term but "connotes the interaction between place and social relationships".[28] However, as I will advance in Chapter 5, the efforts by these rural-migrants to transform the drudgery and regimentation of life in the African townships widened their social relationships within the city space. So, despite their own self-conception, Goromonzi

[24] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1968-1969, 30.
[25] Separate interviews with Bechani and Baison quoted in E.K. Makombe, "Place Attachment, Operational Memory, and Symbols of Home 'Mumusha Wembare'" (Paper presented at IFAS: Memory and City International Conference in Johannesburg, SA on 14 Sept. 2011), 3.
[26] Interview Isaiah U. Madimu, Madimu Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.
[27] Separate interviews with T. Mujoma (13/11/11), E. Seve (10/7/11), L. Mukaha (5/1/12) and F. Majonga (15/4/12).
[28] Thabisani Ndlovu, "Escaping home: The case of ethnicity and formal education in the migration of Zimbabweans during the Zimbabwean 'crisis'," in *Crisis! What Crisis?: The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*, eds. Sarah Chiumbu and Muchaparara Musemwa, (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2012),104.

migrants had, through their investment in alternative forms of leisure, consumer goods, wage employment, self-employment etc., indiscriminately and perhaps unintentionally become part of the urban environment and were drawn into wider aspects of a different culture.

In the 1960s the SCC began to absolve employers from meeting their employees' rent payments.[29] To counter such rent increases Africans adopted what became known as rack-renting in which tenants shared the same space and paid similar rents. However, since many lodgers were not registered, they were prone to victimisation or exploitation by their "landlords" who could charge them whatever rent they wanted. In 1969 the average cost of a rented room ranged from $3.00 to $5.00, but many people were paying from $8.00 to $10.00 for one room.[30]

Many also started erecting various outposts to their buildings as they tried to house extra tenants. Several of my informants testified to having used converted verandas covered by tin planks or the tiny kitchens in the New Lines section of the Harare Location as their bedrooms.[31] In 1952 the Director of African Administration reported that:

> Strenuous efforts are being made by the Superintendent to avoid the introduction to the new township [i.e. Mabvuku] of some of the more objectionable practices found among certain sections of the population of Harari [*sic*]. In particular, he has been at pains to prevent its ruination by tenants who in Harari [*sic*] have constructed fowl pens and other out-buildings from opened tins and drums.[32]

An exercise was carried out in 1960 to demolish these illegal structures and removed several derelict cars that occasionally served as makeshift bedrooms in the Harare Township.[33] Similarly, in the townships controlled by the central government, an incensed E.G.G. Marsh, the Secretary of Local Government and Housing, argued that:

> In many cases, to enable tenants to house lodgers, illegal extensions have been made to houses, while sanitary facilities available remain inadequate. All these extra people in the townships increase the demand on the services provided, with consequential increased claims on the Services Levy Fund.[34]

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[29] See: S.J. Smulders, "The African Family Budget: Rent Increases and Livelihood Decreases: A Look-in at Harari," *Shield: A Monthly Magazine of the Catholic Church,* **302**, (Jan 1971), 5.
[30] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1950-51, 13.
[31] Separate interviews with Emmanuel Seve (10/7/11) and Isaiah Madimu (13/11/11).
[32] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1951-1952, 14.
[33] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1959-1960, 15.
[34] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st Dec. 1964, 6.

The local authority's raids extended to private locations and squatter settlements enveloping the city's peri-urban zone. In 1955, huts that had previously formed a private location known as Mkangapoto on Donnybrook Farm were demolished and the remaining occupiers were moved into the Mabvuku Township.[35] As the SCC struggled to provide accommodation to keep abreast with African urbanisation, some "squatting" was eventually allowed though on a semi-regulated basis. For instance, in Dzivarasekwa, a squatter section emerged towards the end of the 1960s known as "Side Residents" where occupants were left to erect their dwellings with poles and dagga.[36] Contrary to the SCC's depictions of squatter settlements as simply haphazard, the "Side Residents" represented a new form of spatial organisation that drew on both rural and urban forms. While some writers tend to view these features as the "ruralisation" of the cities, in general they represent only the addition of elements brought from the rural environment, rather than substantial change of what already existed.[37] This notwithstanding, the council's inspectorate continued to destroy dwellings they labelled as "shanties" and 1 960 such "shanty" structures were razed to the ground as late on as 1974.[38]

Several families were also engaged in gardening despite council's disapproval. For instance, the DAA, in 1958 complained about the increased consumption of water in these gardens, asserting that:

> ...tenants are using this [water] ad lib for gardening purposes and it is today quite common to find maize three-quarters mature in November, in gardens which are being irrigated not only from hoses but often via furrows cut from the taps to the vegetable beds.[39]

Urban agriculture was reportedly "rampant" in Mabvuku. The increasingly frustrated DAA expressed that, "it is extremely difficult to control the illegal activities of the women residents of Mabvuku who are unable to understand why they are precluded from this activity [that is cultivation on the Donnybrook farm]".[40] The DAA also accused Mabvuku adolescents of

[35] Report of the Director of Native Administration for: 1954-1955, 24.
[36] Chavunduka, "Social Survey of Dzivarasekwa Township," 67.
[37] See: Jossy R. Binbangambah, "Macro-Level Constraints and the Growth of the Informal Sector in Uganda," in *The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa: Expansion and Adaptation,* eds. J. Baker and P. O. Redersen, (Uppsala, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1992).
[38] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1974, 16.
[39] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 33.
[40] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1963-1964, 25.

deliberately starting grass fires on the Donnybrook farm as they "hunted for mice, which are a special delicacy".[41] Urban agriculture persisted as shown by the DAA's Director, F.P.F. Sutcliffe's resigned acknowledgement in 1974 that:

> ....no great headway was made in regard to the control of illegal cultivation which takes place in the early morning and late evening with the culprits often being residents from neighbouring African townships.[42]

A basic need which few urban dwellers could provide for themselves was wood-fuel. The large part of the wood-fuel consumed in Salisbury's townships came from the bordering farmlands and from the nearby reserves. A flourishing rural-urban trade in this commodity was already well-established in the 1960s but some of my informants suggested that even in the 1940s this trade was already significant. Gilbert Hove remembers that "our fathers used to cart wood to the Seke Township [using ox-drawn carts] but as for us, we never engaged in that [trade]."[43] The Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) also issued a circular calling for an immediate response from government in the late 1940s in which he stated that:

> Reports have been received in this office of the felling of indigenous timber in Native Reserves in contravention of the Native Reserves Forest Produce Act. These reports indicate that because of the increasing demand for firewood in the Urban Areas and elsewhere in the Colony, Natives are cutting indiscriminately and are selling to cartage contractors and others who send out their trucks to collect the timber.[44]

In 1964, the DAA drew attention to the "indiscriminate" felling of indigenous trees as well as gum and cyprus trees on the Donnybrook farm. It further warned that, "at the rate of destruction, it is conceivable that within a few years the farm will be completely denuded of indigenous trees and plantations".[45] The DAA, in turn, called for a special warden force to dissuade Mabvuku residents from the practice which it labelled "vandalism". It argued that the arrests made by the BSAP failed to yield any significant change since most of the felling was carried out during the night or predawn hours of the morning.[46] However, this practice, as I shall expand on below, was necessarily because many houses in the African locations had no electricity supplies. In any case,

[41] Ibid.
[42] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1973-1974, 16.
[43] Interview with Gilbert Hove, at Magodhi Line on 14 November 2011.
[44] NAZ S2591/1 CNC's Circulars from November 1948 to May 1950; Circular # 70: Addendum "K" dated 15th February 1948 by L. Powys Jones (CNC) to all Native Department Stations in Southern Rhodesia.
[45] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1963-1964, 25.
[46] Ibid.

the wood-fuel trade expanded in Salisbury and other urban centres in the 1970s as paraffin prices rose.

Mazambani mapped patterns of wood-fuel consumption in Salisbury in the late 1970s and observed that there were more wood sellers in the Harare Township and Highfields because there were no woodlands nearby than in Mabvuku and Kambuzuma that had adjoining woodlands (see appendix 4.2). In the former locations the wood-vending business flourished throughout the year becoming more noticeable in the winter months. Mazambani noted that there was complete deforestation in the area to the north of Zengeza south of the Prince Edward Dam that took place from mid-1978 to 1979. Most of this was because of increased tree-felling carried out by "squatters" and war refugees staying in Chitungwiza.[47]

A sizeable number of formally employed Africans resided as tenants in the cheaper unofficial African settlements in the peri-urban farms around Salisbury. These peri-urban locations also encompassed Africans staying in farther African townships like St. Mary's and in other mission stations. In 1946 the Native Commissioner (NC) for Salisbury reported that new entrants were being added on to the tax register yearly. For instance, between 1943 and 1946, 17 new tax paying adults, including 2 women, were added on to the tax register.[48] The NC remarked that such movement was most observable in the peri-urban areas of Salisbury like Muda Purchase Area while some lived on Ventersburg farm and were employed there. Some of the 17 people had come in from Marandellas, Goromonzi, Hwedza and other areas. One such "entrant", Chinembiri, recalls that:

> I came to Salisbury when I was 18 years in 1959 and by that age I was not able to raise the rentals that were demanded by the authorities. I went to Epworth where people were informally building wooden houses as it became apparent that there were also in the same predicament as mine.[49]

This suggests that apart from providing cheap accommodation for those Africans who could not afford municipal accommodation, private locations also acted as a useful and first point of entry

[47] D. Mazambani, "Periurban Deforestation in Harare, 1955-1981," (Geographical Association of Rhodesia Proceedings: 1982/1983, **14**, Sept 1983), 72.
[48] NAZ S1822 NC Salisbury 1937-1946.
[49] Chinembiri quoted in Wilfred Anesu Sakarombe, "The Epworth Squatter Settlement: A History 1940-1999," (BA Thesis, UZ, August 2010), 8.

to those immigrants coming into Salisbury from the surrounding reserves. But others were also moving out of Salisbury to these peri-urban zones as Patience Kunaka reveals:

> The colonial government had no care for our housing requirements especially in regard to our ever-inflating numbers. We [Africans] outnumbered white people and yet we were allowed [*sic*] to occupy inadequate housing areas. This prompted us to move here [Epworth] in 1954.[50]

By 1949, 107 tenant-families with a breadwinner employed in Salisbury were housed within the Chishawasha Mission Station and they were each allotted 2 acres compared with 6 acres for tenant-families who were principally engaged in peasant production.[51] In 1957 the Town Clerk of Salisbury estimated that out of 244 000, more than half (i.e. 123 500) of the people engaged in the city were still residing in the peri-urban farms such as Warren Farm, Donnybrook and Crowborough.[52]

Yoshikuni asserts that Salisbury's private locations posed something of an administrative problem to colonial officials. This is because the locality was "too rural" to come under the control of the urban authorities, yet it was also "too urban" to be supervised by the NC's offices.[53] What was also striking about the families living in these private locations is that they signed agreements with the farm owners or managers that gave them legal occupancy. All of them had permission to live there and were therefore technically not illegal occupiers even though the existence of these areas went against the tenets of the Land Apportionment Act (LAA). In short, these peri-urban areas offered more freedom and more security of tenure to African residents.

Besides the autonomy of the area beyond the municipal boundary, Africans could live on peri-urban farms relatively cheaply. Sakarombe argues the Epworth area attracted many low-income households because apart from offering cheap accommodation they could also earn some income

[50] Patience Kunaka quoted in Sakarombe, "The Epworth Squatter Settlement," 10.
[51] Joyce M. Chadya, "Missionary Land Ownership: The Case of the Roman Catholics at Chishawasha," (MA Thesis, UZ, June 1992), 89-90.
[52] NAZ S51/3-6 Urban African Affairs Commission; Letter from the Town Clerk Salisbury to the Secretary (L.C. Ross), Urban African Affairs Commission dated 30 October 1957.
[53] Tsuneo Yoshikuni, "Black Migrants in a White City: A Social History of African Harare 1890-1925," (DPhil Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1989), Chapter 4.

from working on the mission farm.[54] This money would form part of their disposable income than would have been the case had they been paying the higher rentals demanded in Salisbury. Residency on these private locations persisted despite eviction orders issued in 1955. Occupant-tenancy also continued unabated within the adjoining mission farms.

Zhou, while referring to private locations around the city of Bulawayo, argues that the different characteristics of the peri-urban zone eased African "accumulation" and peasantisation through dual participation in wage employment and agricultural production. He also argues that the social relations imposed by fringe residency helped "worker-peasant" accumulation.[55] This was equally true for Salisbury's own private locations during the colonial era. A European farmer who owned a farm next to Epworth Mission confirmed this in written evidence presented before the Howman Committee in which he wrote:

> I find that quite a lot of the customers who come to my store are boys [*sic*] on Government employ, who cycle out to the Mission seven miles to live. Most of them are married. On the mission they have to pay £1 a year and they are allowed to cut firewood for their own use, graze a few cattle, about 10, and grow vegetables and even cash crops.[56]

Overall, coupling semi-urban and semi-rural residential developments translated into the best of both worlds as residents of private locations could enjoy the combined advantages of country and city living through the benefits of urban location tenure and rural farming practices. Thus, the few African workers who opted not to live in the townships were in a slightly better position as they could supplement their meagre incomes by taking recourse to non-wage sources of income such as market gardening.

When private locations were done away with in the mid-1950s Africans who could not be housed in the African urban areas according to the tenets of the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (AUAARA) found respite in squatter settlements. Squatter settlements had existed in various areas of Salisbury since the birth of the city, but none of them

[54] Sakarombe, "The Epworth Squatter Settlement," 9.
[55] T.M.N. Zhou, "A History of Private Locations around Bulawayo City, 1930-1957," (MA Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1995), 38.
[56] NAZ S 1906/1Evidence [Oral and Written]: Committee to investigate the Economic, Social and Health conditions of Africans employed in Urban Areas, 1943-44, Chairman: E. G. Howman; Written Evidence from Mr. F. Squires dated 7 December 1943.

had ever reached a critical mass, allowing authorities to flush these away with relative ease. For instance, in the late 1940s, a settlement sprang up along the Mukuvisi, between the Harare Township and Arcadia, in an area known as Brickfields (See Map 3). But this was removed to make room for some light industrial factories in the early 1950s.[57] However, in the late 1960s, a squatter settlement emerged at an unprecedented scale on the Derbyshire Estate on the banks of the Hunyani River. Within 6 weeks the settlement amassed a population of 12 000 people, from an initial figure of just 200 people.[58] The government regarded this growing shanty settlement as a health hazard and claimed that the Hunyani River may be polluted along with Salisbury's water supply. In 1969 the state moved to initially relocate 2 500 people to higher ground. Each family was allocated a piece of land and was instructed to build their own homes as best they could.

A survey of Derbyshire Squatter Settlement (aka Chirambahuyo) conducted at the beginning of October 1969 by the SCC's Department of Community Development showed clearly that the majority of heads of households were urban dwellers of long-standing. In fact, 59 percent of those surveyed had been living in Salisbury for 11 years or more and 21 percent for between 6 to 10 years.[59] However, by the early 1970s the Department of Community Development's findings were no longer applicable. The enforced application of the Land Tenure Act (LTA) by the Smith regime in the mission stations surrounding Salisbury saw the forced removal in November 1971 of 1 000 and 3 500 tenants from Chishawasha and Epworth respectively.[60] Chitsike, one of the evicted tenants who were bundled out of Chishawasha recalls being carried in "big Lorries to Mbare [that is the Harare Township] Musika" and dumped there without any supplies before he proceeded to Chirambahuyo.[61]

The squatter settlements and private locations which appeared from the 1940s right through to the 1970s reveal that in reality the separation of the white town and the encampment for Africans was breached in many ways. Concurrently, they also represent the responses African migrants

[57] This area was primarily used as a brick-making area - a specialised industry that witnessed tremendous growth in the post-1945 years and it consequently required a large force of African labourers who were in turn allowed to make whatever living arrangements they could on the site.
[58] Diana Seager, "A Salisbury Squatter Settlement: The struggle for shelter in an urbanizing world: A Rhodesian Example," *Zambezia*, **5**/1 (1977), 85.
[59] The Department of Community Development (Salisbury Municipality) Survey of Chirambahuyo cited in Seager "Salisbury Squatter Settlement," 87.
[60] Chadya, "Missionary Land Ownership," 112.
[61] S. Chitsike quoted in Chadya, "Missionary Land Ownership," 112.

exercised by moving out of the modernist machinations of the colonial state represented in the African Village Settlements (AVSs). Collectively, the illegal occupation of various urban spaces reflected the state's failure to contain urban Africans in designated and municipal-controlled spaces. While some housing for Africans had been built in line with the terms of the AUAARA, this was often not enough to satisfy the new needs, let alone to (satisfy) any ambitious plans of relocating the residents of the private locations or squatter settlements. As I will explain in the next chapter, it was this rejection of the colonial rural-urban division captured in African residency in the private locations that ultimately became the foundation of community in these locations and the key to their viability.

The forced transfers "from unplanned areas to properly planned areas such as Kambuzuma and Zengeza", in the late 1960s, signalled an important shift in the state's attitude towards urban "squatters".[62] Whereas, there had been a degree of tolerance towards "squatting", now the default position was to remove "squatters" from the peri-urban zones and transfer them to Kambuzuma and Zengeza which became sites of "orderly squatting". In so doing, the state also believed it had resolved the thorny problem of having to provide alternative accommodation to people evicted from the peri-urban zones of Salisbury. However, not long after the "residents" of Chirambahuyo were moved to low-cost houses that were built at Zengeza 4, did it immediately become clear that Zengeza was not a dormitory for urban workers. Zengeza 4 had a balanced demographic structure and significant numbers were employed in a wide range of activities within the settlement. A large proportion of the people were unemployed, some made a living as vendors, some as scavengers looking for scrap iron and other waste materials in order to sale them. But there were also a few clerical workers in the township who had failed to find accommodation in Salisbury's townships.[63]

The new settlements that emerged out of these forced relocations had not yet been brought under any formal control of town authorities. (For instance, in 1973 the St. Mary's Township came under the control of the Ministry of Local Government and Housing in the face of opposition by the SCC which did not want to lose control over any urban area within its perimeter).[64]

[62] D. Auret, *Urban Housing: A National Crisis* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1995), 4.
[63] A.K. Weinrich, *African Marriage in Zimbabwe and the Impact of Christianity*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1982), 22.
[64] Ibid.

Resultantly, such townships exercised greater mobility than in other places under municipal jurisdiction and sped up the rate of rural to urban movements.[65] This was witnessed when the population in Zengeza grew rapidly within a year of being set up in 1976. Its population was estimated at 15 000 people staying in some 3 000 houses.[66]

Urban-based Survival Strategies

While most of Salisbury's African population at the end of the Second World War consisted of migrant labourers housed in the municipal compounds and employed in the emerging manufacturing industry, there was a growing permanent urban African population surviving on a variety of "informal" activities. The reasons behind the appearance of the informal economy in Salisbury were not different from those in other African cities during the colonial era.[67] It was, in the main, a response to a significant gap between the shrinking supply of formal sector job opportunities and the increasing demand for formal jobs by Africans in urban areas.[68] From the mid-1960s to the late 1970s the high rate of population growth created an annual expansion of the labour force far more than Gross National Product (GNP) growth and the capacity of the economy to absorb the large numbers of new labour force entrants each year.[69]

This produced a context of large-scale structural unemployment, especially in the rural areas. This was also not helped by the limited welfare services in Salisbury. The excessive restrictions placed on African business enterprise unintentionally spurred the entry of many-would-be-businesspeople into the less formal and less bureaucratic regime entailed in self-employment.[70] These restrictions ranged from controls on trading licences to further checks placed on would-be-traders on who they could employ and the types of trade they could engage in.

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[65] See: I. Dambudzo, "A Social-Economic Survey of Zengeza" (BA Diss. University of Rhodesia, 1979).
[66] Smout, "Village Component," 15.
[67] See: Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past and the Present,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 121-123. Also see Keith Hart, "Informal Income Opportunities and Employment in Ghana", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, **11**/1 (1973), 61-89.
[68] Appendix 4.3 shows that registered employment in all industrial sectors exceeded the official estimated annual population growth rate (3.3 percent) in only 6 of the 15 years from 1965 to 1979. During this period as a whole, the data shows that while there was a 40 percent increase in registered employment for the whole of the industrial sector, the population grew at almost twice this rate (i.e. 79 percent).
The Whitsun Foundation: "Population and Development Problems in Zimbabwe: A National Population Policy Study," (The Whitsun Foundation, Harare, Nov. 1983, Project 1.08), 106.
[69] Ibid.
[70] For further discussion see: V. Wild, "'Black Competition or White Resentment?': African Retailers in Salisbury 1935-1953", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **17**/2 (1991), 177-190.

Upholding repressive influx control measures in the urban areas failed to prevent the informal trade from expanding. The informal sector functioned as a refuge and livelihood for most of poor urban dwellers by providing alternative employment and income to those who failed to break into the formal sector. The 1962 census of the African population recorded that local males in employment made up about 40 percent of the total indigenous adult males.[71] However, by 1974 the total African urban population had increased by 23 percent, but African employment in all sectors other than agriculture had only increased by 15 percent.[72] The urban areas were, therefore, not simply growing, but their character was also changing and the proportion of people in the urban population that were in formal employment was also declining.

The names given to some of the African trading areas in the Harare Township, for example, *Pedzanhamo* (meaning "ending poverty") underlines the survivalist underpinnings behind engaging in these ventures and suggests the rural-urban migrants' self-conception. Other important centres of informal activities included an area known as "Magaba" (meaning tins). This area had once been occupied by Asian traders before the AUAARA took effect but was afterwards occupied by several self-trained African artisans who made metal implements and tools.[73] Several of my informants also asserted that the Jo'burg Lines section of the Harare Township had been so-named because much buying and selling of various items took place there which was immediately comparable with the hustle and bustle of Johannesburg.[74]

Literally thousands of Africans including formally employed men and women set themselves up in unregistered urban self-employment doing some odd jobs outside working hours such as haircutting, carpentry, teaching, photography, tailoring, porterage and newspaper selling. To this end of supplementing family incomes, one of my informants, Tendai Chikove recalls selling

[71] George Kay, "The Distribution of African Population in Southern Rhodesia: Some Preliminary Notes" (Rhodes-Livingstone Communication, Number 28), 10.
[72] George Kay, "Distribution and Density of African Population in Rhodesia," (University of Hull, Department of Geography, Miscellaneous Series No. 12), 25.
[73] Interview with R. Matema, Mbare, Harare, 12 July 2011.
See also: Volker Wild, "An Outline of African Business History in Colonial Zimbabwe," *Zambesia*, **XIX**/I (1992).
[74] Vambe however, asserts that this section of the Harare Township was named Jo'burg because "the tenants in these...blocks were stigmatised with having criminal tendencies, akin to the citizens of Johannesburg".
See: Lawrence Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), 149.

copies of the *African Daily News* in the mornings before going to start his classes.[75] Some men also practised as traditional doctors while other households took in lodgers.[76]

The rural and urban oscillation of people introduced a range of "traditional" activities in the city at an increased rate which often became sources of informal employment in Salisbury. Many African women, for example, found their "traditional" skill at brewing opaque or sorghum beer a usable, though illegal, occupation in the towns heralding the birth of the *shebeens*. Similarly, "traditional" herbalism was not only a health care option in the towns, but also an important income-earning strategy for urban survival.

By engaging in the informal sector, urban-based Africans were bound to clash with authorities who resented informal activities. This was because, as Cooper aptly argues, it showed that people could survive in the city without jobs and this, of course, disputed the kind of urban order the colonial state expected.[77] This would explain the urgency by colonial social engineers to separate an economic arena where legal regulations and official categories prevailed from an arena where they did not. In this way, the various informal activities the urban Africans adopted were labelled and regarded as either illegal or illicit. In essence, the "informal" tag was used to carry a sense of marginality to the colonial economy. Because the African residents of Salisbury were not always aware of *new* or existing laws, it was mostly through confrontations with police that they distinguished between illegal and legal activity. In this way, the African inhabitants of Salisbury came to embody a "new normal" in which everyday life was a struggle for survival and resilience or stubbornness that was witnessed in internecine clashes with municipal police as they tried to re-impose the SCC's modernist rules.

Hawkers could be found throughout Salisbury since the 1940s, trading illegally and continually on the move.[78] An increasing number of women undertook self-employment in the years after World War II, as a ten-fold increase was recorded between 1951 and 1960 (see appendix 4.4). This was mainly because the percentage of women gaining employment was far lower than that

[75] Interview with Chikove.
[76] Richard Gray, *The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*, (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960), 222-224.
[77] F. Cooper, *On the African Waterfront-Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 182.
[78] B. W. Gussman cited in Wild, "An Outline of African Business History", 37.

for men.[79] This often meant that women were desperate for independent access to earnings. Women were therefore often pushed into exerting themselves on the urban space on the fringes of legality. They sold cooked foods and other goods on the street, or became sex-workers, beer brewers etc. In many ways such women were the pioneer African urban entrepreneurs. Many of these self-employed African women informal traders also worked as baby clothes sellers, fruit and vegetable hawkers, groundnut and newspaper sellers, and wood vendors and some also sold handicrafts and crocheted articles. Some became part of an early urban fringe that lived on the edge of colonial law, with subcultures of tea-parties, prostitution, *shebeens* and *Mahobho*.

Muchena's Highfields study classified 50 percent of the sampled women as "housewives-unemployed", while 37 percent and 13 percent were employed in the informal and formal sectors respectively.[80] However, it is not implausible to suggest that owing to issues of classification, many of the women that were blanketed as housewives could, in fact, have been engaged in some form of informal occupation. Self-employment was an easily accessible option for married women in that it was flexible and such tasks could be combined with marital roles. Because of this, there were strong associations of sociability, community formation, nourishment and the "comforts of home" in most of the activities that women engaged in.[81]

The government's urban budget surveys in 1957 and 1963 showed that sources of income other than men's wages were, although still small, increasingly important (see table below). In the 1950s, earnings from fresh produce marketing were large enough to be a substitute for wage employment especially for women who earned lower rates of pay than the men in formal employment.[82] An informant of Matanganyidze, Mrs Matambo reveals that she turned down an offer (in the late 1950s) for work as a domestic worker because the proposed wages of £10 a

[79] For instance, in 1958/59, 45.1 percent [747] of women who had been issued with passes to seek work [totalling 1 657] were able to find work compared to 61.8 percent [7 457] of men out of 12 056 were able to secure gainful employment.
See: Reports of the Director of Native Administration: 1959-1960, 30.
[80] Olivia N. Muchena, "Women in Town," (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, UZ, 1980), 4.
[81] Louis White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
[82] In Zimbabwe, prior to the enactment of the Labour Relations Act of 1985 (that regularised wages), females of any age received three quotas of the minimum wage given to men doing the same work because of what Joyce Kazembe has characterised as a "dubious breadwinner concept."
See: J. Kazembe, "The Women Issue", in *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition*, ed. I. Mandaza, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1986).

month could be earned in just a week at the Harare Township green market.[83] By the 1970s, market earnings of $100 a day were not uncommon.[84] This shows how urban families increasingly turned to female labour power as a survival strategy. Similarly, African women became involved in the illicit beer trade to supplement the family income. One Julia, a *shebeen* queen reasoned:

> The majority of our husbands who work in towns and farms are paid very little money – so little that we cannot live a decent life and eat good food. So, it's poverty that forces us to brew *skokiaan* – so that we can get some money to sustain ourselves. [85]

Thus, *skokiaan* brewing was, largely, the direct result of uneconomic wages paid to the Africans in commerce and industry.[86] Vambe however, affirms that *skokiaan* queens during a peak period of prosperity from about 1944 to 1948 "made enough of this concoction [*skokiaan*] to buy themselves cars, farms and to put their children through expensive schools from the proceeds".[87]

Table 4.3: Sources of Average legal income to African Households in Salisbury, 1957-58 and 1963-64.

	1957-58	1963-64
Husband's earnings or wages	£12.4.8	£13.9.5
Other income	£1.1.7	£2.10.4

Source: "1963-64 Budget Survey" (Salisbury: CSO, 1964), 24.

It immediately becomes evident from the table above that since the Central Statistical Office (CSO) was listing only "legal" sources of income; other income-generating ventures were excluded. A 1973 study of Harare Township revealed that husbands and wives often jointly ran gambling dens and home bars (*shebeens*) and shared the profits.[88] Some women also practised prostitution secretly as they tried to help their husbands clothe and educate the children. Data culled from the 1969 census results revealed that 2 190 men were in self-employment in Salisbury and worked as barbers, carpenters, cycle repairers, furniture polishers, used clothing

[83] Mrs Matambo quoted in M. Matanganyidze, "'The Struggle for Urban Survival': African Women in the Informal sector in Harare: 1947-1990", (BA Honours Dissertation, UZ, September 1994), 30.
[84] I. Mudeka, "Fresh Produce Markets and Peasant Agricultural activities: The Case of Mbare Market and Domboshawa Producers 1946-1997" (BA Honours diss., University of Zimbabwe, 1997), 27.
[85] *The African Weekly*, 23 October 1944.
[86] *Skokiaan* brew was made from a mixture of yeast, maize meal and sugar to start with but such ingredients as methylated spirits, tobacco and even shoe polish were also added to increase its "punch". It is believed that the process was invented in Johannesburg and hence the name is also derived from Johannesburg.
[87] L. Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 171.
[88] Joan May, *African Women in Urban Employment*, (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1979), 29.

hawkers, painters, photographers, shoe polishers, tailors, upholsters, watch repairers, and other miscellaneous trades.[89]

The flourishing commercial sex trade emerged partly as an indirect result of the country's enormously distorted urban sex demographics. And much like the context in colonial Kenya "the maintenance and reproduction of the work force was beyond the reach [capacity] of the state".[90] The influx of thousands of "single" male Africans in Salisbury produced a high demand for commercial sex with a low supply of female sex-workers to meet it. That supply and demand ratio meant that local women could negotiate relatively high prices for their services, making as much as £40 a month.[91] A 1949 survey reported that prostitutes charged 6 pence for the use of a house and an extra 2s 6d for the services.[92]

From the 1940s, the more successful prostitutes and *shebeen* queens, unlike the earlier crop of prostitutes and other women engaged in "grey" ventures, no longer repatriated their incomes towards advancing rural-based options such as buying cattle to add to the family's herds. Instead, they opted to advance their businesses laterally in their rural areas of origin. For instance, Joyce Hanyani, a prominent *shebeen* queen opened a bottle store in her rural home area using earnings from her *shebeen*.[93]

As I have already pointed out, in the previous chapter, the notion or conception of prostitution in the African townships was charged with associative significance. It made no distinction between the commercial sex trade and other sexual engagements or arrangements such as *mapoto*. The "prostitute" tag assigned to a woman in a *mapoto* union was largely part of the townships' moral discourse which amounted to a slur intended to enforce conformity. The testaments of several of my informants however, suggest that the number of women from the Goromonzi District involved in "actual prostitution" (that is the "streetwalking" type in which women openly solicit

[89] George Kay, "A Socio-Geographic Survey of Salisbury, Rhodesia," *Zambezia*, **3**/2 (1974), 82.
[90] White, *Comforts of Home*, 221.
[91] Marc Epprecht cited in Busani Mpofu, "No Place for 'Undesirables': The Urban Poor's Struggle for Survival in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 1960-2005," (PhD. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, June 2010), 147.
[92] R.R. Wilcox, "A Venereal Disease Survey of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia: 1949", 42.
[93] Nathaniel Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia c. 1945-1980," (MA Thesis, UZ, January 2004), 48.

customers in bars, *shebeens*, street corners etc.) was not prominent. For instance, Rukudzo Chinyemba argued that:

> They could have been there [that is women from his village in Pote engaged in prostitution] but I never saw them. As they say "do your witchcraft far from your neighbourhood [so that those near you will vouch for you]"* because if I had seen that this is what my "sisters" were doing there was no way I was not going to tell those back *kumusha*.[94]

The parallels drawn between prostitution and witchcraft notwithstanding, Chinyemba's argument which was corroborated by several other informants suggests that many African women *opted* to enter the sex trade in cities with lower representations of their rural kinfolk. Vambe's recollection as a resident in the Harare Township in the late 1940s and early 1950s supports this. He notes that "prostitution became more common and less shocking, particularly among the Ndebele and Manyika peoples" (i.e. from the south-western and eastern districts of Southern Rhodesia).[95]

It also appears as if prostitution never became an "organised trade", where men or women owned the prostitutes as pimps or madams to seize most of their earnings. As a result, they were few cases of sexual racketeering involving third parties. However, a new "profession" for the spivs accompanying prostitutes who worked from the undeveloped bush areas close to the townships did emerge and were euphemistically termed "storekeepers".[96] The title was suitable in several ways but principally because the "storekeeper" was under the employ of these sex-workers and they were paid from the prostitute's earnings.

Similar reciprocal arrangements were carved in the *shebeens* between the prostitutes and *shebeen* queens. Magumede's *shebeen* located in the Harare Township was one such *shebeen*-cum-brothel. In these arrangements the *shebeen* owner engaged the prostitutes as "assistants" to attract a larger male clientele who were in turn encouraged to spend more money in the *shebeen*. For the "assistants", the advantage was that they received "free" accommodation and protection

[94] N.B.: This is a transliteration of a Shona proverb that says: *Muroyi royera kure kuti vari pedo vazokureverera*. Interview with Rukudzo Chinyemba, in Murape Village/Ward 4, Chinamhora, on 3 January 2012.
[95] Lawrence Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, (London: Heinemann, 1972), 199.
[96] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 188.

compared with the beer gardens that were characterised by violent confrontations among patrons.[97]

Although some low-order business centres were provided in the townships few were developed. Dzivarasekwa, for instance, an area measuring 370 hectares, only had two general dealer shops and a single butchery by the end of 1972.[98] Overall, the locations continued to provide minimal employment opportunities. As a result, the few meeting places in the locations such as beer-halls became important centres of social life as we shall explore in the next chapter. The AUAARA had effectively shut off the Central Business District (CBD) from African traders and this was accompanied by slow growth of African business from 337 businesses in 1946 to just 511 in 1959 in all the municipal locations.[99] This made several business people turn to their rural areas of origin as investment avenues. I will expand on this in Chapter 7.

The wood-fuel trade was critical to the African urban immigrants staying in Salisbury especially in the 1940s and 1950s. During this time electric irons, radios, refrigerators and electric lights beyond a certain voltage were not allowed.[100] The widespread destruction of woodlands around high-density housing areas and the rising costs of paraffin which was the only other common source of fuel, especially for cooking also made the wood-fuel trade a profitable niche among unemployed African urban dwellers.[101]

A survey of those who were engaged in this trade revealed that up to 53 percent of the sampled vendors ventured into wood-fuel because of unemployment and 24 percent because of dissatisfaction with previous employment. Some 13 percent "inherited" the trade from relatives, which points to the longevity of the trade, while the remaining 10 percent began wood-vending

[97] Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 48.
[98] Chavunduka, "Social Survey of Dzivarasekwa Township," 67.
[99] Wild, "Outline of African Business History," 36.
[100] The 1963 Passmore Survey revealed that a total of 93 percent of the inhabitants in Old Bricks used coal/wood or paraffin for cooking and 85 percent used these two methods exclusively while only 7 percent of the Old Bricks population used electricity exclusively as their method of cooking. Even as late as December 1979 up to 61 percent of the households in Salisbury's African townships did not have electricity and 29 009 out of a total of 44 301 low income houses did not have any electricity at all and a further 11 502 from the same total had a limited load such that the option of wood-fuel continued to be a viable alternative.
See: Report on the Social and Economic Conditions of Persons Residing in 'Old Bricks', 7; Whitsun Foundation, "National Population Policy Study," 10.
[101] D. Mazambani, "Woodfuel Trade and Consumption Patterns in Salisbury's Townships" Pamphlet, n.d., 24.

after retiring from work.[102] Reports by the DAA in Salisbury show the recorded the number of wood-fuel vendors working within the Harare Township increased with the rise in population. For instance, the number of vendors increased steadily from just 31 in 1969 to 117 vendors supplying wood-fuel to about 55 000 people in 1979.[103]

Many followers of the *Vapostori* were also heavily engaged in self-employment. This was in following an edict by the founder of the Church, Johane Masowe, directing them to engage in crafts and trade to meet their material needs, just as Masowe himself had turned to carpentry.[104] This had a significant imprint on urban life as many *Vapostori* marketed their wares in the towns and on realising the need in the urban areas many began making buckets, dishes, and other tinplate products. Thus, the *Vapostori's* pre-migration occupations set them in good stead to exploit new economic openings in the townships' fast-developing consumer base. Their rural occupation as artisans also refutes the teleological assumption contained in the urban-skilled/rural-unskilled dichotomy of labour. Furthermore, while seemingly at odds with Euro-western modernity the *Vapostori* were able to engage successfully with and benefit from the city's culture of industrial entrepreneurship and reproduce itself within the urban space as a grouping.[105] Many members of this sect were also able to set up backyard workshops as income-generating projects that could supplement their urban wages.

In practice, there was no council organisation of green produce marketing in Harare despite talk about creating market areas by the authorities in the mid-1940s. Council's involvement did not go beyond a rather limited role in recruiting labour to clean the streets by removing fresh produce refuse among other litter. Any person wishing to market any wares simply chose a suitable place to do so before others joined in. Several African traders sold their produce at the rural bus terminus then sited along Kingsway Street in the 1940s.

It was only in the early 1950s that the council imposed marketing controls through enforcing fee payments of between 10c and 15c on unorganised vendors who used the council's land as market sites. These marketing fees were increased to 75c in the 1960s. The council's imposition of fees

[102] Ibid, 26.
[103] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1960-62 and Mazambani, "Woodfuel Trade," 25.
[104] D. Munjeri, "'The Korsten Basketmakers'," *NADA* **XI**/5 (1978), 502.
[105] The *Vapostori* expressed a rejection of colonial establishment values and embraced practices such as polygamy while they also resented Western schools and medicine. I will expand on this in the next chapter.

notwithstanding, it found it extremely difficult to enforce payment as vendors often evaded such payment. Further, the marketing practices of the 1940s were not immediately restrained. In 1958 the DAA was still complaining that "the number of Africans from the rural areas who hawk vegetables continues to increase despite the encouragement given to them to dispose of their goods at the markets established in the Native residential areas".[106] Tendai Chikove who was engaged in the green produce trade recalls that he embarked on this venture in the late 1960s while he worked for a Glen Somerset in Msasa. Chikove was allowed to start his own gardening project since he was also staying on his employer's property. He remembers that his produce always found a ready market in the city centre over the weekends after he had ferried the produce by bicycle.[107]

The SCC had in the 1950s, starting with the *Musika* (vending market) in the Harare Township, erected several marketing sites ostensibly to limit and control African informal trading in the urban context. This market was extended in December 1961 to include 200 concrete stalls, 18 fowl coops, 10 wholesale stands and 20 sugar cane drums.[108] Further, a new covered, as opposed to an open-air market, at Mabvuku was commissioned towards the end of July 1955. Similarly, the central government built a green market with 42 stalls in New Highfield which opened in 1963.[109] Two more market buildings were completed in the Canaan and Lusaka sections of Highfield in 1965.[110]

It is, however, important to stress that fresh produce marketing was occurring well before the market centres were set up and continued after that. There were always many unlicensed hawkers that became a feature of the urban environment and competed with the licensed market stallholders. Despite council's efforts, the market activities in the Harare Township were not concentrated in one area, as vendors moved from one place to another. Vendors who sold their goods and produce outside municipal appointed areas faced constant harassment from municipal inspectors, popularly referred to as *Majoni.* These vendors, in trying to evade the *Majoni*, began

[106] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 123.
[107] Interview with T. Chikove.
[108] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1960-1962, 25.
[109] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing: 1963, 11.
[110] Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing: 1965, 10.

marketing at dawn before the inspectors resumed their patrols and stopped shortly before 8am only to resume at 4pm after the *Majoni* finished work.[111]

Of the products traded at the markets very few found their way into the nationally enumerated economy. Most peasant-traders avoided selling to national marketing boards or cooperatives, rather opting to sell directly to the end-users in the townships. The Harare Township bus terminus that was just adjacent to the *Musika* enabled rural peasants from areas like Seke and Chinamhora to bring green produce easily to the market. The Harare Township's central location also attracted customers from various parts of the city who, in turn, found it easy to transport their goods to different areas in the city and beyond. "A Study of the Life of the African at Harare African Township" conducted by *The Central African Journal of Medicine* remarked that, "although it [mealie meal] can be bought in town, most of the inhabitants depend on maize supplies from the reserves".[112]

The rural products supplied to Salisbury ranged from small livestock like goats and sheep, fowls and poultry, livestock products like eggs, hides, etc., to grains like maize, rice, fruits like *hacha* (sand apples) and *tsamviringa* (wild grapes) and vegetables to firewood. The supply of these products became even more imperative because various food items including beef were rationed by the Cold Storage Commission and milk by the Dairy Marketing Board. Vambe who lived in the Harare Township for 9 years from 1946 states, "apart from the beer brewed and sold by the Council, I cannot think of any other item, food or drink, that was not rationed".[113] Therefore, the green produce trade fulfilled the much-needed physiological and nutritional needs of the African populace within the urban townships.

In the 1960s, the number of urban-based vendors further increased when a new group of marketers operating as middlemen-wholesalers emerged. This group used their own vehicles, usually 3 or 5 ton trucks, which they drove into various rural centres to buy up small quantities of fresh, but not highly perishable, commodities from numerous small peasant-producers. In

[111] Ibid, 9.
[112] "A Study of the Life of the African at Harare African Township, Salisbury: Part 3, Diet," *The Central African Journal of Medicine*, **7**/2 (1961), 112.
[113] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 203.

1969 the DAA estimated that 288 people were dealing in produce but this would presumably exclude those who were working outside the approved sites.[114]

Perishable produce in particular (as opposed to staples) found their way into urban market centres through individuals using private or public transport, and through collective wholesalers, colloquially known as "transporters" from Salisbury's surrounding hinterland. Peasant-producers would hire car-owners to transport them and their produce to high turnover centres such as Market Square and the open space alongside the *Musika* in the Harare Township. Others would pay to bring in produce by the sack on the luggage rack of rural buses.

However, the growth of fresh produce marketing also gave rise to a rather negative sub-culture among unemployed youths known as *Makoronyera* (that is produce thieves or spivs). Mudeka has grouped *koronyera* activities into two sub-categories.[115] The first group of *Makoronyera* was made up of urban non-stall-holders. These were made up of "a group of youths who thrive on koronyera activities, that is, they come into the market early in the morning and grab produce from communal farmers".[116] The second *koronyera* grouping was also urban-based consisting of retailers and middlemen-cum-marketers who stole or cheated peasant farmers. These marketers "bought" their supplies from reserve suppliers at deflated prices, often with the threat of inflicting physical harm if the seller was not agreeable to the imposed prices, for resale in their own sections of the market. But they would often also steal from the peasant suppliers.

In the earlier years of this trade, it was mostly communal producers who brought in fresh supplies for the urban vendors to sites in the Harare Township or to a site near Badella wholesalers in the CBD. However, a two-way traffic soon developed as urban vendors, at certain times, ventured into areas like Domboshawa to source produce for resale. Some urban-based traders would, on occasion, also venture into areas as further afield as Mutoko and Madziwa. The Land Development Officer (LDO) in Bindura also reported that "many buyers from Salisbury

[114] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1968-1969, 6.
[115] See: Mudeka, "Fresh Produce Markets," 29-30.
[116] Ibid.

came to Msana Reserve in lorries to buy the fruit of the *Parinaria mobola* [*mazhanje* or wild loquats] at 1s. 6d. per bucket".[117]

Other traders bought their supplies from European settler commercial farmers. For example, a farm at the 21 kilometre peg along the Murehwa Road (from Salisbury) owned by a European settler known among the traders as "Masimende" was famous for selling very large cabbages at a cheap price. Another European settler farmer in the Mazowe District known as "Borosi" was also a favourite supplier for market traders at the Harare *Musika*.[118] And many settler farmers would themselves deliver produce to the *Musika* produce market for resale.

The *Musika* market by the late 1970s was facing the challenge of holding all those who wanted to trade. In 1978 various expansion measures were made by the SCC which saw the number of retail stalls increase to 983.[119] However, the demand for the hire of covered tables in Mabvuku Township was not as great as that experienced in Harare. This was because the population by comparison to the Harare Township was small and it was not influenced to any great degree by transient visitors as in the Harare Township. The DAA also reported that "many of the [Mabvuku] residents are more garden minded and....have cultivated their plots extensively by growing vegetables for their own personal needs".[120] It is also possible that many of the residents in Mabvuku could satisfy their various food and dietary needs from urban farming on the Donnybrook estate, which, as we saw earlier, the SCC had desperately tried to suppress.

While welfare considerations affected the structure of the market-places in different centres; factors such as regional ecology, ethnicity, and employment possibilities, urban planning and so forth all had a bearing on the market structure. Regional ecologies affected the viability of market operations through produce supplies as differences emerged between the hinterlands more favourable for agricultural production and those less favourable. The markets that Salisbury was able to draw from were usually from those rural-migrants from within a 100km radius of the city. The study by *The Central African Journal of Medicine* observed that:

[117] NAZ SRG 3/INT 4 SR: Departmental Reports Native Affairs; Land Development Officer quoted in Annual Report of the Director of Native Agriculture for the Year 1960, 42.
[118] Mudeka, "Fresh Produce Markets," 18.
[119] Angela P. Cheater, "The Production and Marketing of Fresh Produce Among Blacks in Zimbabwe," Supplement to *Zambezia* (1979), 3.
[120] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 121.

> Sun rice is a popular crop in the reserves and therefore many African families are able to procure it from them….A family may spend 3s. a week on rice..…The great majority of Africans support their market, where prices are fixed.[121]

The total differences in types of produce supplied at different centres also reflected ethnic differences in culinary tastes and served as vestiges of cultural or ethnic identification. Put differently, food provisioning was fuelled by what Srinivas terms a "meta-narrative of loss" in which food consumption was seen as a "narrative of affiliative desire" that affectively recreated micro-regional and other social identity groupings for displaced migrants.[122] Therefore, tomatoes, onions and green rape appeared in the greatest number of retail stalls in Salisbury, Rusape and Gwelo - all with mainly Shona-speaking people and hinterlands. However, the largest number of sellers in Bulawayo sold pumpkins, mushrooms, okra, peppers and groundnuts to cater for the large Ndebele population.[123] In short, the urban markets created some continuity in as far as the dietary intake of most of the African urbanites by supplying the very commodities that they had been used to consuming in their rural areas.

The market area also had stalls reserved for "herbalists" in the DAA's nomenclature. In 1957 the Harare *Musika* had 15 "herbalists" plying their trade (see image 4.1).[124] In 1970 the *Pedzanhamo* marketplace, which fell under the control of the Superintendent of Hostels Administration, had 120 low-cost bays from where 69 vegetable traders and 17 "herbalists" worked from.[125] However, operationally these herbal stalls were owned by traders rather than African traditional herbalists and functioned as "herbal pharmacies" or as dispensaries of herbal medicines and preparations and other ingredients such as portions of animals, insects and birds.[126] They sold their herbal medicines either directly to consumers or to township herbalists-cum-traditional doctors who worked under the radar of state surveillance within their homesteads or rented lodgings (see image 4.2). The herbal-traders, however, remained the most visible representatives

[121] "A Study of the Life of the African at Harare African Township, Salisbury: Part 3, Diet," 112.
[122]Tulasi Srinivas, "'As Mother Made It': The Cosmopolitan Indian Family, 'Authentic' Food and the Construction of Cultural Utopia," *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, **32**/2 (2006), 191 and 193.
[123] Cheater, "Production and Marketing of Fresh Produce," 17.
[124] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1956-1957, 118.
[125] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1969-1970, 30.
[126] Reynolds categorises these miscellaneous assortment of products as "materia medica".
See: Pamela Reynolds, "The training of Traditional healers in Mashonaland," in *The Professionalisation of African Medicine*, eds, Murray Last and G.L. Chavunduka, (Manchester: Manchester University Press and International African Institute, 1986).

of "traditional" medicine. And, although these traders were within the traditional healing profession their role was a new one towards meeting new needs and simultaneously transforming "traditional" values and systems. These herbal-traders had networks that reached across the country and into neighbouring states.

The herbal-traders and African traditional practitioners working within Salisbury in the 1940s marked the beginning of the "professionalisation of African traditional medicine". This reflected the "medicalisation" of "previously religious terminology" as figures that had previously appeared as religious leaders or spirit mediums began to appear in the urban context as "healers".[127] Last argues that "to medicalise the vocabulary in this way is more than mere semantic piracy: it marked a serious redirection of interest away from the causes of illness and misfortune and towards the patient and his body".[128] Put differently, African traditional medicine became more narrowly curative as previous cosmologies were replaced with diagnostics informed by indigenous bodies of therapeutic ideas.

The trend towards herbalism can be explained in large part by the legal constraints against anything that could have been construed as "witchcraft" codified in the Witchcraft Suppression Act of 1899.[129] However, urbanisation, in part, also encouraged a more strictly herbal approach to treatment. For those healers who practised publicly in the townships herbalism was the only obvious alternative as municipal bye-laws and space constraints made it difficult to practice other forms of traditional therapies.[130] There was also "a cultural shift of idiom toward a more mechanical 'rationality'" with the spread of primary and secondary education.[131] Herbalism thus, came to assume empirical (rather than symbolic) overtones. Herbal therapies were also

[127] Murray Last "The Professionalisation of African Medicine: Ambiguities and Definitions," in *The Professionalisation of African Medicine*, 14.
[128] Ibid.
[129] The Witchcraft Suppression Act made diagnosis that identified the causes of illness or other misfortunes to acts of supposed witchcraft by a specific living person a criminal offence. The Act interpreted witchcraft as: "the "throwing of bones", the use of charms and any other means or devices adopted in the practice of sorcery".
See: G.L. Chavhunduka, "The organisation of traditional medicine in Zimbabwe," in *The Professionalisation of African Medicine*, 46-9.
[130] These include dreams or spirit-possession by guardian spirits (*mhondoro*), ancestral spirits (*vadzimu*) or alien spirits (*mashave*) that usually entailed an all-night ritual (*bira*).
[131] G.L. Chavhunduka and Murray Last, "African Medical professions today," in *The Professionalisation of African Medicine*, 264.

reconcilable with missionary Christianity which viewed other forms of traditional therapies as pagan practices.

Many healers within Salisbury's townships began to occupy permanent premises which functioned both as consulting rooms and dispensaries for herbal medicines. The spatial pattern of African herbalists and traditional doctors made them more quantitatively and geographically (notwithstanding culturally and economically) accessible to the African population than western medical practitioners. The paucity of western medicine and medical services in most African residential areas and the continued racial discrepancies in accessing western medicine, therefore, contributed to the persistence and greater accessibility of traditional herbalism in these areas. [132]

Traditional herbal preparations were used to treat venereal diseases (such as *njovhera*) and in performing several other rituals within the city space. Other herbal blends known as *mutongoro* and *mubvamaropa* were often ingested by infertile women to restore fertility. Protective charms (*zango*) were also placed on children to ward off evil spirits. The *rukwa* (charm) which was dug into the house's foundation was used to protect property. The townships' business people also used these healers to earn "luck", popularity and to increase their wealth. Other people also consulted the healers to "scatter enemies", or "remove evil spirits" or to influence the attitudes of neighbours and workmates.[133] Suffice it to state that healers were consulted for a whole range of ailments afflicting the African urban population in Salisbury (see image 4.3).

The curio trade was also an attractive sector in that unlike fresh produce marketing, curios were not perishable. Also, curio selling made it easy for traders to return to the rural areas to plough and harvest in the respective seasons. While the major sources of curio wares were areas in Mount Darwin and Bulawayo, Domboshawa acted as the main source of such items as reed mats, *tswanda* (baskets) and brooms.[134] In 1960, D.A. Robinson, the Director of Native Agriculture

[132] In 1983 a Zimbabwe National Healers' Association (ZINATHA) official estimated that there were 350 traditional healers in Mabvuku. In the same year the population was estimated at 34 000 which allows for 97 people to every healer.
Reynolds, "The Training of Traditional healers in Mashonaland," in *The Professionalisation of African Medicine*, 186 notes 2.
[133] See: J.C. Mitchell, "The Meaning of Misfortune for Urban Africans," in *African System of Thought*, eds. M. Fortes and G. Dieterlen, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).
[134] Matanganyidze, "'Struggle for Urban Survival', 38.

reported an increase in the sales of "minor products, such as wild fruit, brooms and reed mats".[135]

Some of the people who bought these curios included urban-based Africans who simply intended to use the items as decorations in their homes. But several migrants on their return to the rural areas would buy items such as the *ngundu* (that is traditional headgear), snuff, walking sticks, *ndiro* (wooden plates) and clay pots for ritual purposes. Matanganyidze notes there was a "business boom...in the period at the end of the liberation struggle [in 1979] when many people were paying tribute to their ancestors for having looked after them during the war".[136] The curios also carried out an important role in providing the "traditional" apparatus used during ritual ceremonies within the urban areas. Foreign tourists and buyers from places as far away as South Africa, Zambia, Germany, Netherlands and the United States of America (USA) also patronised the craft centre in the Harare Township with sales reaching $2 800 in July of 1969 alone.[137]

Conclusion

The discussion above reviewed how rural-migrants from the Goromonzi District mastered the urban environment which presented them with many restrictions in the period under study. It revealed how the colonised rural immigrants themselves resisted and negotiated, took over spaces, seized and redefined certain land-use functions all in attempts at demarcating space in their own terms and in terms that would extract the maximum benefit for them. Undoubtedly, such efforts at reframing extended to takes at (re)defining their own moral conversation, shaping a world view, setting up autonomous forms of associational life, etc.: issues that form part of Chapter 5.

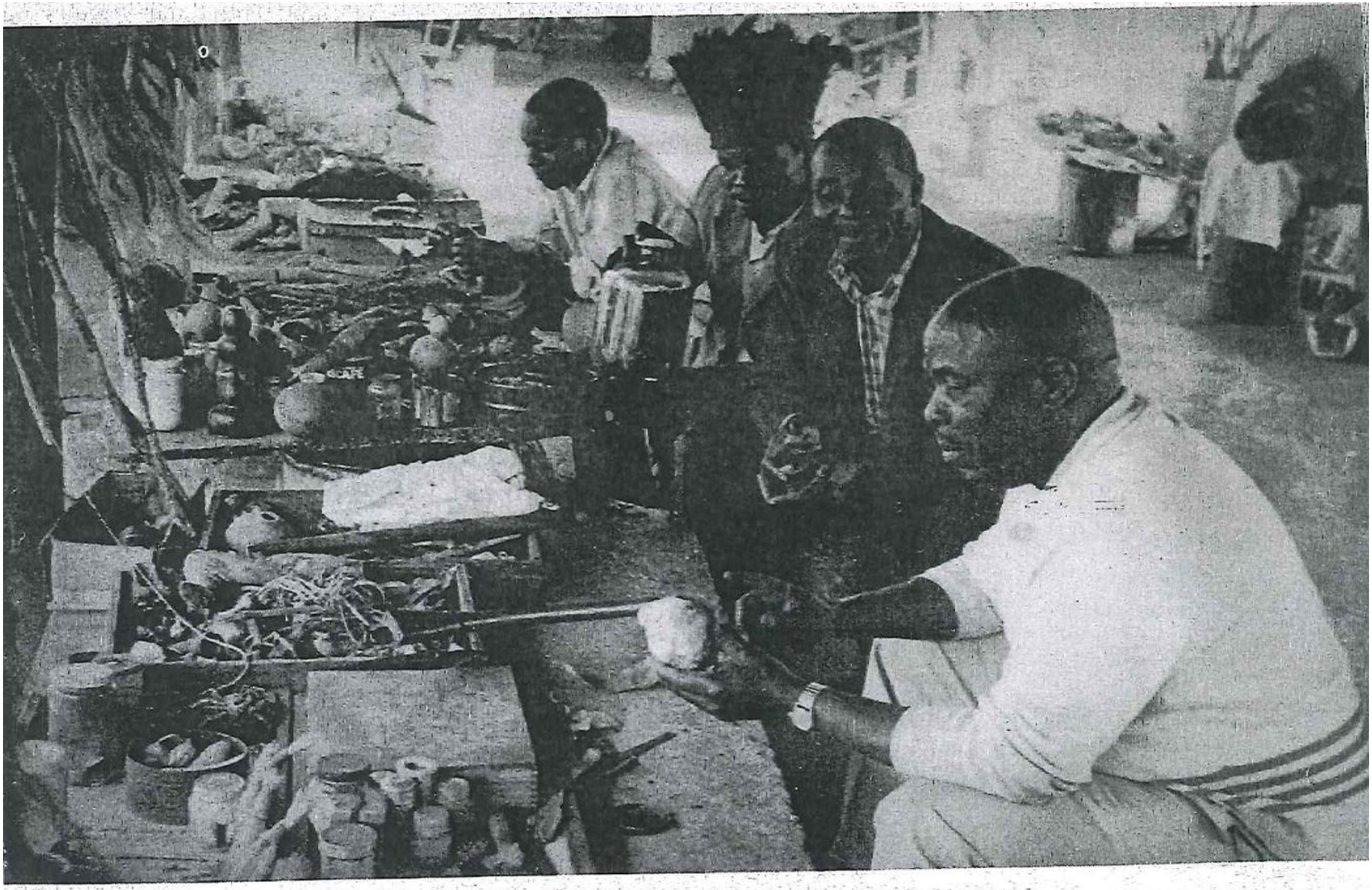
The chapter has shown how the rural immigrants from Goromonzi superimposed strong two-way links between Salisbury and the rural economy of Goromonzi. This was seen most noticeably in the traffic and constant flow between the two spaces but also when Salisbury became the chief market for rural produce. This had a direct impact not only on the way in which peasant-producers organised their production and marketing, but also on the quality of life for those in

[135] Annual Report of the Director of Native Agriculture: 1960, 42.
[136] Ibid, 39.
[137] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1969-1970, 15.

the green-vegetable supply zones for Salisbury – which will be elaborated on in Chapter 7. The discussion has also shown how many of the location homes became multifunctional and effectively expanded their economic base when many of the colonised rural-migrants engaged in informal income-generating ventures with a high fusion of land uses.

Thus, even though Rhodesian municipal authorities considered the African as "a form of pollution, a menace, a hazard to the urban settler" Africans treated Salisbury as much as their town as that of the Europeans.[138] It was an African city. Shona migrants from the rural areas were changing the city of Salisbury by the set of ideas that they brought with them that, in many ways, reinforced or preserved cultural traits. An obvious example, which I noted above, was seen in the rapid spread in townships such as Dzivarasekwa and Zengeza of housing which shared many characteristics with rural housing. The rural influence was also seen in the expansion of indigenous forms of medicine within the urban environment.

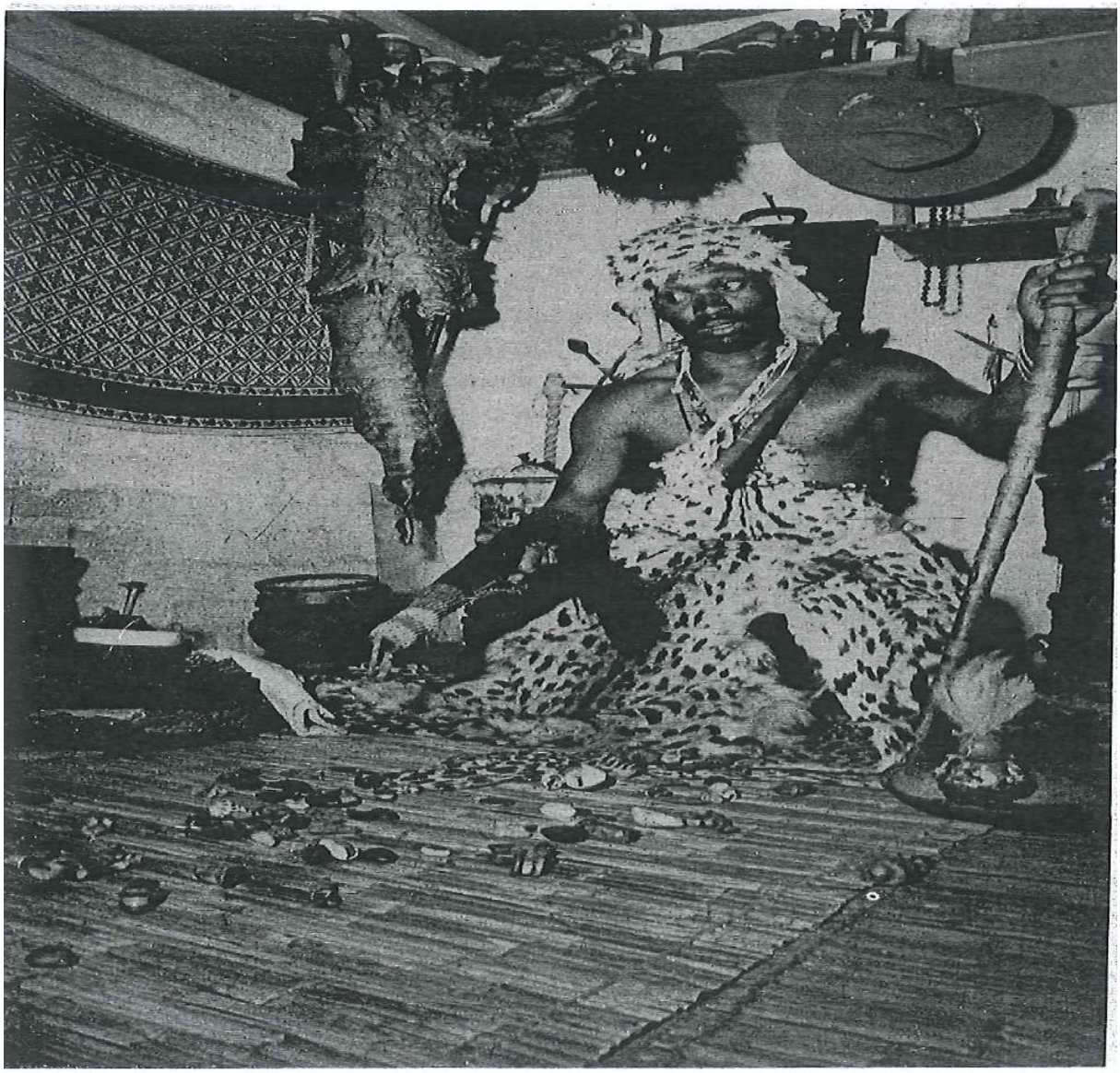
[138] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 146.



Herbalists selling their medicines at a market in Harare.

Source: Gordon Chavunduka, *Traditional Healers and the Shona Patient* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, Zambeziana No. 3, 1978).

Image 4.2:



A typical consulting room in Salisbury.

Source: Gordon Chavunduka, *Traditional Healers and the Shona Patient* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, Zambeziana No. 3, 1978).



Patients waiting outside K.G. Ntopa's consulting room in Mufakose township, Salisbury.

Source: Gordon Chavunduka, *Traditional Healers and the Shona Patient* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, Zambeziana No. 3, 1978).

CHAPTER 5: The Location of Culture and the Rural-Urban Connection

This chapter considers the social and cultural forms that evolved out of the Goromonzi migrants' experiences in Salisbury's urban environment and examines some of the ideological and cultural patterns the migrants themselves created within the townships. The discussion locates these cultural forms in various leisure time pursuits that emerged during the period under study that were congenial to the rural-urban context in which the migrants lived. I then proceed to suggest the migrant community's role and significance in informing the organic character within African urban townships. I argue that while colonial rule, characterised by economic functionalist policy and racist segregation ideas, often tried to impose idealised norms in the urban agglomeration, the realities of the colonised Africans continued to creep in repeatedly. The chapter further argues that the rejection of the colonial rural-urban division represented in African residency in private locations and squatter settlements ultimately became the foundation of certain sub-cultures emerging from these locations and the key to their viability.

The first section of this chapter explores the dialectical context pitting colonial efforts at regulating African leisure time pursuits against African resistance to those measures. The "standoff" came to a head when the rural-migrants "pulled out" from municipal civic and community centres and set up their own recreational settings such as *shebeens*. In essence, the coloniser's machinations had to face up to the preparedness of the Africans themselves to spend their leisure time as they wished. This section shows that the rural-migrants to the city preserved a sense of autonomy within the urban space of Salisbury and remained largely ambivalent or apathetic towards colonial cultural designs.

The second section tries to account for the reasons behind the "lack of involvement" by Goromonzi migrants in the Department of African Administration's (DAA) civic programmes. I follow how the coloniser's mistaken assumptions based on a worker-detached from his rural home, homogenised and urban-orientated, in turn, informed a largely disastrous civic policy based on a linear division between work and leisure. These assumptions also failed to account for the migrants' other preoccupations in the entirety of his socio-cultural world. I argue that such a working class-consciousness which denied all other forms of consciousness for the rural-migrants was not historically or empirically observable. Because the rural-urban migrant had

several overlapping identities, the circumstances through which he or she experienced the city and the reality of his or her transiency created the very conditions for expressing these identities and his or her consciousness which could not be confined to a singular city space.

The discussion contained in the third section exposes the often overlooked fact that the struggle for the city had more than one angle. This chapter makes a nuanced discussion of how migrants "subverted" the use of the Salisbury City Council (SCC)'s liquor outlets to their own benefit and proposes that such actions make up a form of latent protest because of the effects they produced. This suggests that "struggle" in many ways went far beyond direct or organised action against the colonial state and its functionaries and was not always and invariably calculated acts of resistance. More often than not, these actions originated as relatively innocuous transgressions of social codes that then produced unexpected results.

The last section puts the sociological and social functions that were experienced in the *shebeens* under the microscope. This discussion serves not only to refute the notion of a "social void" which colonial officials and contemporary sociologists characterised as the central reality of African urban society but also displays the multifunctional roles *shebeens* played in African urban life. This also serves to show how the roles of *shebeens* were congenial to the reality of the colonised migrant and what role they had in fostering the linkages between rural and urban spaces.

Migrant Cultural Production

The SCC often characterised African urban locations as suffering from material deprivation, prostitution, drunkenness and immorality. The 1944 Howman Report described the same African urban townships as made up of "carefree, boisterous adolescents' and 'detribalised' migrant workers, living in 'an abnormal social structure – uninhibited by tradition or respect for seniority".[1] Such descriptions as Kaarsholm rightly argues were intended to justify setting up the DAA which was then supposedly moving into a chaotic cultural vacuum to provide the structures for participation, associations and healthy home life.[2] Such descriptions deliberately and

[1] NAZ S1561/51, Report of the Howman Committee, January 1944.
[2] Preben Kaarsholm, "Si Ye Pambili-Which Way Forward?: Urban Development, Culture and Politics in Bulawayo" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **21**/2 (1995), 232.

purposely ignored a wide range of popular cultural styles and institutions which were already there. As Chikonzo notes "urban performance history by indigenous people is probably as old as the cities that came into being as a consequence of colonial contact".[3]

During the 1930s musical and other events were performed out in the open because of a shortage of concert halls. Church halls, like the Methodist Church Hall and Kaufmann centre close to the marketplace in the Harare Township were sometimes used as alternative venues.[4] The residents organised their own leisure time pursuits at these sites independently of Council especially on Sundays and public holidays. Traditional dancing was the dominant form of entertainment and displayed wide variety: from the Shona *ngororombe* (reed), drum and *mbira* ensembles to the *mazungendava* of Nyasaland.[5] The evidence of these dances, as Groves contends "countered the idea that 'rural traditions' had been abandoned by migrants who worked….in the city".[6] Thus, people coming to the townships from different parts of Rhodesia tried to establish internal cohesion and preserve backward linkages with their rural homes through performance activities. Similarly, immigrants from Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa (PEA) grouped together to cultivate the performance traditions of their home areas.

An early entrant to the Harare Location in the early 1940s, Dorothy Masuku, who transferred from Bulawayo as an 8-year old reminisces fondly about the cultural *vibe* she experienced:

> Yeah there was a lot happening – that is why I said the Musika area – we used to call it kwaKatsekera* – the whole area was really active on the weekend... [The musical influences at the time were] from all over, Malawi…villages...Mozambique...Northern Rhodesia, within Rhodesia itself....There was boxing, everything was happening there...people were just singing, choirs, dancing, sing....The whole thing was just a boiling pot you know and then you would get like New Year's Eve you would get these people dancing around the township, people dressed in costumes – that were frightening to little people like some of us as – but we would follow – for their music.[7]

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[3] Chikonzo, "Performance Space and Respectability", UZ, Theatre Arts Seminar Series, n.d., 1.
[4] J. Jenje-Makwenda, *Zimbabwe Township Music* (Harare, ©J. Jenje Makwenda, 2005), 49.
[5] Robert Kauffman, "Shona Urban Music: A Process Which Maintains Traditional Values" in *Urban Man in Southern Africa*, eds. Clive Kileff and Wade C. Pendleton, (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1975), 139.
[6] Zoë Groves, "Urban Migrants and Religious Networks: Malawians in Colonial Salisbury, 1920 to 1970", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **38**/3, (2012), 501.
[7] Dorothy Masuku quoted in E.K. Makombe, "Place Attachment, Operational Memory, and Symbols of Home '*Mumusha Wembare"*' (Paper presented at IFAS: Memory and City International Conference in Johannesburg, SA on 14 Sept. 2011), 4.
*Katsekera is chiNyanja meaning "one who looks out" and this was assigned to the location's Superintendant most probably by Malawian migrants who constituted the largest group of migrants before the 1920s.

Masuku's testimony confirms Groves' observation that "Nyau [performances] provided entertainment for Africans from a multitude of ethnic backgrounds… because it appealed to a wider audience as a form of popular culture".[8] In this way both indigenous Africans and foreigners of African origin simultaneously engaged in a process of cultural production.

A new rhythm emerged in African music that appealed directly to the cosmopolitan influences of the populace within the townships. Guitars became fashionable and were incorporated into the emerging township musical forms. The result of this movement was that a type of "pop music" emerged that had a distinctive local urban character. A self-taught musician from the Chihota Reserve, Ezekiah Chihota, composed his own songs in the early 1940s and formed a large vocal group known as the Salisbury Male Voice Choir. The vocal group soon became a prominent feature of Harare cultural life as they performed during sporting and other official occasions.[9] A trained musician from Chishawasha, Benedict Mazura also became a regular performer at some of these early gatherings that attracted the recent rural-migrants from Goromonzi.[10] In the late 1940s the Epworth Singets, a quartet accompanied by piano, became one of the first groups to perform in the newly constructed municipal halls. The way was now open for other groups to be formed, such as the Mashonaland Melodians and the Black Evening Follies.

Apart from the professional entertainers, there were scores of amateur singers and instrumentalists of one sort or the other, particularly guitarists, who used the streets and houses as performance stages. Before the advent of Shona radio broadcasts in 1954, *mbira* players and later guitar players, would wander through the streets collecting people as they went.[11] When the crowds became large enough, they would gather in a home to continue playing while drinking beer.

A trained musicologist, Robert Kauffman, observed that the new urban music was more recreationally oriented than was the traditional rural music.[12] In rural settings, musical activity was often combined with work activities and this was detected in that agricultural songs formed a major part of the rural musical repertoire. However, the change was not only observable in the

[8] Groves, "Malawians in Colonial Salisbury, 1920 to 1970", 508.
[9] Lawrence Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), 212.
[10] Ibid, 213.
[11] Kauffman, "Shona Urban Music," 133.
[12] Ibid, 132.

musical themes but that there was a greater diversification of products (instruments) than what one would find in the music of the rural areas.[13]

The new urban form of music also incorporated string influences from South Africa, from the Congolese style, from the America, as well as from the Shona rural areas. As Turino observes:

> The styles and repertoires of these jazz bands were actually cosmopolitan rather than simply being transplants of North American jazz in that American influences were often altered and diffused to Zimbabwe through South Africa by way of recordings and touring groups...Local jazz musicians began to learn from other Zimbabweans who began to add local rhythmic accents and pieces to their music – making the style cosmopolitan.[14]

At about the time when the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed, in 1953, nightclubs were started that gave outperforming opportunity for foreign groups to come to Rhodesia, bringing with them influences from their home countries. Most of these groups came from either South Africa or the Congo (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). One of the more famous of these was called the OK Success. The OK Success group learnt Shona music and injected it with certain Congolese influences. As a result, the OK Success band became one of the major musical activities in Rhodesia. With its recordings and broadcasts, it produced a tremendous impact upon the continually changing styles of rural as well as urban music.

Apart from Salisbury's townships hosting visits from South African and Congolese performers the transregional identities of some early performers were in no small measure responsible for the creation of a distinct and heterogeneous musical genre characteristic of the African townships. Examples include artists like Sonny Sondo, Alick Nkata who were originally from Northern Rhodesia and Dorothy Masuku herself who briefly relocated to the Union of South Africa around 1950 and later became part of a musical group known as African Jazz and Variety in that country.[15]

By the early 1970s Greenford Jangano and his Harare Mambos Band were playing a type or form of music that Kauffman characterised as a "reorchestration of traditional music" where they used

[13] Ibid, 144.
[14] Tom Turino, "The Middle Class, Cosmopolitanism, and Popular Music in Harare, Zimbabwe", in *Leisure in Urban Africa*, eds. P.T. Zeleza and C.R. Veney (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003), 328.
[15] Masuku quoted in Makombe, "Place Attachment, Operational Memory, and Symbols of Home," 5.

traditional rhythms and melodies and rearranged for three guitars, drums and singers.[16] The other major bands playing in the Salisbury area at the time were the Great Sounds and the Springfield Rifle.[17]

After the SCC realised the inevitability of these recreational activities it tried to control, localise and restrict these amusements to certain hours except under the supervision of its Welfare Officers. In the Mabvuku Township, a fulltime music specialist was hired to organise the musical activities in the township's recreational centres. Here instruction was given in traditional dancing, in *mbira* playing etc.[18] The local authority sought to replace African leisure time pursuits with controlled and sanitised substitutes through which they perhaps hoped to disseminate values integral to the colonial order. The drive to colonise African recreation was part of what Giddens has referred to as the "routinisation of everyday life".[19] So, rather than recognise African cultural forms as an institution rooted in a historical process, the SCC, through the DAA, tried to regiment African urban existence through monitoring movement, incomes, opinions, leisure, etc.

Because of these early attempts at prescribing leisure time pursuits, thousands of the inhabitants of the townships now had nothing to do except sit and drink in their homes. However, the more recent arrivals, especially young people, could not tolerate such regimentation so they decided to seek out alternative places for the emerging cultural and musical expression. This gave birth to the *Masaka* parties; young rural-migrants converted any place that was free from interference and constant police patrols into a dancing arena.[20] The heavy industrial area sited between the Harare Township and Highfields became the centre of this form of entertainment. Several employers in this area "let out" their premises such as tobacco warehouses to their employees to amuse themselves after working hours. Scores of men and women were drawn to these *Masaka* gatherings.[21]

[16] Kauffman, "Shona Urban Music", 140.
[17] Ibid, 141.
[18] Ibid, 142.
[19] A. Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, (London: Macmillan, 1981), 37.
[20] *Masaka* were so named because some of the *Masaka* assemblies took place inside hastily erected hessian sack (i.e. masaka in Shona) enclosures.
[21] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 212.

The heavy industrial site was private property and it was therefore technically outside the direct control of the police and the DAA. The high attendance figures registered at these *Masaka* gatherings showed the SCC that their recreational sites were utterly inadequate. There were only two halls in the Harare Township by 1958, the Mai Musodzi Hall, which took no more than 500 people, and a smaller, private one at the Kaufmann's plot, which held even fewer people.[22] The other hall, Runyararo Hall, was owned by a volunteer Anglican women's group and was therefore not immediately available for the types of leisure that took place during these *Masaka* gatherings. Similarly, Highfield Township only had one recreational hall, that is, the Cyril Jennings Hall.

The African settlements in private locations such as Mkangapoto were also able to offer alternative leisure time pursuits, despite disapproval from municipal authorities. When Mabvuku was opened in 1952, it was only able to house a few Africans from Mkangapoto. This forced the SCC to tolerate this settlement for another three years because it could not provide alternative accommodation. The SCC was also sensitive to the difficulties which could likely emerge with tackling the issue in a piecemeal fashion. However, the new Superintendent stationed in Mabvuku immediately complained about the "persistent brewing of beer and other illicit liquor".[23] In 1955, the Chief Native Commissioner (CNC), J.E.S. Turton, added his voice to calls to destroy these locations by invoking the erstwhile "sanitation syndrome".[24] Turton argued that the location's living conditions were a health hazard purporting that, "apart from being illegal these 'compounds' have been maintained under worse than slum conditions and are a very real danger to public health".[25] At the same time, the local government began prosecuting the

[22] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 79.
[23] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1952-1953, 18.
[24] The "sanitation syndrome" is a term used in an article on Cape Town, South Africa by M.W. Swanson which denotes the almost irrational quest that the earliest settlers exhibited in separation along racial lines as they purported that this was the most efficient means of protection against disease endemic amongst the African peoples.
See: Phillip Curtin, "Medical Knowledge and Urban Planning in Tropical Africa," *American Historical Review*, **XC**, (1984); Maynard W. Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome; Bubonic Plague and Native Urban Policy in the Cape Colony 1900-09," in *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, eds. W. Beinart & S. Dubow, (London: Rutledge, 1995).
[25] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1955, 11.

landowners which quickly erased the "menace from [the] peri-urban precincts of Bulawayo" but would only begin to bear fruit in Salisbury towards the end of 1956.[26]

Because of this, a bigger hall that is Stodart Hall, with added recreational facilities was opened on 30 May 1958 at the Harare Community Centre. Hartley lauded Stodart Hall, during the opening event, as "one of the largest and the best equipped in Salisbury" and as marking "the beginning of a new era in the social life of the Harari [*sic*] community".[27] However, the immediate downside was that the admission fee that was charged for cinema shows, dances and concerts was higher. It was nearly double that charged at the Mai Musodzi Hall.

Community halls were intended to provide settings for cultural performances and film shows and to stimulate the township residents' participation by holding civic association meetings to appeal to the broad base of the townships' population. Lectures, discussions, educational film shows, cocktails, tap-dancing were among the leisure activities encouraged in these halls. The SCC placed a high premium on getting the rural-migrants to the city engaged in some form of club activity. Cormack asserts that the SCC "reasoned that if the African could engage in sport and have access to entertainment, he would use up surplus physical energy and be reasonably contented and therefore would be easier to control".[28] On the whole, the DAA encouraged membership for almost any type of association from trade unions to burial societies - with the only exception being African nationalist political parties.

The role club activities were intended to play towards aiding civic and social engineering cannot be downplayed. This is captured in the following statement by Morris, the CNC, in 1958:

> In Salisbury...there is a large programme of social work for the urbanised Native. Nearly 200 social organisations operate in Harare and Mabvuku....A strong Boy's Club at Harare is becoming a powerful force in the fight against juvenile delinquency. Women are playing their part and throughout the Colony their Clubs are developing and the home-craft idea is gaining momentum.[29]

[26] Ibid.
[27] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 79.
[28] I.R.N. Cormack cited in Nathaniel Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia c. 1945-1980" (MA Thesis, UZ, January 2004), 16.
[29] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC for the Year 1958, 21.

The organs of settler society also besieged African women's clubs as a way to promote political conservatism. Several European women's organisations played a key role by helping in organising and guiding several embryonic groups under the umbrella of the Federation of African Women's Clubs or the Women's Institute Homecraft Clubs and the National Council of Women. A Miss Langham, considered the "pioneer of the homecraft schools", and several wives of Native Affairs Department (NAD) officials also organised women's clubs in the surrounding rural districts.[30] Besides hosting concerts, the Mai Musodzi Hall was also used as a training centre for home-craft skills and other vocations such as the Red Cross.

In this, we see signs of what Kufakurinani, Hansen and Jeater have identified as a colonial project to frame notions of female labour, elite discourses on femininity and an emerging domesticity.[31] Sport, leisure and recreation were also targeted as activities which could play a role in preventing the growth of the so-called *tsotsi* behaviour and outlook that the SCC used when referring to any anti-social acts. Scout and Guide clubs were actively promoted among the youth to foster a "spirit of service".[32]

The SCC's traditional dancing competitions were a further take at stimulating "traditional" dancing in the urban areas. The Neshamwari Music festival was also seen as an extremely valuable civic institution designed as an incentive for developing music and dancing of all kinds. The Salisbury Municipality hired a fulltime music specialist who spent a great deal of his time encouraging the formation of dancing troupes and provided them with drums when necessary. The SCC even organised dancing teams from mining compounds to visit as it hoped to encourage the townships populace to adopt such forms of dance. Despite these efforts, it became clear from the first stages that African male participation levels were low and after that the competition was targeted at girls' and women's groups.

[30] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1952, 25.
[31] See: Ushehwedu Kufakurinani, "'While a career is vital for a man it is optional for a woman': White women in the Southern Rhodesia Public Service 1914 to c.1965," (MA. Thesis, July 2007); Karen T. Hansen, *Keeping House in Lusaka* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); K.T. Hansen (ed.), *African Encounters with Domesticity*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992); Diana Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion and Power: The construction of moral discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
[32] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1952, 26.

Data supplied by the DAA (see appendix 5.1 and 5.2) listing the different clubs running within the African Village Settlements (AVSs) of Salisbury failed to account for duplication in membership which was usually fluid and short-lived. For instance, the average membership in 1958 at the Harare Township play-centre averaged just 80 children because children would come and go and many returned to the reserves either on visits with their mother or to join their grandparents.[33] Similarly, in the same year, membership in the two boys' clubs in the Harare Township usually fluctuated between 400 and 900 and yet there were 14 000 children in that township by 1959.[34] In 1960 the DAA reported that "at the request of the girls, activities were suspended during school holidays as many of them go to visit relations in the reserves and others prefer to stay at home".[35] By 1970 the registered membership in all boys' clubs was only 1 607 of which most were engaged in sports but other clubs such as drama and cultural clubs would appear intermittently.

In essence, the rate of uptake among the African urban population was not always as expected prompting a clearly disappointed CNC to report that, "what is frequently missing...among people to whom this way of life is a new experience, is initiative and leadership; such leadership calls for voluntary effort and a sense of public duty".[36] Usually women's clubs were the strongest with 23 such clubs making use of the Council's facilities in 1970. However, this also masks multiple memberships of one individual in various clubs. A study carried out in 1957 found out that 80 percent of urban African women had no affiliation at all with any club, association or society.[37]

Despite spirited efforts to get the African township population engaged in leisure time pursuits through its Welfare Officers and music and traditional dancing organisers, Briggs conceded, in 1968, that the Council's "past attempts in this sphere have been singularly unsuccessful".[38] Similarly, the colonial project geared at fostering Victorian notions of domesticity designed to mould "better" mothers and wives was stillborn. P.J. Kenworthy, the Commissioner of Native Labour (CNL), supposed that part of the reason that contributed to the low employment levels for women, arose out of their reluctance to be engaged as domestic servants. Several labour

[33] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1958, 98.
[34] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1959, 35.
[35] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1960, 20.
[36] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1960, 14.
[37] Second Report on African Budget Survey in Salisbury, 1957-1958, 6.
[38] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1967-1968, 22.

officers also reported that many African women were "anxious only to be a 'nanny' and [were] reluctant to undertake household work".[39] The Acting Native Commissioner (NC) for Salisbury also complained that youth clubs were languishing because of a "lack of leaders owing to the absence of adequate training facilities".[40] The DAA considered that the major cause of disruption to township club life arose from the "single" men residing in hostels because in Brigg's view:

> ....almost all the residents are from rural areas and completely unsophisticated. Most are migratory workers and reluctant to join unfamiliar recreational activities, also many have reached a stage in life where they prefer to enjoy their leisure passively, watching football or boxing or talking over a pot of beer as they would do at home.[41]

Brigg's dismay mirrors a deduction that Badenhorst and Mather's study on the relationship between culture, social control and sport on South Africa's gold mines made that "migrant identity could not be shaped by management fiat alone".[42] Similarly municipal fiat failed to prescribe the migrants use of leisure in Salisbury. I will proceed to explore the reasons why in the next section.

Accounting for African "ambivalence" to the Council's civic activities

At the centre of what the local authorities felt was African ambivalence to its civic and cultural policies were a conceptual convergence of what made up leisure. For the Council, leisure was realised in time after work, or in particular activities, or on a specific quality of an experience, or based on its utility for individuals. Put differently, leisure was imagined as residual time, as activities, or as functional. This notion of leisure as unobligated or discretionary time was a product of industrialisation and by extension a Euro-western modernity which sharpened the separation of work and leisure. This, therefore, explains the DAA's expressed dismay in 1965 at what it felt was "an almost complete lack of interest in what the European would term 'cultural' activity".[43]

[39] Report of the Secretary of Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Development: 1953, 14.
[40] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1952, 26.
[41] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1968-1969, 19-20.
[42] C. Badenhorst and C. Mather, "Tribal Recreation and Recreating Tribalism: Culture, Leisure and Social Control on South Africa's Gold Mines, 1940–1950", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **23**/3 (1997), 488.
[43] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1964-1965, 34.

The DAA's conception of leisure as functional is what, in turn, framed colonial civic policy as a means of achieving needed objectives and curing social ills like juvenile delinquency. Chikonzo notes that the functional goals motivating the SCC's civic policies called for what Althusser terms "Ideological State Apparatuses", that is, institutions that manufacture consent or hegemony in order to create ideologies which individuals and groups in society internalise and adhere to.[44] These institutions included schools, religions, legal systems, politics, arts and sports. Kaarsholm also stresses that, "the provisions of facilities and the exertion of control were inseparable".[45] For instance, when broadcasting equipment for Mabvuku was installed, an editorial in a municipal newsletter for the township known as the *Mabvuku News*, in language deliberately intended to veil the true purpose of the equipment, read:

> The equipment for broadcasting has now been installed...The main use of the broadcast will be the passing of messages and information to the residents. In the next issue of this newsletter we shall publish the details of the procedure for those who wish to pass messages and times of broadcasts. We sincerely hope that the residents will now be able to take a greater interest in their township because of knowledge of what is taking place and, through this, develop a good community spirit.[46]

However, following urban riots that broke out in February 1959 leading to the 1959 "state of emergency" such equipment, as well as floodlighting and tower lights became essential in aiding surveillance.[47] Townships, which almost always lacked electricity, were marked by high lighting fixtures and wide roads to make control of people relatively easier and to inspire a sense of awe.[48]

In addition, many of the activities that the state often characterised as leisure singled out active rather than passive leisure and institutionalised leisure forms rather than informal and unorganised leisure, such as visiting friends or other forms of socialisation. Briggs' remark on African male Hostel dwellers in 1970 makes the point:

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[44] Kelvin Chikonzo, "The Construction of African Cultural Identities in Zimbabwean Films: From 1948-2000," (MPhil Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2005), 6.
[45] Kaarsholm, "'Si ye pambili'- Which way forward?" 234.
[46] *The Mabvuku News*: **1**/4; 31 March 1960.
[47] Brian Raftopoulos, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **21**/1 (1995), 90.
[48] See: James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, (Yale University Press, 1998).

> ....although they are physically involved in urban life, spiritually and socially they live in the reserves....associational football is perhaps the only activity of Western tradition which has been wholly accepted both from a participation and spectator point of view.[49]

This points to the difficulties of defining leisure activities because "activity" was often interpreted differently by different people and what leisure was, was also highly contested. Many activities, such as religion, charity work, and do-it yourself activities, often defied an easy inclusion as leisure. As Zeleza argues:

> Clearly, leisure is structured by other social institutions besides paid work...leisure [must be defined] from the perspective of the participants themselves rather than based on *a priori* distinctions between leisure and work.[50]

The work-leisure couplet advanced by the SCC was also based on a colonial false vision in which the coloniser failed to account for the changing ecology of the urban environment and the reality of rural-urban migrancy. The civic policy was designed for a fully proletarianised workforce, cut-off from its rural roots which failed to incorporate the realities of family presences in the urban areas and urban unemployment. Therefore, the forms of associational life in the SCC's civic policy were tied in with a supposed civic structure that housed "single" male workers. However, the migrants' translocal realities exploded any firm or direct connection between where one was staying and how he or she lived. The city, therefore, did not influence all aspects of life to the same extent.

The family reality for the urban worker was the crucible through which he or she divided his or her resources that is time, space, financial and personal – including his or her leisure. So, the family life cycle, helped shape people's changing preoccupations on leisure and, in another sense, the family was also the focus and locus of leisure. The translocal constitution of many family units between the rural and urban spaces, in turn, meant that the locus, in which leisure was exercised, of necessity, had to be beyond the urban space.

Further, most of the African workforce in blue-collar professions expressed either a negative attachment to their urban work or a detachment from work which implied neither fulfilment nor opposition but remained anchored on the absolute need for holding employment. The sense of

[49] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1969-1970, 14.
[50] Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Introduction," in *Leisure in Urban Africa*, 7.

detachment was captured, partially, by Stopforth's 1977 research survey on life-goals and lifestyles in the Highfield Township. The survey revealed that 86.2 percent of respondents were dissatisfied with their standard of living.[51] This negativity was largely a result of the "mercantilist spirit" governing colonial labour relations in the workplace and translated to a high labour turnover.[52] Zeleza hypothesises that, "the normative and behavioural relationship between work and leisure are related to the degrees of investment people make in their work".[53] This therefore implies that the encroachment of work into leisure was low for the African workforce because of the detachment they felt with urban employment. In essence, the types of precarious employment characterised by undefined and extensive work hours, low salaries, no pensions, etc., was averse to the well-being of the migrant and ensured little association between free time and work time.

Because of this negative attachment to work, the migrants' conception of leisure had to constitute an escape from the regimentation, discipline, specialisation and industrial workplace philosophy that the DAA's Sport Organisers tried to infuse into the various sporting activities in the townships. Alegi directly states that football "in the world of black leisure…was *not* work".[54] Consequently, Africans often infused their own "indigenous interpretations" of sport that in most cases developed an unprecedented variety of sporting genres, techniques, and tactics.[55] These at once signalled a rejection of colonial technical and tactical interpretations of sport. African migrant aesthetics of sport placed more value on the spectacle and excitement generated in a match.

Parry also observes that boxing bouts in Salisbury's African townships were conducted in a fashion distinct from European conceptions of the sport.[56] He notes that African boxing was bound far more strictly by its own internal rules than white commentators were able to appreciate and that:

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[51] D. Stopforth, "Some Local Impediments to Social Change among Urban Africans," *Zambezia*, **5**/1 (1977), 34.
[52] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal 1890-1940* (Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1989), 15.
[53] P.T. Zeleza, "Introduction...., 5.
[54] Peter C. Alegi, "Playing to the Gallery? Sport, Cultural Performance, and Social Identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, **35**/1 (2002), 35.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Richard Parry, "Culture, Organisation and Class: The African Experience in Salisbury, 1923-1935," in *Sites of Struggle*, 72.

> Unlike "white" boxing the aim was not....to inflict maximum violence…the object was the demonstration of agility, balance and movement rather than force; to outwit rather than to outhit...There was no reason to bludgeon an opponent to the ground in order to demonstrate superiority....Where the meaning and function of "white" boxing....was to provide an outlet for emotions and impulses not otherwise acceptable within society as a whole, the meaning and function of African boxing lay in its glorification of dexterity and skill over the brutality of everyday experience.....the violence was ritualised. It involved more noise and shows of force than actual violence.[57]

This reveals that even in developing their own interpretations of various sports, African conceptions were far from being a phenomenon devoid of meaning and function.

The work-leisure coupling anchoring the local authority's civic policy also ignored or undervalued the leisure of those outside paid employment, including women and the youth, through attempts to foster notions of domesticity or (re)*traditionalisation*. However, even though women and children had more unstructured or unobligated time since they were not employed in industry, this did not translate into more leisure time. This suggests that the work and leisure relationship went beyond the division of time. These groups of rural immigrants, as we saw in the two preceding chapters, were often busy trying to minister to the social reproductive needs of a translocal family. This, at the very least, should have forced a revision of the state's civic policy since women and the youth were significantly entrenched in both the urban and rural contexts.

The effects of female agency displayed by African women engaged in the informal sector nullified some of the attempts at fostering a western-style domesticity. For instance, *shebeen* queens who operated from Old Highfields and Lusaka section of Highfields and Unit G in Chitungwiza in the early 1970s set up quite elaborate and autonomous networks among themselves. These ranged from "loose" associations or beer brewing cooperatives to more compact associations where groups of women would pool their resources together, brew and sell collectively and share in the profits.[58] This was done to avoid "unnecessary and harmful competition" but also to try to spread the risk involved in the business.[59] In times of need, such associations would easily mutate into burial societies, or savings clubs and the common funds

[57] Ibid, 73-74.
[58] Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 44-45.
[59] Ibid, 45.

would also be used to bail out arrested members. Thus, African women faced and remade the strategies designed to foster domesticity on their own terms.

In the 1960s, "traditional" dance competitions like the Neshamwari Festival came to be patronised by juveniles, more so by children of foreign migrants from territories like Mozambique (e.g. Changani dance group) and Zambia (e.g. Batonga dance group). This suggests that "traditional" dancing assumed a very different aesthetic and meaning when compared to the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt several decades earlier. In the 1930s, mine authorities on the Copperbelt had tried to contain and transform dance into recreational devices for the control of labour.[60] Thus, while the coloniser's emphasis on the "tribal" nature of its dance competitions and sports were a necessary adjunct to its functionalist conception of leisure it simultaneously "shows the central confusion over the nature and significance of ethnicity" the local administration still carried.[61] This in part would explain one NC's surprise and dismay at what he thought was "deterioration" in one club that had started out as a Musical and Dramatic Club but in a short while its members began to subscribe to "rock-and-roll".[62]

African immigrants found greater advantages in other contexts (such as church) and the "tribe" as a socially functional unit declined - to the extent that it ever was - in the post-World War II period. The individuals involved in the townships' clubs or civic associations were united by other factors such as age, gender or by a common economic distance from the incipient elites who had managed to entrench themselves, as far as this was possible, in the precarious urban environment. They were responding on one level to their powerlessness. As Meillasoux remarks, "beyond the apparent license and futility of the [dance] clubs, we can perceive a groping attempt to shape a new society, a new social order and new sex relationships".[63] An anonymous letter to the Editor of the *African Weekly* at once captures the gender and class dimensions contained in

[60] On the Copperbelt traditional dance had been used to reproduce older cultural values and the so-called rural feel by insisting on various stipulations that these dances had to follow. Mine authorities saw this as an opportunity to exert their ideological hegemony over their African colonial subjects.
See: van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 186-89; BK, Matongo, "Popular culture in a colonial society: Another look at Mbeni and Kalela dances on the Copperbelt, 1930–64," in *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule, 1890–1964*, ed. S.N. Chipungu (Macmillan, London, 1992); J. Higginson, *A Working Class in the Making: Belgian Colonial Labour Policy, Private Enterprise, and the African Mineworker, 1907–1951* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 61–160.
[61] Parry, "African Experience in Salisbury, 1923-1935," 76.
[62] 1956 CNC Report, 22.
[63] Claude Meillasoux cited in Bill Freund, *The African City: A History*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

these engagements as the writer expresses dismay at what some patriarchal African men saw as "defiling" traditional culture by women:

> These days everybody knows that in towns and on mines there is a dance called the "Tsaba-tsaba." Like all dances it is a good dance if it is done properly. What spoils the dance are some women and girls who do degrading things. They fling up their dresses and move their behinds and fronts in a bad way, not befitting good girls and women. Please don't do things that degrade us; dance tsaba-tsaba properly.[64]

However, urban women probably looked to these traditional dancing competitions as avenues through which such forms of dance could be reconfigured as an expression of sexuality or sensuality. These "reconfigurations" signal the inversion of the colonial hegemonic order through inflecting autonomous meanings into familiar dance routines. Because of such inherent contestations that were evolving outside the ambit of colonial hegemony recreation became "a recreation in the fundamental sense of the word. It recreated a world reverberating with [its own] significances which....challenged the basic cultural and ideological tenets of white power".[65]

Beer-halls as Sites of Latent Protest

This section explains how rural immigrants took over certain spaces within the townships and the sociological functions they assumed that were congenial to the rural-urban migrants' reality and context. I propose that, given the difficulties subordinated groups face in overtly resisting exploitative social relations, the norm was a more subdued, often obtuse rejection of place-specific social hierarchies through "aesthetic transgressions" that challenged the status quo and imposed order.[66] These transgressions took on many forms, including non-conformist dressing, speaking styles, mannerisms, diets, and consumption habits. This section focuses on transgressions entailed in not using the SCC's facilities in the manner in which the local authorities had intended. Such transgressions formed the informal means of resistance employed by urban Africans, that is, "the hidden forms of resistance".[67] This upholds Shivji's notion of

[64] Letter to the *African Weekly* cited in T. Barnes, *"We Women Worked so Hard": Gender, Urbanization, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1999), 129.
[65] Parry, "African Experience in Salisbury, 1892-1935," 76.
[66] Vinay Gidwani, & K. Sivaramakrishnan, "Circular Migration and Rural Cosmopolitanism in India," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* **37**/1-2 (2003), 199.
[67] See: James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

"silent" class struggles in a non-revolutionary context in which most of the struggle is latent and unidentifiable.[68]

The decision to focus on how migrants superimposed their own realities within the municipal beer-halls in this section does not mean that these social and sociological processes were unique to these spaces. Rather, it is a take to nuance these processes in a particular setting, but there were indeed similar "takeovers" of various other spaces and institutions including community halls and stadiums, sports and dance. It would also be worthwhile to point out that according to a survey conducted in the 1960s municipal beer-halls had more buildings, held more people, took more of their time and money than church, cinema, dancehall and political organisations together.[69] Wolcott even described the municipality operated beer-halls as a major, if not the most dominant of the introduced social institutions among urban Africans.[70] In short, beer-halls provide a useful glimpse into African urban life during the period under investigation.

As early as 1913, the SCC introduced the so-called "Durban system" that was intended to force Africans to drink "Native beer" at designated municipal beer-halls.[71] This gave the Liquor Undertaking Department (LUD) of the SCC a virtual monopoly in the brewing and retailing of African beer. The revenue generated from beer sales was used to pay for services such as urban housing for Africans and to fund the SCC's welfare programmes.[72] The system was principally motivated by a desire to free white employers and ratepayers from the responsibility of paying for the stay of Africans in towns and cities. The SCC also hoped to control illicit beer brewing which provided an alternative source of income to urban Africans and at the same time, curb alcohol related problems like absenteeism from work. The SCC assigned the high rates of

[68] I. Shivji cited in C. Asowa-Okwe, "Abavubi: An Examination of the Living and Working Conditions of Fish Labourers of Lake Kyoga and Victoria (Uganda)," in *Uganda's Studies in Labour*, ed. Mahmood Mamdani, (Dakar: CODESSRIA, 1996), 232-233.

[69] Joan May, "Drinking in Rhodesia's African Township", (Department of Sociology, Occasional Paper NO. 8 Salisbury, University of Rhodesia, 1973), 16.

[70] H. F. Wolcott, "Plastic Mugs for Traditional Brew: Beer Drinking among, Rhodesia Urban Africans," (Unpublished Manuscript), 17.

[71] The famed "Durban System" was named after the Durban Municipality (of South Africa) created a system, in 1909, under which they set up a few, centralised, municipality-controlled African beer halls, while imposing a total prohibition in an around its locations, except for municipal beer halls. The system was supposed to ensure a decrease in the amount of African drunkenness but it also proved financially profitable.
See: M.W. Swanson, "'Durban System': Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal", *African Studies*, **XXXV** (1976); R. Parry, "The Durban System and the Limits of Colonial Power in Salisbury 1890 – 1935,'' in J. Crush and C. Ambler (eds), *Liquor and Labour in Southern Africa*,(Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1992).

[72] City of Salisbury, Rhodesia, The Liquor Undertaking Department, 12th Annual Report, 1975-1976, 9.

accidents at work to working under the influence of alcohol. In turn, the LUD strictly controlled the alcohol content of its municipal brewed beer.[73] This, the SCC hoped, would stop excessive alcohol consumption by Africans which they thought precipitated a lewd craving for white women; the so-called "black peril".[74]

By the 1950s, several beer gardens and beer-halls, in the SCC's nomenclature, had been erected around the municipal townships that included Chiweshe, Pfumojena, Machipisa, Nenyere, Vito and Shawasha beer gardens. These names were purposely designed to appeal to the target market (that is the African labourers) by naming the beer outlets after some of the most popular sources of rural-urban migrants such as Chiweshe and Chishawasha. Vambe, a contemporary observer aptly described these beer gardens as "large, paddock-like constructions".[75] The settings in these liquor outlets were purposely designed to reproduce the imagined communal spaces in the reserves by having large open-air spaces where the African people could imbibe "Native beer" with the only shade being provided by rustic gazebos that were supposed to mirror the *rondavels* in the rural areas. Briggs expressed the point clearly in 1965 when he wrote:

> ....we have been very careful to try and associate the distribution of African beer and link it with recreational facilities and the emphasis more particularly has been placed on the recreational and sociological side rather than calling them beer selling outlets.[76]

These beer outlets were also designed to prescribe the African workers' use of time. Until 1959 the SCC's beer outlets closed early at 8pm and thereafter at 10pm. Ambler and Crush, rightly, argue that by doing this "local officials sought to reduce labour indiscipline associated in their minds with unregulated drinking".[77] This notwithstanding, it remains apt to argue that the colonial administration was inherently ambivalent towards alcohol use, as they encouraged it as a central means of financing African administration while simultaneously condemning its effects on the workforce.

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[73] The African Beer Act defined "Native beer" as "any portable opaque liquid produced for the purposes of sale containing more than 1.5 percentum of ethyl alcohol by volume".
[74] See: John Pape, "Black and White: The 'Perils of Sex' in Colonial Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **16**/4 (1990).
[75] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 193.
[76] Briggs quoted in Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 17.
[77] Charles Ambler and Jonathan Crush, "Alcohol in Southern African Labour History" in *Liquor and Labour in Southern Africa*, 19.

Besides being inadequate and restricted by the drinking hours, the approved beer did not have enough "kick" in it to satisfy most hardened boozers. In any case, many of the township dwellers simply expressed a wish to have their beer freely and with whomever they liked as part of their individual freedom.[78] From the 1960s the LUD became more concerned with increasing profits than with using alcohol as a tool of social control because of the increasing rate of African urbanisation and the attendant need to meet African housing needs at a faster rate than before. The immediate weight of this was that there was an even lower investment in sprucing up the structures in the beer gardens and this marked the beginning of systemic neglect.[79]

Beer-hall patrons often complained about the general facilities and service in these outlets such as, the long queues for draught beer, inadequate ablution facilities, overcrowding, lack of physical comfort and shade. Due, in part, to the drab atmosphere in the SCC's liquor outlets some Africans smuggled illegal liquor into the beer-halls and organised dance competitions to entertain themselves and gambling games such as *feja-feja* and *chabuta*.[80] Kauffman who was a contemporary observer of these beer gardens noted;

> Most of the music performed in the beer gardens is traditional and would compare in quality to that found in the rural areas. The *Ngororombe, Jerusarema,* and *Mbakumba* appear to be the most popular dance types performed by the Urban Shona groups. Some acculturated music is performed, particularly by non-Shona groups, but the major emphasis in the beer gardens appears to be on the older Shona traditions.[81]

In this way, the beer gardens functioned as one of the major locations for Shona recreational activities in Salisbury. Yet, it would be incorrect to then conclude from this evidence that beer-hall patrons in Salisbury were still "tribal"/rural in their outlook. Rather, migrants participated in both traditional dancing and in sports like soccer and this exposed the DAA's failure to separate leisure along "tribal" lines. Migrants clearly participated in the sport and leisure of their choice, despite the efforts of DAA's Welfare Officers. More pointedly, the traditional dancing performances that beer-hall patrons engaged in represented "a struggle by traditional society

[78] Separate interviews with Tiki Mujoma (13/11/11), Emmanuel Seve (10/7/11) and Robert Chihoro (12/11/11).
[79] Separate interviews with Wilson Madimu (13/11/11), Robert Chihoro (12/11/11) and Musiiwa Matema (10/7/11).
[80] Separate interviews with Willard Chidemo (7/9/12), Wilson Madimu and Musiiwa Matema.
[81] Kauffman, "Shona Urban Music", 139.

against colonialism, carried on with new weapons".[82] So, although beer-halls and beer gardens were a colonial creation, they also served as "rallying points for efforts at resisting cultural disintegration".[83]

Beer gardens and halls came to assume a sociological role and played an integrative role in the African community as a place for cultural exchange for those who patronised them.[84] Wolcott submits that "the beer gardens presented a sort of cultural cafeteria" in an environment lacking any purposeful recreational facilities where the Africans could meet and share information.[85] The SCC's liquor outlets became places where non-drinkers and drinkers met to share their experiences. Thus, as Wolcott discovered, "strangers [that is first time migrants] to the city were sometimes known to wander about the beer-halls listening for familiar dialects as a way of establishing and maintaining contact with countrymen".[86] Beer-halls became forums of socialisation as people unknown to each other "back in the reserves became involved in new communication in the city".[87] The beer-halls' network not only allowed people to establish themselves when they were newcomers in the urban milieu, but met their needs for group participation and social contacts as town dwellers. At the same time, beer-halls helped maintain ties from home (*kumusha*) and had a recognisable function in reducing social distances and strengthening group bonds.[88]

Beer-halls and other meeting places assumed the primary role for social interaction among Africans in the towns and simplified rapport and social solidarity. Thus, "despite their association by Christianised elites with the evils of township life the beer-halls became important meeting places and arenas of social exchange".[89] The allusions to shared cultural commonalities

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[82] N.A. Etherington cited in D. Coplan, "The Emergence of an African Working-Class Culture" in *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness 1970-1980*, eds. S. Marks and R. Rathbone, (Essex: Longman, 1982), 369.
[83] P. Kaarsholm, "Mental Colonisation or Catharsis? Theatre, Democracy and Cultural Struggle from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **16**/2 (1990), 252.
[84] Integration here is used "in a broader anthropological sense as the process of adjustment between elements that comprise a culture."
Harry F. Wolcott, *The African Beer Gardens of Bulawayo: Integrated Drinking in a Segregated Society* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Centre of Alcohol Studies, 1974).
[85] Ibid, 85.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid, 84-85.
[88] E. M. Lemert, *Alcohol and the North West Coast Indians*, (California, University of California Press, 1954), 34.
[89] Groves, "Malawians in Colonial Salisbury, 1920 to 1970", 505-6.

among the urban population fused seemingly disparate groups and widened the migrants' social relationships. Mashiri proposes that since beer-halls made up a key interactive space for people of different ethnicities in the African locations "the movement towards a unified Shona identity became irresistible" despite common regional dialect-based stereotypes.[90] African nationalism was conceived in such centres, where Zimbabweans of different origins, speaking different dialects, intermingled. While the perceived elitist nature of political parties had initially hindered mass participation, African nationalism began to be spread at beer-halls and stadiums like Rufaro where Africans from different social classes met with relatively less police intervention. The concentration of people at beer-halls even led to easy and effective means of spreading information.

In essence, the linguistic homogeneity of most of Salisbury's African population formed one of the quickest and strongest forces in framing inter-ethnic and national consciousness among the colonised Africans and it became a microcosm of the wider influences prevailing in the country.[91] As Msindo points out in reference to colonial Bulawayo: "By the mid-1950s, Africans had a broader understanding of racial segregation, thanks to expanded Western education, the African press and informal political forums at beer drinking sessions".[92] This assessment is largely applicable to Salisbury in the period under study. The large-scale influx of Shona immigrants from the nearby rural reserves into Salisbury, starting in the 1940s exerted a profound impact on urban political culture. These immigrants, who came in from areas seething with peasant discontent, infused urban politics with a greater rural and indigenous content.[93] Put differently, persisting rural affiliations among the migrants to the city became the very terrain for developing a mass consciousness and on which resistance was grounded.

[90] Pedzisai Mashiri, "The Language of Ethnic Contempt: Malawian Zimbabwean Shona Rivalry**,"** (Seminar Paper, Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Zimbabwe, n.d.), 6.

[91] The 1969 census revealed that 81 percent of Salisbury African population were Shona speaking Africans and 1.5 percent was Ndebele/Nguni language speaking Africans. The remaining 17.5 percent had been born outside Rhodesia in territories like Malawi and Zambia.
See: Rhodesia, Census of Population, 1969 (Salisbury, CSO, 1971).

[92] Enocent Msindo, "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe: Bulawayo, 1950 to 1963", *The Journal of African History*, **48**, (2007), 274.

[93] For further discussion see: Raftopoulos, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965."

The ethnic mingling occurring within these municipal liquor outlets also became opportunities to re-enforce ethnic boundaries by defining "insiders," "outsiders" and "renegades".[94] It was in these forums that Shona men who regarded unions between Shona women and men from Malawi or Mozambique as "sordid and mercenary" began to generate myths claiming that "most of these [Malawian] immigrants had been given wives at as [an] early age as twelve". They also claimed that "if they [Shona women] married [Malawian immigrants], they too might eventually be deserted by these rootless, restless people whose final goal, almost without exception, was South Africa".[95]

These slurs supposedly announced and enforced social norms by highlighting deviations from the "cultural" norms. One aged Malawian immigrant recounted his experiences to Mashiri on entering these beer gardens stating:

> Each time I got into the bar they (Shona men) would start insulting me. One could start, "brother, come here dull-face so that you buy us beer because you have no rural home to spend money on. Do you want a rural home? We could allocate you a home in our village then you stop flying to Malawi at night in your magic winnowing-basket".[96]

From this, nicknames that were meant for foreign immigrants were sometimes extended to deviant locals as a way of bringing their behaviour into line with the "norms". The stereotypes attached to these slurs were also extended to those labelled as *majoki* in the 1950s and 1960s and to the *mabhonirokesheni* (*lit*. born in the locations) in the 1970s. The two terms (*majoki* and *mabhonirokesheni*) amounted to slurs used on youths that had been born and bred in the cities and sarcastically regarded to have lost their social identity. According to Fungai and Tonderai Munaku, people looked down on these *mabhonirokesheni* because they "failed" to identify with their rural areas.[97]

The confined social settings in the SCC's liquor outlets apart from producing a distinctly ethnic/regional/national conversation also encouraged some significant linguistic invention as many African urban dwellers incorporated extraneous language elements. Suffice it to point out that such invention was not confined to beer gardens as Groves also points out that "As more

[94] Khleif cited in Mashiri, "The Language of Ethnic Contempt," 6.
[95] Lawrence Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, (London: Heinemann, 1972), 230-1.
[96] Malawian informant quoted in Mashiri, "The Language of Ethnic Contempt," 6-7.
[97] Interview with Fungai and Tonderai Munaku in Mbare on 31 July 2011.

local Africans joined the [Malawian-dominated church] congregations, the Presbyterian Native Mission Committee adopted a mixture of chiShona and chiNyanja into their sermons and teachings".[98] These settings saw the spoken Shona becoming the inter-language or *lingua franca* which exhibited characteristics of cultural and social pluralism due to the presence of various ethnic groups who made up the speech community within the townships.[99]

The substantial shift from ChiNyanja to ChiShona as the main language in the Harare Township, in the 1950s, was the result of a wide range of factors, but these certainly included the in-migration of many people from the Shona-speaking rural hinterland into the city.[100] Broadly speaking, within the realm of ideas and attitudes rural-urban flows will generally represent forces for preservation rather than for change. Rural dwellers merely remind urban dwellers of things and keep them up to date. Their contribution is often to reinforce cultural traits which might otherwise be rapidly weakened in the cosmopolitan city. However, in a few cases, the reverse can also happen. This case on the language change in Salisbury provides a definitive example of how rural-urban flows influenced urban culture and society moving forward.

A particular register or "lingo" emerged in the 1950s and 1960s that colonial officials labelled as *chijoki*. Colonial officials credited this lingo or argot to the "the semi-educated sophisticated African of the teacher-turned-driver or businessman type, or the young town 'tsotsi' or 'wide-boy'" (see appendix 5.3).[101] Noel Hunt, who worked as an adjudicator in the colonial courts, thought that "the free use of such phrases [*chijoki* lingo] by a young man marks him as one of the 'vazivi' [a knower], a true urban sophisticate, and is much appreciated by the lady friends".[102] Indeed this confirms Zabus's assertion that "language use constitutes a conspicuous and

[98] Groves, "Malawians in Colonial Salisbury, 1920 to 1970", 499.

[99] Kahari defines *Shona* as "an artificial term used by linguists to refer to an agglomeration of mostly but not completely, mutually intelligible dialects found within and outside Zimbabwe". Zabus defines *lingua franca* as neither the European target language nor the indigenous source language, and functions as a "third register". A speech community is a "community which makes use of a number of 'languages' and the norms of their appropriate use".
George Kahari, *The Rise of the Shona Novel* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1990), 5; Chantal Zabus, "Relexification," in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, (London: Routledge, 1995), 317; Wade C. Pendleton, "Social Categorisation and Language Usage in Windhoek, South West Africa" in Clive Kileff and Wade C. Pendleton, *Urban Man in Southern Africa*, (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1975), 67.

[100] See: T. Yoshikuni, 'Black Migrants in a White City: A Social History of African Harare, 1890–1925' (DPhil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1989), 4; Groves, "Malawians in Colonial Salisbury, 1920 to 1970", 498.

[101] N.A. Hunt, "Chizezuru as She Spoke," *NADA*, **34** (1957), 93.

[102] Ibid.

important area of one's identity and identification". The use of *chijoki* could have been used to create exclusivity and as a marker of familiarity with the urban environment of Salisbury. But from the vantage point of a first language speaker of the Shona language I can detect a greater dominance of Shona renditions of English that is *relexification* than *pidginisation* or distinct slang phraseology.[103] This points more to attempts by rural immigrants to incorporate new elements into quotidian lexicon and was a reflection of the particular urban character of Salisbury.

By and large, the urban migrants who patronised the Council's beer outlets in the 1940s and 1950s did not use them as the authorities wanted them to be used. Besides, by the late 1950s there was a sharp rise in popularity of what were termed *mahobho* parties held at *shebeens* in and around the African townships that flourished during May and June of 1958. The increasing attendance at these *shebeeen* parties led to a corresponding decrease in attendances at the various community halls and negatively affected profits in the Council run beer-halls. Gargett states that some *mahobho* parties attracted crowds of 1 000 people and "teargas was sometimes needed to break them and the police liquor detachment travelled in armoured vehicles".[104] This served as the clearest evidence of the African public's rejection of the SCC's beer outlets as attendances at *shebeens* continued to surge even when faced with constant raids by the police. The spread of *shebeens* from the late 1950s shows how urban Africans determined to build their own community institutions outside the supervision and surveillance of the colonial order.

In the 1970s the nationalists urged people to boycott municipal beer outlets because they saw alcohol as a weapon used by the coloniser to keep Africans in submission by keeping them in a continuous stupor.[105] They also attacked the Durban system as a way the colonisers used to enrich themselves. In response, the LUD working with the DAA went to the extent of showing films in beer gardens as it tried to attract as many customers as possible to its outlets. As we observed in Chapter 2, the films projected had a utilitarian value intended to destroy the African's self-consciousness but, in any event, the Africans did not blindly absorb colonial

[103] "Relexification" refers to the making of a new register of communication out of an alien lexicon and "pidginisation" refers to the use of an artificial language or slang.
Zabus, "Relexification," 314.
[104] Eric Gargett, "The Welfare of the Urban Community," (Rhodesia Council of Social Service: Report of the National Conference (1968) Theme: Homes), 48.
[105] Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 22.

propaganda. On top of this, political meetings had been banned so beer-halls and beer gardens provided alternative meeting places for Africans. So, as Chimhete argues, the SCC's liquor outlets inherently "became ideological 'battle grounds' where the urban Africans tried to shape their own life and where, equally, the colonial authorities tried to impose their culture on Africans".[106]

***Shebeens* as Sites of Interstitial Culture**

This section makes use of *shebeens* as a portal into African urban social life. *Shebeens* were held under the pretext of various legal activities and were often called by various names such as "tea parties" or birthday parties".[107] The history of these home parties is evidence, in and of itself, of long-standing leisure pursuits among urban Africans and community organisation. The *Masaka* parties that were held in the late 1940s were not dissimilar to the *mahobho* parties of the late 1950s. Between these two was the "tea parties". For the poor majority, these home parties became one of the many institutions through which urban Africans tried to shape their own sociability and decide how they spent their leisure time.

The localised character of *shebeens* which were spread widely in the townships gave them an advantage over the municipal beer-halls. Up to the early 1960s, *shebeens* mostly served the "traditional" brew known as the "seven days brew" - because it took seven days to mature. Some Africans believed that beer prepared using firewood tasted nicer than other types of opaque beer. *Shebeen* operators offered a more convenient service and cheaper more powerful product compared with the LUD's brew. Apart from the "seven days brew" "European" beer and spirits popularly known as *kango-pisa* (hot stuff) were also a common commodity in African *shebeens.* These parties are therefore to be viewed as forming part of anti-prohibition campaigns owing to several liquor laws that prohibited the sale and consumption of "European" beer and spirits

[106] Ibid.

[107] *Tea parties* took their name from formalized functions organized at mission schools and they originated as a means of supplementary income. As the parties became more popular and profitable they were then promoted on a commercial scale.
See: E. Gargett, "The African in the City: 1975, Bulawayo" (Notes for a talk to the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, 25 February 1975).

among Africans.[108] These anti-prohibition measures were also effectively extended to Goromonzi as Vakayi records that:

> BSAP [British South Africa Police] reports [revealed that] some Africans when confronted by the police, would lose the beer and thus no evidence to be used against them. Alternatively beer was hidden in different quarters from where it was consumed….others rode to outskirt reserves as Chihota, Mahusekwa, Chinamhora, Chikwaka, Domboshawa to consume beer.[109]

In the 1950s Salisbury's Mayor reported that most of the large-scale sorghum beer brewing, *kachasu* and *skokiaan* distillation took place at Epworth Mission, St Mary's Mission and surrounding Tribal Trust Lands.[110]

African resistance to alcohol control also took on overt forms, namely: boycotting municipal beer-halls and patronising *shebeens* instead, attacking police trying to enforce liquor controls and brewing dangerous and quicker acting beers. *Shebeen* operators also worked with bottle stores and, to some extent, with the LUD's rival breweries such as Chibuku to break the SCC's monopoly. Africans set up well organised rackets to buy European liquor involving Europeans, Coloureds and Asians. The country's liquor laws granted Coloureds and Asians "of good character" permits by which they could purchase limited quantities of liquor each month. But these individuals used this "privilege" to set up their own trading syndicates which in turn gave birth to the *shebeens* in the African townships. Vambe points out that some migrants from Chishawasha tried to supplement their meagre incomes by "racketeering in stolen goods, especially foodstuffs, such as butter, sugar tea, meat and flour and, of course, European liquor of every kind" that was resold within the mission station.[111]

As I pointed out in Chapter 2, in 1962 Chibuku set up its brewery in the Seke Township that was just outside Salisbury's municipal boundaries.[112] This provided *shebeen* operators and other liquor racketeers with a convenient base to smuggle opaque beer to the nearby African townships

[108] Some of these liquor laws include Liquor Act (before the 1957 and 1963 amendments) and the African Beer Act coupled with the Harmful Liquids Act that aimed primarily at suppressing the illicit traffic in liquor.
[109] Godknows Vakayi, "The State, Alcohol and the African People: The Case of Southern Rhodesia, 1909-1974", (BA Hons Dissertation, UZ, 2002), 45.
[110] NAZ/GNP/SAL, Liquor Undertaking Department…, 5.
[111] Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People*, 245.
[112] NAZ, GNP/SAL, Rufaro: The Story of African Beer in Salisbury, July 1969, 6.

in Salisbury.[113] Some African bottle store owners, with licences to operate bottle stores in rural areas, also supplied *shebeens* with European liquor, especially in the 1970s. C. Mutsai a long-time LUD employee recounted that a certain businessman in Chinamhora who ran a bottle store in Highfields, also managed several *shebeens* in the Harare Township.[114] This racket prompted Ellert, the LUD's General Manager to complain in 1962 that:

> A large-scale "importation" of Chibuku, draught African beer from Seki [*sic*] Rural Council Beer Hall and the Marirangwe Rural Council Beer Hall is taking place, and this beer is finding its way into Salisbury Municipality's African Townships for re-sale at shebeens, in contravention of section 15 of the African Beer Act (chap 93).[115]

So profitable was the Chibuku market that *shebeen* queens and kings went to the extent of smuggling Chibuku beer from Chitungwiza in ambulances and coffins.[116]

There was a large untapped market which the Council could not satisfy as far as its taste preference and the strength of the product was concerned. The DAA admitted as much when it reported that, "prior to the opening in June, 1954, of the Council's new Native beer brewery, the amount of Native beer available was totally inadequate and so to supplement supplies; the illegal brewing of *skokiaan* was widely indulged in by the African community".[117] However, the new brewery only addressed the quantities of alcohol involved but not the preferences of consumers as "European" liquor was also consumed at these *mahobho* parties. While several informants admitted to "sampling" some "European" liquor that was smuggled for them by some of their white colleagues at work, the major hindrance preventing the wider consumption of "European" liquor among blue-collar workers had to do with its "very high costs".[118]

Illicit beer brewing and or selling also flourished in the peri-urban zones of Salisbury. Unique forms of *shebeens* known as "speed bars" held in the "bush" emerged in these peri-urban zones. The *shebeens* were known as speed bars because the patrons gulped their liquor as hurriedly as possible and they also had to be prepared to flee from police patrols.[119] The attendance figures at

[113] C.M. Rogerson and B.A. Tucker, "Commercialisation and Corporate Capital in the Sorghum Beer Industry of Central Africa," *Geoforum* **16**/4 (1985), 365.
[114] C. Mutsai quoted in Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 63.
[115] Ellert quoted in Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 74.
[116] Gumbu and Mutsai quoted in Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 75.
[117] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 113-114.
[118] Separate interviews with Wilsom Madimu, Zivanai Chaora (5/3/12) and Musiiwa Matema.
[119] Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 48.

these "bars" were usually well over 500 people. Crowds estimated at 1500 to 2000 every weekend were even recorded at Convent Farm close to Avondale. African packaged beer sold in speed bars was bought from Council outlets in Salisbury and in the case of Chibuku brew, from areas outside Salisbury, mainly from Seke, Chitungwiza and Mhondoro.

Speed bars sold the more potent and intoxicating forms of *kachasu* and *skokiaan* that took a day or two to mature. "European" beer was a rare commodity in these *shebeens* mostly because these were the *shebeens* of the poorest people who could not afford it. Therefore, the growing consumption of the more potent brews among many low-income earners at these speed bars reflected a shift in the cultural framework through which material reality was mediated, towards a new positive formulation of urban culture. This culture emphasised hard living and continual improvisation.

Speed bars were also able to draw on a patronage that extended into the neighbouring mission stations in which the missionaries upheld a heavy-handed prohibition on alcohol consumption. S*hebeens* were therefore, not only outlets for the sale and consumption of liquor, but also functioned as vital social, economic and cultural institutions, which played an important part in shaping liquor consumption preferences and patterns in the townships and in the reserves. Therefore *shebeens* provided powerful linkages – both emphasising the continuity between town and the countryside and cementing urban based bonds.

From the 1950s, the home parties held at *shebeens* became popularly known as *mahobho* after "someone" composed a hit song called "*Aya Mahobo andakakuchengetera* - These breasts (and other anatomical curves) I have been keeping for you".[120] This and other songs like August Musarurwa's world famous composition "Skokie" touched the right nerve as they spoke directly to the imagination of the lived township experiences of the times. However, these performances because they fell outside local government patronage often had to contend with official disapproval. For instance, B.B. Fitzpatrick, the Acting NC for Salisbury proposed that:

[120] L. Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 214.

> Drastic action needs to be taken to prevent the production of gramophone records with lecherous themes. The latest to come to my notice is one bearing shamelessly, the title 'Maningi mahure' (many prostitutes) and is, I fear, rather popular.[121]

The solo musicians, such as Shorty and Jacob Mhungu, known as *amasiganda* who performed during these *shebeen* parties became important carriers of this sub-culture to the rural areas and, in essence, part of what Turino identifies as "cultural loops".[122] In the 1950s, Jacob Mhungu ventured into the rural areas where "he often performed the whole night".[123] Mhungu would charge up to 5s. for each show, which was considered steep at the time, but he usually performed after the harvests, when people had relatively more time and money to entertain themselves. In the 1970s, Zexie Manatsa and the Green Arrows, who played a fusion of "traditional" music and *Simanje-manje,* took his performances to the New Way Hotel and other restaurants in the Goromonzi District.[124] African musical promoters, like Webster Shamu and Jack Sadza, also launched musical festivals in the rural areas to help spread musical influences there.[125]

The police and the DAA inferred that *mahobho* were sex-orgies and Hartley described them as organised parties at which "women and young girls perform lewd and indecent dances accompanied by "strip-tease" exhibitions, ending up with the general debauch among all present".[126] This, perhaps, was based on the lyrics of the "*Mahobho"* song but, either way, it served as a convenient alibi to start raiding and prosecuting the organisers, particularly if they were in possession of European liquor.

The main reason city authorities clamped down on illicit beer brewing was because they regarded the Africans who patronised its beer outlets as "the goose that laid the golden egg [that is beer-hall profits]".[127] This also explains why the Salisbury Municipality was particularly livid at the government's decision to grant Chibuku Breweries authority to enter the African beer market as it were.[128] The SCC had been experiencing a steady rise in profits from its beer

[121] Report of the Quarter ended the 31 March 1952 by the Acting NC Salisbury in NAZ S1618: 1951-53.
[122] Tom Turino, "The Middle Class, Cosmopolitanism, and Popular Music in Harare, Zimbabwe," 323.
[123] J. Jenje Makwenda, *Zimbabwe Township Music*, 98.
[124] Ibid, 34.
[125] Ibid, 40.
[126] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 112.
[127] Michael O. West, "Liquor and Libido: "Joint Drinking" and the Politics of Sexual Control in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1920s-1950s" *Journal of Social History*, 30/**3**, 1997, 654-655.
[128] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1963-64, 43.

brewing venture, as shown in appendix 5.4. Therefore, any setting that sold other forms of liquor like the *mahobho* parties posed a great risk to the municipal "gold mine". Part of the SCC's strategy to ensure a market for the officially-sanctioned municipal brews entailed banning local illicit brews and conducting recurring campaigns harassing female brewers.[129] Between 1956 and 1960, 160 warnings were issued to those accused of selling illicit liquor using the Salisbury Native Urban Areas bye-laws and 20 individuals were later evicted from the urban locations. Africans strongly resented eviction as that was tantamount to double punishment for them since the culprits would already have paid fines for their offences.

Shebeens were also significant for the operation and socialisation of the genders in the locations. Vambe's recollections of "*shebeen* life" assert that *shebeens* that served European liquor had the advantage of attracting "*vana vaka chena,* [that is] the beautiful, interesting girls employed in the domestic service of white Salisbury".[130] Moodie, reckons that alcohol consumption in *shebeens* "was located in a social context, and part of that context was access to women".[131] Wolcott also concluded in his own studies that the presence of women in beer-halls acted as a pull factor for African men.

However, such depictions must not be overstated because prostitution was simply one of the sub-cultures that emerged with the rise of the *shebeens* and was in no way representative of the broad social activities that took place in these gatherings. While there are obvious difficulties in retrieving such sensitive information Zivanai Chaora admitted that some of his "friends used to patronise these places [*shebeens*] and some of them were unfortunate to have contracted *njovhera* [an STD]".[132] Musiiwa Matema while admitting that he engaged in "harmless" wolf-whistling at these *shebeens* maintains that "I did not get involved with prostitutes because I had a wife of my own *kumusha* – so I was not wanting in anything".[133] It would also be useful to emphasise the point made in the previous section that the patrons who frequented these liquor outlets were made up of both abstainers and utilitarian drinkers. The former patronised *shebeens*

[129] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1959-1960, 26.
[130] L. Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 218.
[131] D. Moodie, "Alcohol and Resistance on the South African Gold Mines 1903-1962" in Ambler and Crush, 178.
[132] Interview with Zivanai Chaora, Mbare, Harare, 5 March 2012.
[133] Interview with Musiiwa Matema in Mbare, Harare, 10 July 2011.

for the conviviality and solidarity while the latter consumed alcohol for personal satisfaction.[134] These attitudes informing drinking had an obvious bearing on how they interacted with the said prostitutes because the more indulgent drinkers were more likely to solicit the services of commercial sex-workers once inebriated.

The bad reputation that *shebeens* assumed as places of ill-repute was, in no small part, engineered by the SCC. For instance, the Council's Medical Officer of Health tried to establish a correlation between home parties and the spread of disease (see appendix 5.5) arguing:

> According to the latest return I have received, it would appear that over 10 percent of the male venereal disease admitted to the Native Infectious Diseases Hospital state infection was contracted at so-called 'Tea Parties'.[135]

The DAA also made similar spurious correlations arguing that "with the rise of 'Mahobo' [*sic*] there has been an unprecedented increase in the number of knifing and stabbing cases, many of which indicate that the stick is now being replaced with the knife".[136] In this way, the *mahobho*, like so many other African social gatherings, were changed into being undesirable and unlawful and were driven underground. However, the *mahobho* parties, *shebeens* and beer-hall entertainment, comprised a lot more than just drinking and prostitution. *Shebeens* were popular because they had more to offer than simply alcohol. Besides beer, roasted chicken, roasted beef and rice, among other foods, were also sold.[137] Some women, as I pointed out in chapter 3, survived by providing basic services such as cooked food for the male population. Another big attraction for the men at these parties was a spectacular dance craze known as *vuramatambo* by women at these parties. Chimhete notes that organisers of *mahobho* parties hired young women to attract male customers for between 3s. and $4 to dance for each record.[138]

In the same vein, Jenje-Makwenda argues that township hall functions mainly attracted the better-off Africans. Thus, *mahobho* parties drew their membership from blue-collar workers who could ill-afford the concerts and shows held at the recreation halls especially after the SCC raised

[134] J. May, *Survey of African Drinking Patterns in African Townships*, (University of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1978), 17; D. H. Reader and J. May, "Drinking Patterns in Rhodesia, Highfield African Township", (Occasional Paper No. 5, University of Rhodesia, Department of Sociology, 1974), 34.
[135] Medical Officer of Health quoted in Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 113.
[136] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1958-1959, 34.
[137] Musiiwa Matema in Mbare, Harare, 10 July 2011.
[138] Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 56.

fees in the mid-1960s.[139] Jenje-Makwenda further notes that, in time, these *mahobho* parties transformed into township *shebeens* and "became popular as night clubs" when "black people were not allowed in the City Centre after 7.00pm".[140]

From the 1960s, the "seven days" brew increasingly disappeared from the scene as a common commodity of these township *shebeens*. This is because with increased police activity *shebeen* operators shifted to other types of liquor which took less time to brew and mature such as *kachasu* and *skokiaan* and, by it, lessening the risk of being caught by the police. Also, with increased urbanisation, the firewood used in brewing became more and more difficult to get and became more expensive as the peri-urban woodlands around the various African townships became exhausted (see appendix 4.2).

There was also a remarkable taste-transfer from the 1960s at the expense of the "traditional" "seven days" brew. This was mainly the results of aggressive advertisement campaigns by European beer producers following the Liquor Amendment Act of 1963 which withdrew all discriminatory restrictions on African consumption of "European liquor".[141] The post-World War II industrialists and investors from South Africa, Britain and Europe were basically interested in profits rather than the finer points of the policy of segregation. They, therefore, looked to African urban consumers as a potential market that could raise their efficiency and productive capacity. According to Rogerson, "the overwhelming message of these advertisers was the superiority of 'modern' over traditional ways and lifestyles and the superiority of status attached to switching to new forms of food, personal care, and drinks".[142]

The resultant taste-transfer is captured, in part, by the LUD's returns from 1959 to 1962 shown in the table below that however, does not capture the un-enumerated returns from the *shebeens*. By the late 1960s the combined effect of advertising and the informal linkages of bottle stores

[139] Jenje-Makwenda, *Zimbabwe Township Music*, 28.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Vakayi observes that several reasons account for the liberalisation of African beer legislation. Firstly, African urban population growth made it a cumbersome and difficult task to implement the regulatory laws. Secondly, the changing drinking habits of Africans themselves influenced the decision. Thirdly, private enterprises such as Chibuku and Southerton breweries urged the government to liberalise its beer laws. Finally, the political tension and opposition by the African people forced Ian Smith to make some concessions.
Vakayi, "The State, Alcohol and the African People", 39-40.
[142] C. Rogerson cited in Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 60.

and *shebeens* were revealed in "the increase in European beer sales as compared to African beer sales".[143] What happened as in South Africa "was the successful remoulding of black consumption patterns of alcohol" from a preference of African beer to the formerly forbidden "white man's liquor".[144]

Table 5.1: African Takings on Opaque and Clear Beer in Salisbury

	1959	**1960**	**1961**	**1962**
Native Beer (£).	383 235	348 524	341 961	323 549
European Beer, Wine and Spirits (£).	423 828	423 358	494 927	482 938

Source: Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC for the Year 1959, 17.

Faced with the fierce and unrelenting competition from the *shebeens* the LUD in the 1960s adopted what Briggs had previously labelled as "gimmicks" and associated with the "bad practice" of *shebeens* such as snacks and bands.[145] The LUD also desperately tried to remodel its beer gardens and beer-halls into "cocktail bars" or "taverns". An editorial comment in the *Mabvuku News* read:

> Residents will no doubt have seen work in progress at the Beer Hall. When it is completed there will be a bowling alley, fairy lights over the open-air dance floor and a record player for dance music. These improvements will be welcomed by all and will help to brighten the off-duty hours.[146]

In 1966, the LUD went further when it decided to employ female servers and female hosts in municipal beer outlets to attract male customers. This was done to offset the *shebeen* trade in the townships and increase sales in municipal beer outlets since the SCC believed that "girls" were the main attraction in the most flourishing *shebeens*. These improvements were also aimed at cushioning the effects of African unemployment, discontent and political frustration. The motivations aside, this was a significant cultural mutation in which elements from each *culture* overlapped and informed each other.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that rather than creating a township cultural life from scratch, the DAA tried to superimpose alternative forms of recreation and to create a general system of control

[143] Briggs quoted in Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 62.
[144] C. Rogerson cited in Chimhete, "The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury," 62.
[145] Report of the Director of African Administration: 1963-1964, 44.
[146] *The Mabvuku News*, Vol. 1. Sheet 5, 28th April 1960.

through providing new institutional forms. This, however, was often met with little success. The DAA was unable to maintain a defined cultural discourse because of the often partial and un-sustained application of its own policies. In any case, the migrant community from Goromonzi managed to build its own immunities against the oppressive forces. Therefore, the SCC's efforts had to contend with the presence of viable alternatives of cultural articulation spread through migrant cosmopolitan agency.

The discussion has shown that the migrants from Goromonzi to Salisbury were part of a general African population in Salisbury that was able to instil their own meaning into their presence in Salisbury. The individual and collective experiences highlighted above point to how leisure and recreation in Salisbury created an arena of cultural autonomy and opportunity that relieved the lives of people deeply affected by the drudgery of underemployment and the painful constraints of institutional racism. In this way, the locations became important centres of African life beyond the envisaged dormitory function.

I argued that urban township living for most rural-urban migrants needed some adjustments and re-adjustments compatible with the demands of urban living on the barest minimum of income. These adjustment and re-adjustments were often found in avenues or interstices of cultural assertion that had to, of necessity, be able to fulfil the need for leisure and the need for urban survival. What this in turn translated to was cultural articulation in settings that did not have official approval and extended beyond the municipal boundaries.

This chapter has also shown through a close analysis of the associational participation of Goromonzi migrants in Salisbury that the industrial and civic structure of a community by itself was not the primary factor in associational life. Other factors such as the strength of kinship ties, religion, occupation, cultural background, etc. together or separately had as much or more influence in settling the migrants' participation in the associational life of the townships. In essence, the evidence presented above clearly suggests that, within the specific case of the Goromonzi migrant community, the socio-cultural involvements of the migrants depended largely on cultural antecedents. Put differently, Salisbury's status as a rapidly industrialising town was less important for understanding the quality of social relations within the African urban townships than the fact Goromonzi was located within commutable distances of Salisbury.

CHAPTER 6: The Returning Migrant and the Production of Locality

This chapter traces some of the interventions the inhabitants of the Goromonzi District instituted and inflected on their return to their rural villages. Such interventions improved the quality of life and gave the rural reserves in Goromonzi an *advantage* over those in the more outlying districts. The chapter argues that Goromonzi benefited from its multilayered interactions with Salisbury in several ways that went beyond the mere remitting of migrant-workers' incomes. I identify some of the other avenues in which Goromonzi benefited in the provision of and access to services such as education and housing, urban-earnings and lifestyles as well as in relaying "modern" forms of consciousness.

Although the reserves were still far from approaching an *imagined* post-rural society mainly because of institutionally and structurally imposed limitations Goromonzi was no longer some *other* place, spatially, temporally and symbolically distanced from the *urban* everyday way of life. This suggests there was an emerging idyll: an urban-like and modern environment in the countryside. Locating this emerging idyll, however, becomes a point of articulation that I seek to identify in the essential basis of the built environment, cultural pursuits and the changing social and familial relations in the reserve communities. I argue that, despite colonial machinations, Goromonzi was not deprived of the accounts of "modernity" and "progress" evident in Salisbury owing to the direct socio-cultural inputs of returning migrants.

The chapter is, however, careful to qualify that the rural cosmopolitans' innovations were not necessarily always "progressive". Sometimes, experiences of circular or oscillatory migration spurred measures intended to redefine local chiefly relationships through the adoption of new legal codes: trends that were undoubtedly more pronounced among the younger generation of migrants. In other cases, however, practices reinforcing the existing social order were introduced, mostly by older generation migrants, through pitching allusions to "tradition" as an antithesis to change.

The first section in this chapter explores the role that some individuals with some urban experience crafted by fostering new social relations and elaborating their own models of modernity on their return to Goromonzi.[1] I argue that the different conditions experienced in Salisbury played a central role in determining the relationships which migrants had both with

[1] See footnote 30 in the Introduction.

one another, and with their places of origin. The ideas, practices and goods which the rural-return-migrants brought were directly influenced by the conditions of life they experienced once they got to the cities. However, these also entailed the imaginings and hopes of the return-migrants since they did not necessarily mirror the near-Spartan existence that many of these migrants underwent while in Salisbury. The section also explores the connections between short-duration (circular or seasonal) migration and local political assertion by oppressed social groups. The section argues that while migration improved the family's position within local prestige classifications it also led to the declining importance of the village as a status reference point and in the institutions and representations of the community. This could be seen in the younger generations' questioning of the extent and expanse of chiefly rule.

The second section expands on some of the observations in the first section of how the use of certain consumer products became the mark of self-confidence, urbanity and mapped urban-earnings. Using the specific example of changing diets and tastes in Goromonzi the discussion traces the specific role that return-migrants played in the diffusion and commodification of certain products in the rural reserves of Goromonzi. I use this to explain one of the core arguments of this thesis that modernity occurs at various levels and is not confined to Europe. Rather, the rationalising effects experienced in Goromonzi were geographically distinguishable practices of modernity relayed by returning migrants that inflected the modernising influences they experienced during their tenure in Salisbury on their return *kumusha*.

The third section highlights autonomous processes of societal and familial transformation in Goromonzi. It examines how the movement to Salisbury was built into the socio-cultural structure of reserve society and was reflected in the community's wide-ranging constructions and engagements. I also consider the influence of monetisation on intra and inter-household relations. The analysis generated in this section brings two seemingly oppositional observations to the surface, as follows: Salisbury's proximity to Goromonzi had wider "modernising" potentials because of the rate of transfers this facilitated but Goromonzi's closeness at the same time entrenched existing social relations.

The fourth section discusses the importance of space and the built environment on social and cultural existence and argues that Goromonzi rural society was to a large extent (re)constituted through the buildings and space that returning migrants built. As Mavhunga

proposes, "perhaps the most tangible evidence of the [city's] influence on the rural was the development of micro-suburbia in the countryside – 'modern' architecture that 'expressed' the fruits of....these men's labours".[2] However, beyond that, as Lewis remarks, "The sheer physical conditions of living have a considerable influence on social life".[3] As a result, the buildings the returning migrants built reconstituted not only the space but re-informed the aesthetics of place and reorganised social life in the Goromonzi District.

The Returning Migrant

As Gramsci insists, "man changes himself, modifies himself, to the same extent that he changes and modifies the whole complex of relationships of which he is the nexus".[4] This set of "relationships" for many Goromonzi migrants necessarily involved the reserve communities from where they had first migrated. Their oscillation between the rural and urban spaces helped in relaying socio-cultural equipment borrowed from one space to the other leading to what Appadurai terms "the production of locality".[5] As an increasing number of Goromonzi migrants entered into new work arrangements or travelled seasonally to work in the informal sectors of the urban economy, their social relations, their sense of self, their relation to a sense of place and their understandings of work and world-view underwent changes that they transmitted on their return to their rural reserves.

The returning migrant's influence was always frowned on by district officials as shown by internal correspondence within the Native Affairs Department (NAD). For instance, the Assistant Native Commissioner (ANC) for Goromonzi, as early as 1937, claimed to be in a "constant war" during the weekends in the Seke Reserve and in the lower end of the Chinamhora Reserve with "undesirable visitors who were immoralising [*sic*] these centres much faster than they would become under their own power".[6] District officials even sought

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[2] Claperton Mavhunga, "Scoundrels, Crocodiles, and Border-jumpers: Journeys, Men Migration, and 'Urbanization-in-Rural Areas' – Southeastern Zimbabwe 1890s-1920s" (WISER Seminar Paper, n.d.), 18.

[3] Lewis, quoted in Eric Gargett, "Welfare Services in an African Urban Area, Bulawayo", (PhD Thesis, University of London, 1971), 25.

[4] Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the study of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* **10**/2 (1986), 23-5.

[5] By "production of locality" Appadurai is referring to the dialectical interplay between the individual and his or her context consisting of the individual's continual generation of identity and being-in-the-world through the application of his or her historical, yet always emergent (tacit) knowledge to whatever historical (objective) contextual materials are available.
Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 178-183; A. Appadurai, "The Production of Locality," in *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*, ed. R. Fardon, (Routledge, London, 1995).

[6] Assistant NC Goromonzi quoted in Takavafira Zhou, "A History of Private Locations around Bulawayo City, 1930-1957," (MA Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1995), 29.

to pin the increase in the incidence of serious crime, defined as "crimes against property, specifically stock theft, house breaking and thefts of cycles and farm produce," on returning migrants. In 1951 the Native Commissioner (NC) for Goromonzi reasoned that, "this district [i.e. Goromonzi] being close to Salisbury, it is too easy for a crook to come out overnight, commit a crime and be away before it is detected".[7] Similarly, in 1953, the NC for Marandellas charged the increase of crime, particularly cases of assault and violence, in *his* district to "plentiful beer supplies" and "the tendency to use knives at beer-party brawls" – habits that he sought to link with the urban environment.[8]

In 1961, the Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) reported that "in districts where there was a significant increase [in crime] the primary causative factors were of three kinds- ample beer brewing crops, organised criminal gangs from towns and political campaigns".[9] In two districts "adjacent to urban concentration" he reported that "well-organised gangs [were] operating from motor vehicles whose objectives were storebreaking or scrap metal".[10]

While not discrediting the possibility of an upsurge in crime because of the influences of the returning migrants, part of the incidences also had to do with the NAD's obsessive control that outlawed almost every feature of daily life in the reserves such as tree felling. In any case, the NAD's notion of a "government by a man and not by a system" means that much of what was labelled as "crime" was not necessarily "illegal" (that is against the law of the land) but simply "prohibited" according to the NC's whims. Crime hardly figured in many of my informants' recollections. Gilbert Hove reasoned that they only "violated" the ban on cutting down trees only after stumping new lands for cultivation, and in other cases, "to raise small cash sums for school fees and the like".[11] This supports Mpofu's notion that the colonised were inclined to view their practises on the margins as a form of "legitimate lawlessness" based on the survivalist underpinnings and limited opportunities the colonial system presented for them.[12]

There was no doubt, however, that (alcohol) drinking patterns and habits in Goromonzi were undergoing considerable change and were a reflection of a general change in tastes and

[7] NC Goromonzi: Report of the Quarter ended the 31st Dec. 1951.
[8] NC Marandellas quoted in Quarterly Review of Native Affairs for the Quarter Ended June 30th 1953 by L. Powys-Jones (CNC) dated October 10th 1953, Salisbury, 1.
[9] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC for the Year 1961, 13.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Interview with G. Hove at Magodhi Line on 14 November 2011.
[12] Busani Mpofu, "No Place for 'Undesirables': The Urban Poor's Struggle for Survival in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 1960-2005," (PhD. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, June 2010), 102.

traditional control mechanisms. While beer-brewing continued during private gatherings and the declining communal work parties the acquired tastes of return-migrants had, in fact, turned to packaged opaque, especially Chibuku (commonly referred to as *chisheki-sheki*[13]), and clear beer. Furthermore, the frequent return (from Salisbury) of men, many of whom were barely out of their adolescence, who brought back urban drinking freedoms and also the money to pay for *ndari* (local brews) contributed, in part, to these changes even if, traditionally, the returning migrants were not yet at an age to drink with their elders.[14] In this way "traditional" patterns of alcohol consumption gave way to "urban" patterns of organisation at social gatherings.

The growth of a number of commercial liquor outlets such as bottle stores in Goromonzi, which I explore in the next chapter, also narrowed the gap between town and country drinking styles. Rural beer outlets served as meeting places for men from neighbouring villages. Here the villagers shared in their interests and problems and relaxed and enjoyed a more varied environment than village drinking usually provided. And, in the process, the villagers were able to obtain wider social contacts with visitors from the towns and elsewhere.[15] In short, rural liquor outlets assumed the same function as the city's beer gardens in helping to meet social and recreational needs. However, the social setting provided at the local business centres like PaGombe, in the Seke Reserve drew potential customers away from the rural-brew that was consumed within the homesteads.

The diverse urban experiences that some migrants met during their sojourn in Salisbury also led to their participation in formal modes of political organising, like unionisation efforts in small-scale industries and construction. Work in urban areas also brought Goromonzi migrants into contact with a political agenda that challenged the legitimacy of the existing colonial order and that suggested alternative possibilities to their lived realities. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that Goromonzi return-migrants chose to express their political dissent through slightly subversive life choices that entailed searching for alternative forms of employment while rejecting servitude to settler farmers in the bordering settler estates.

While the country's labour distribution patterns were largely conditioned by the structural features of uneven development and labour market conditions they also reflected the

[13] Interview with Masora Dende, Seve Village (Seke), 14 November 2011.
[14] NAZ/GNP/SAL, Rufaro: Salisbury Municipality, Liquor Undertaking Department, July 1977, 8.
[15] Joan May, "Drinking in Rhodesia African Township", (Department of Sociology, Occasional Paper No. 8 Salisbury, University of Rhodesia, 1973), 21.

migrants' wish to refashion place-based identities. For example, several dip attendants in Marandellas organised a collective action among themselves across the district demanding for better pay in 1946. This prompted an irritated NC for Marandellas to remark that, "these younger people just do not know how to get more money beyond asking for a rise in wages" and buy "most of what the average European of small income owns".[16] Similarly, in 1947, the ANC for Hwedza reported on what he termed a "fermentation of ideas and aspirations" among "the younger section of African people in Wedza [*sic*]".[17] This suggests a rural collective action that was already motivated by concerns outside rural-based options.[18] The demands expressed by these "rural proletariats" became a focus of struggle about the same time that similar demands became central in a distant, yet not unconnected setting, which is the urban work place.[19] The crucial nexus in both was the intra-national migrant.

The examples given above reveal the efforts by the colonised returning migrants to reject their continued identification by the settler farming community as sources of ultra-cheap labour. These cases also point towards peasant autonomous political organisation outside the ambit of regional quasi-political lobbies like the African Voice Association (AVA), for instance, that have been the focus in Bhebe's work.[20] The cases highlighted above point to efforts that were championed by individuals that straddled town and countryside, and grew increasingly irritated by the constraints in both arenas, before they set out to find additional economic and political room.

The self-conception of the returning migrants had significantly changed and they were not as pliant in taking up work for lower wages much to the chagrin of the NAD. In 1951, the NC Goromonzi, with characteristic sarcasm, reported that in *his* district:

[16] NC Marandellas quoted in Quarterly Review of Native Affairs for the Quarter Ended June 30th 1953, 1.
[17] NAZ S235/518 NCs Annual Reports 1946; Assistant NC Wedza quoted in Report of the NC Marandellas for the year ended 31st Dec. 1946, 25.
[18] See Nyambara's discussion of peasant autonomous organisation in Gwelo's peri-urban fringe in Pius S. Nyambara, "'That Place was Wonderful!' African Tenants on Rhodesdale Estate, Colonial Zimbabwe, c. 1900-1952," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, **38**/2 (2005).
[19] The first major protest was the 20 October 1945 railway workers' strike followed by the 1948 General Strike. See: J. Lunn, "The Meaning of the 1948 General Strike in Colonial Zimbabwe", in *Sites of Struggle*; B. Raftopoulos and I. Phimister, "'Kana Sora Rikatsva Ngaritsve': African Nationalist and Black Workers: The 1948 General Strike in Colonial Zimbabwe" in *Journal of Historical Sociology*, **13**/3 (2000).
[20] See: N. Bhebe, *Benjamin Burombo: African Politics in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1945-1958*, (Harare: College Press, 1989).

> The labour market is overflowing with so-called "skilled labour" – i.e. lorry and tractor drivers, brick-making contractors, foremen, clerks etc – who seek high wages, easy hours and little work, and few of whom prove at all reliable.[21]

The nearby tobacco growing farms in Melfort and Bromley continued to experience a shortage of labour which worsened with the end of the labour tenancy system. This brought a considerably expanded demand for seasonal labour. It became widespread practise for white farmers to travel to the villages to recruit such labour but, as the quotation above suggests, this was often without much success. Many farms, therefore, had to resort to labour supplied by the Labour Supply Commission instead.[22] In 1952, H.A.K. Simpkins, the Commissioner of Native Labour (CNL), remarked:

> The supply [of labour] has been....ill-distributed, the general position being a surplus of labour on offer for light work in the towns, whilst a shortage has existed on farms in rural areas, for underground work in mines, and for heavy manual work of all descriptions.[23]

Even the NAD's efforts in the 1950s at kick-starting rural "development" works failed to avail much labour as they only managed to employ 2 877 Africans nationwide. But for Goromonzi in particular the NC reported that "due to the nearness of Salisbury, labour for reserve development is almost nil".[24] However, this was also because the government itself had only invested a paltry figure of £73 000 for the work programmes nationwide.[25]

The increasing demands by Africans from the Goromonzi District working in Salisbury caused NAD officials grave concern as they were involved in the labour process. Most of the labour on adjoining European farms was therefore supplied by immigrant Africans from Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland. A government investigation in the mid-1940s had even highlighted that on the nearby farms in Salisbury South "practically all the farm labour is from Nyasaland".[26] Most of the local Goromonzi male Africans in the district preferred to work in Salisbury where they could attract higher wages.[27] Increasingly migrants began to decide who they would sell their labour power to and did not wait on the NAD's labour

[21] NC Goromonzi quoted in Quarterly Review of Native Affairs for the Quarter Ended Sept. 30th 1951 by L. Powys-Jones (CNC) dated October 31st 1951, Salisbury, 2.
[22] Report of the Quarter ended the 30 Sept. 1951 by the NC Goromonzi.
[23] Report of the Commissioner of Native Labour for the year ended 31st Dec. 1952, 55.
[24] NC Goromonzi quoted in Quarterly Review of Native Affairs for the Quarter Ended Dec. 31st 1951the CNC dated March 4th 1952, Salisbury, 2.
[25] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1960, 3.
[26] NAZ S1906/1, Evidence presented to The Howman Committee – Appointed to investigate into the Economic, Social and Health Conditions of Africans Employed in Urban Areas, 1943–44, Salisbury, 7 December 1943.
[27] See: P. Chirapa, "Aspects of Black Agrarian Labour in Commercial Farms, with reference to Goromonzi and Marandellas," (BA Honours Dissertation, UZ, 1984); A. Chitumba, "Agricultural Labour Conditions in Mashonaland in the Post-World War II Period," (BA Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1986).

recruitment process. So, the act of migration itself can be interpreted as a form of political resistance as this weakened the powers of the NAD. The returning migrants may or may not have considered their labour deployment choices as acts of resistance. But, if we judge resistance through political effect rather than intent, it is abundantly clear from the NAD's response that the migrants' life choices, expressed in migrating to Salisbury, were experienced negatively by the colonisers as a rejection of the colonial hegemonic order.

This trend persisted for several years because in 1962, the District Commissioner (DC) for Salisbury still complained that although there was large-scale unemployment in *his* urban area, European farmers continued to experience "difficulty in obtaining farm labour, as the young indigenous men do not appear to favour work on farms".[28] Migration to Salisbury continued despite agricultural wage employment being available in the bordering settler farms. This is principally because wages were much higher in Salisbury. In 1960 P.J. Kenworthy, the CNL, lamented: "in the Salisbury area most farmers still pay in the 50/-, 55/- to 60/- bracket for ordinary unskilled labour" and yet in the Salisbury commercial area one Labour Inspector reported on "an African employed by Oxley and Company who is paid £18.10.0d monthly, and a workshop assistant at Panelcraft Ltd, car panel-beaters at £7.0.0d weekly".[29] Also, farmers would lay off workers during droughts and off season times which only helped to push such labour to the towns.[30]

In the mission stations the missionaries were also growing increasingly suspicious of the "weekend influence" of some of its occupant-tenants who returned over the weekends to be with their families. The missionaries accused the returning migrants of politicising their kinsfolk and argued that their behaviour was becoming "unruly". The missionaries were no longer held in veneration as before as a particular incident that took place on the 9th of August 1964 at Waddilove Mission (a Methodist institution near the Goromonzi District) would serve to show.[31] Two missionaries, Brother Waddilove and Father Nyerscough called a meeting on this day to discuss forming a cattle cooperative for the occupant-tenants. The cooperative was intended as an income-generating project for the tenants. However, Father Nyerscough's speech, during the meeting, was repeatedly interjected by chants of "bloody

[28] DC Salisbury quoted in SR: Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs and CNC: 1962, 32.
[29] (Restricted) SR Dept. of Labour Monthly Report: April 1960, 6, in NAZ S2239 Labour Reports.
[30] Chirapa, "Aspects of Black Agrarian Labour in Commercial Farms," 9.
[31] Joyce M. Chadya, "Missionary Land Ownership: The Case of the Roman Catholics at Chishawasha," (MA Thesis, UZ, June 1992), 101.

lies" before some of the tenants became so incensed that they walked out.[32] The tenants argued that the missionaries had no moral standing to be talking about a Christian moral duty to help others when in fact they had been exploiting the tenants on the mission farms.

Cyclical or oscillatory migration allowed migrants to loosen, and occasionally renounce, institutionalised forms of authority and control that were exercised through the rural social process. The exposure to new places, ideas and practices which the migrants experienced inevitably led to questioning existing forms of hierarchy or reinvention of the individual's place within that social order. This often involved undermining the fixed bases of status and hierarchy to which chieftaincy was central but also extended to parental authority. Such social dissent was strengthened by some of the motivations of younger generation migrants in Goromonzi. The youths placed a premium on education as a mark of their difference. Education leading to non-industrial employment was seen as the key to this ideal.

While chiefs still held some influence on their subjects, especially, among the older generation migrants who continued to display respect towards chiefs, their position had altered materially. The nature of chiefly power and practice were also subject to intensified criticism and debate. The rise of African nationalism towards the end of the 1950s presented an alternative community rallying point and there arose from within the ranks of the nationalist movements an alternative, unofficial leadership that challenged chiefly authority.[33] Chiefs were recast as state functionaries whose active support was based on a tiny minority of their communities. The chiefs had generally sold themselves to the government by defending successive racist policies such as the Land Husbandry Act (LHA) and Smith's Community Development philosophy.

The nationalist movements' influence and the considerable disaffection that they spread in the rural areas did not escape the attention of the NAD that reported on acts of organised interference at meetings called by government officials which

> ....took the form of breaking up meetings, holding to ridicule Agricultural Advisers and Demonstrators and Chiefs and Headmen, and denouncing them for their co-

[32] Ibid.

[33] For a detailed discussion on African nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe see: B. Raftopoulos, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **21**/1 (1995); J. Alexander, J. McGregor with T. Ranger, *Violence and Memory: One hundred Years in the "Dark Forests' of Matabeleland* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2000); Enocent Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: Transformations in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies*, 1860-1990, (New York: Rochester University Press, 2012).

> operation with Government; [and] of undermining the authority and prestige of Government officials in every possible manner.[34]

A shocked CNC termed such acts of open defiance the "doctrine of non-co-operation" and went on to state that this

> ....was an aspect of irresponsible political activity which, hitherto, had been unknown in the tribal areas [the reserves], where to insult a chief was unthinkable and where the Native Commissioner was trusted and known as a man of integrity and whose authority was recognised as just and fair.[35]

By the 1950s, simply taking a problem to the chief's court did not ensure resolution. While the chief's court remained the first dispute resolution port of call, litigants often refused to uphold the chief's ruling and demanded that the case be transferred to the NC's civil courts. This, at one level, mirrored the attitudes that the younger generations expressed while in the towns where 39 percent of the respondents in a 1977 Highfield study, for instance, expressed a desire for "modern" courts over traditional courts.[36] In 1948, the CNC confirmed this when he reported that:

> A high proportion of the cases heard in NC's Courts in the urban areas now arise exclusively from common law relationships and have no connection with Native Law and custom.[37]

The referrals to the NAD for arbitration put a heavy strain on that department's duties as the Commission of Inquiry into the NAD under the Chairmanship of Victor Robinson argued. For example, the NAD dealt with more than 24 000 criminal cases in 1959.[38] The Robinson Commission Report of 1961 proposed that a separate Department of District Administration take over some of the NC's administrative duties. The report also recommended transferring the judicial functions exercised by NAD officials to the district courts.

The older generations, however, still preferred their "traditional" court to settle their disputes. As evidence of this, several residents of the St. Mary's Township, in 1962, requested that a court similar to a "traditional" *dare* (court), be set up in their township. The court was at first set up locally but soon attracted litigants from all over Salisbury's townships. The court,

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[34] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1960, 2.
[35] Ibid.
[36] D. Stopforth, "Some Local Impediments to Social Change among Urban Africans" in *Zambezia: The Journal of the University of Rhodesia*, **5**/i (1977), 37.
[37] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, CNC, and Director of Native Development: 1948, 35.
[38] SR: Report of the Commission appointed to Inquire and Report on Administrative and Judicial Functions in the Native Affairs and District Courts departments. Chairman Sir Victor Robinson, Salisbury: Government Printer, 1961, col: 837.

however, adapted some innovations such as taking the oath to the Christian God and keeping records of court proceedings. Another curious innovation was that a man who gave any woman money in return for sexual favours was considered guilty of promoting prostitution.[39]

The court mostly resolved social problems that, the residents considered, the DCs could not satisfactorily arbitrate. These included disputes between husbands and wives, disputes between neighbours, between boys and their girlfriends and adultery. Other cases such as criminal cases, custody hearings and divorce cases were referred to the DC. Some other cases, such as incest, were referred to the reserves' chiefs as they demanded a ritual settlement.[40]

Most of the youth's opposition to the chief's courts were centred on a view that the local chiefs were too conservative. Indeed, Shona chiefs were rarely social innovators mainly because of the age at which they assumed the chieftaincy. The Shona chieftainship was passed through collateral in which the oldest surviving male member in the ruling dynasty rose to the throne following an incumbent's death. The Ndebele, however, used primogeniture in which the right of inheritance belonged to the eldest son.

The returning migrant significantly enriched the rural social scene and introduced some forms of leisure time pursuits that had been previously unexplored in the otherwise dreary life in the reserves and widened the outlook of those who remained behind. A particular vibrancy came to characterise weekend social settings owing to the influence of the returning migrants in the reserves. The return-migrants made it a point to don his or her best clothing on a Sunday for social occasions such as the Sunday Mass in the mission stations or the *bafudee* i.e. birthday parties in the rest of the reserves. The *bafudee* parties were an adaptation from the township tradition of disguising social occasions for the more raucous party gatherings under less benign "headings" or framing; perhaps in this case to hide the actual purposes from parental figures and missionaries. These parties were characterised by singing such songs as "He's a jolly good fellow, Auld Lang Syne and Rule Britannia".[41] Vambe notes that the return-migrants would

> ...put on well-cut suits as well as such things as spats, coloured waist coats, watches with gold or silver chains, gold rings and white gloves, while others wore tweed

[39] Gordon Chavunduka, *A Shona Urban Court* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, Occasional Paper, No. 14, 1979).
[40] Ibid.
[41] L. Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, (London: Heinemann, 1972), 245.

> jackets and knickerbockers and carried walking-sticks and indeed, in some cases wore pince-nez.[42]

The older generations invariably looked at these social practices as "slavishly [imitating] the airs and graces of European social gatherings which they [younger generations] had seen in the hotels and the homes of their masters in Salisbury" and as sure signs that the "traditional" social order was under siege.[43] Freund, nonetheless, discerningly remarks that while

> ...the use of European clothing elements would seem to entangle African workers in the fine net of capitalist accumulation [but] with time clothing display could also reflect new forms of respectability and identity that were independent of how Europeans actually clothed themselves in the colonial setting.[44]

Vambe's further recollections when Misi came with her "Ndebele prostitute friends" to the village in Chishawasha shows how a specific urban aesthetic came to be built into rural societies which identified certain markers with Salisbury. This, in turn, probably emanated from the manner in which return-migrants carried their bodies. Vambe writes:

> Exactly as the village had anticipated and feared, these emancipated ladies greatly excited local men of the younger set whose simple, work-worn wives and sweethearts were not as alluring nor as well washed, sweetly scented and finely dressed as their arrogant rivals from the towns.[45]

The use of toiletries and dress came to define social bodies among the returning migrants which bore testimony to having been exposed to a difference. In particular, Lifebuoy soap which had an extra disinfectant added to it (i.e. carbolic) gave its users a distinctive odour connoting "cleanliness". Such toiletries slowly drifted into the rural aesthetic that by the 1960s many viewed them as the "hygienic ideal" and as a fundamental part of daily life.[46] Emmanuel Seve, from the Seke Reserve, expressed it thus: "soap and sugar were crucially important – those two items – plus paraffin as well".[47] Burke has demonstrated that the infusion of these commoditised items such as soap and other toiletries were not only shaped by an evolving colonial economy or by the initiatives of capitalist merchants but also through

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Bill Freund, *The African City: A History*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 88-89.
[45] Vambe, *Ill Fated People*, 200.
[46] Timothy Burke, "Sunlight soap has changed my life": Hygiene, Commodification and the Body in Colonial Zimbabwe", in *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*, ed. Hildi Henrickson, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 204, 206.
[47] Interview with Emmanuel Seve, Mbare, Harare, 10 July 2011.

the situational appropriations of newly introduced goods in African communities.[48] He also pointed out that:

> The making of the meanings of commodities was a process that involved a plurality of different interests within African communities, it was a process that activated complicated struggles and negotiations between classes, genders, and ethnicities and mediated relationships between urban, peri-urban, and rural lifeworlds.[49]

Therefore, Goromonzi migrants reinvented and re-imagined even as they were *coerced* and convinced to adopt European practices of hygiene and manners. As consumers they used and symbolically modelled such commoditised products in their (own) culturally idiosyncratic ways, which were never fully understood or controlled by capitalist producers.

The very act of buying certain products that fell outside the outline of basic household needs like soap and drinks became a mark of "urbanity" and urban-earnings by itself. Isaiah Madimu recalls:

> You would see one leaning with his back against the wall and his legs crossed out [displaying the posture] and drinking in the coke [soft drink] ever so slowly [as to cherish the moment] and that would tell people that Hey! I am from town - Me!... There were those who did it but not me.[50]

The emerging and more uniform youth culture was a significant outcome of expanding schools and the institutionalisation of school migrancy discussed in Chapter 3. More and more, school came to be the central focus in the lives of migrant and non-migrants' children alike. This common context served to multiply contacts and friendships across this divide and the growing enthusiasm for "western" sport, particularly football, provided additional common experiences. However, as we saw in the previous chapter, these sports had largely become Africanised in their organisation and style.

It was precisely this relative harmony which reinforced closer contact among urban and rural youths. While not ruling out the possibility of tension or cleavages between pupils enrolled from the cities and local rural children; these children, some of whom returned to the cities during the holidays, provided a vital link between evolving urban and rural youth cultures. Local children who visited relatives in the townships also relayed information about the latest

[48] Timothy Burke, *Lifebouy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*, (London, Leicester University Press, 1991).
[49] Burke, "Hygiene, Commodification and the Body in Colonial Zimbabwe", 110.
[50] Interview with I. Madimu, Madimu Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.

forms of language, music and dress in the townships and brought records, magazines and newspapers with them to the reserves.[51]

These transfers lent credence to what had been heard in school or over the radio and ensured that most young people secured glimpses of the lifestyles of their urban counterparts. While not every rural family had a radio there was at least one in the great majority of villages or at any one of the business centres. From the 1960s then, the gulf between the experiences of pupils in the rural reserves and those who lived in the cities was narrowing. This was eased, in no small measure, by the short distances and relatively well-maintained roads with frequent, fast and inexpensive transport.

Kileff's investigation into the pupils and social structure at St. Mary's Primary, in the early 1970s, revealed aspects of social change and socialisation directly influenced by the diverse character of the pupils' background. He discovered that many scenes in the traditional play forms had been changed to fit the "current" environment and incorporated "current" realities. For instance, the pupils at St Mary's incorporated the bicycle and other vehicles into *mahumbwe* (a game of familial role-playing) since their fathers used various forms of transport to commute to work.[52]

But changes in youth experiences and culture were by no means confined to the schools. By 1961 the national enrolment at primary school level stood at 85 percent but this was not carried over into the secondary schools.[53] This resulted in a growing number of unemployed youths in each village. The 1969 national census recorded that there were over 750 000 idle school leavers who had no inherent desire to be in the peasant sector but could not find openings in the wage sector.[54] As Joseph Muzuva, who was born in 1958 explains:

> I learnt at Chitangazuva primary school in Chihota up to grade 7. I proceeded up to form 2 at Chizengeni Secondary school. Although I was bright in class, I could not proceed with my education because my father said he no longer had money for my school fees. He had to pay fees for my siblings who were still in the lower grades. That being the case, I had no other option but to stay at home and herd the family cattle. This was around 1974.[55]

[51] Informal conversation with Sylvester Makunzva, Highfields, 13 September 2012.
[52] C. Kileff, "Some Aspects of Peer Group Socialization in Seki: Play forms and their Implications," *NADA* **XI**/1 (1974), 17.
[53] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1961, 14.
[54] The Whitsun Foundation: A Strategy for Rural Development: Databank No. 2: The Peasant Sector, Project 1,05 (a) October 1978, 6.
[55] Interview with Joseph Muzuva, Harare, September 2012

The Goromonzi District in particular was holding more young people (i.e. over 50 percent of total) born after 1946 as shown in appendix 6.1 which added significantly to the social costs within the reserves. The presence of these youths also brought about a new element into social life as paths that had been trodden by the fathers were replaced by a much more competitive world with the possibility of frustrated expectations. A leading Zimbabwean writer, Charles Mungoshi, captured some of the family strife arising in his 1980 anthology of short stories, where the protagonist (Kute) explodes into a diatribe:

> Hell, man, hell! And what has ever got me anywhere in this rotten world? Third division in Form Four and everyone at my neck saying I wasn't applying myself. Four years tramping round the country, knocking on every goddam door for any kind of job and being shoed off with a boot in my ass and at home my old man out for my scalp telling me I am not searching hard enough.[56]

Thus, while the rapid expansion of schools had considerably broadened the youths' horizons, the economic slowdown sealed them to economic and social obscurity. These youth posed a serious social burden on the economically active, and in time became more of a "nuisance" as they battled to find avenues to escape the drudgery of the villages. Some of these youths began to dabble in a few miscellaneous activities as porters or touts "helping" people at bus stations as they embarked and disembarked from the local buses and at the business centres. But many viewed these youths in more or less the same way as the *makoronyera* in the Harare Township.[57]

Some of these adolescent youths began to express their heterogeneous influences during night dance vigils in which they liberally incorporated other forms of music apart from the drums. Ironically, it was the older generations who had themselves participated freely in the emerging township culture of the 1940s, characterised by the *shebeen* and *skokiaan* lifestyles, who would mount strong reservations against the practise. As Tiki Mujoma argued:

> Yes, we may have played the Mahobho – but it was simply for that time – But what I am saying is if your daughter says to you one night I am going to dance pfonda [i.e. local "traditional" dance in the Seke Reserve] then the next time you see her she is being escorted by a (pregnant) womb – then as a parent I have a right to ask "What type of pfonda were you engaging in?" [Laughs][58]

Mhike rightly points out that it was within these conversations that traditional dance ceased to be a platform for social cohesion and youths used dance as a platform to "ignore older forms

[56]Charles Mungoshi, "Some Kinds of Wounds" in *Some Kinds of Wounds and Other Short Stories* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1980), 98.
[57] Interview with A. Mushangwe, Murape Village, Chinamhora, 3 January 2012.
[58] Interview with T. Mujoma, Mujoma Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.

of seniority and paternalist authority".[59] These conversations were obviously not confined to the dances but were often played out in more confrontational means as some youths left in the care of their mothers or grandmothers flouted the authority of elders and menaced them for money. As a result, older villagers who had long taken satisfaction in the relative absence of the disorders they saw in urban areas found that these marginalised youths contributed to a marked increase in delinquency in the countryside.

In this we can detect some cultural continuity from the shared generational "tensions" in both the rural and urban areas. The choices that opened to both sets of youths entailed challenging and inverting "establishment" values. The "Birmingham school" theorises that the youth subculture often regards "even their parent class as party to the [hegemonic] consensus" and "they express their own denial of consent through style [i.e. clothing tastes, social values, leisure activities etc.]".[60]

Indeed, the older rural folks looked at the younger generations' "preference" for migratory work and consumption of western outfits and goods as risking the "traditional social order". They also sensed in the younger migrants' demeanour certain hostility to village norms and looked at their dance vigils as "corruption" of their "traditional" play forms. This was frequently expressed by calling their "errant" sons and grandsons *majoki* – that is to say, "a reckless, confused and unreliable lot".[61] The older members of the community invariably resorted to the use of "tradition" to delegitimize the youths and to an assumed moral code in denouncing the youths' styles as "vulgar". However, the claim to traditionalism was not just an adherence to an abstraction but rather a tool the older generation hoped could accord them privileges in dominating the younger generation.

In the ways described above the rural villages became acquainted with worlds of goods and signifiers that accompany modern forms of desire. The desire to pick up some of the obvious advantages of the "commodities of empire"[62] – clothes, blankets, materials, shoes etc. became palpable and real as we shall further explore in the next chapter. The return-migrants returned

[59] Ivo Mhike, "Education, Christianity and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia: The Case of Night Dances - 1920s to the 1930s" (UZ, Economic History Seminar Series Paper, n.d), 7.
[60] Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-76* (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 2000), 6.
* I adopt the term "Birmingham school" directly from Glaser's use of the term in reference to a number of writers associated with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies writing in the 1970s and early 1980s.
[61] Vambe, *Ill Fated People,* 245.
[62] Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s – 1930s", in *Becoming Zimbabwe,* 43.

as bearers of "cosmopolitan" lifestyles, in the clothes they wore, the sights and images they described, and the urban work opportunities they relayed to kin and neighbours. Thus, the goods which the migrants brought *kumusha* involved the imaginings of the urban environment and the type of modernity supposedly found in those places.

There were however, numerous instances of partial retentions of various social practices by the returning migrants. The older returning migrants, besides rejuvenating "traditional" values perpetuated parts of Shona cultural systems. Certain aspects of the kinship institutions of traditional social systems remained strong while other aspects declined. For instance, family members continued to offer one another loyalty and support in an extended family arrangement despite the fact that they were spread between Salisbury and the family's rural base in Goromonzi. However, vestiges of some enduring "customs" are not enough evidence, in and of themselves, to infer on a society's conservatism of an allegedly traditional way of life. Rather, the seeming continuity of certain customs must be analysed as an integral and vital aspect of underlying societal transformations that were occurring in Goromonzi.

Dietary Changes and Tastes

Willard Chidemo, from the Chinyika Reserve, recalls his father recounting how some of the "burly European traders operating in the reserves in the 1920s used to force-feed the much smaller local Africans who patronised their stores with *makokisi* (cookies) and sugar".[63] This was in a desperate bid to get them hooked on western consumer goods. Bessant and Muringai discovered that similar gimmicks were employed in the Chiweshe Reserve where one of their informants, Chari Chawocha recounted that:

> We didn't buy a lot of things because - sugar was free if you bought eggs. If you bought a lot of goods, you were also given sugar. Even bread, when we got to the store they would cut it into pieces and put it in a dish. They would add water and sugar and told you to eat.[64]

However, Chawocha, who was born in 1907, while accepting that many welcomed the opportunity to go and feast on free food maintained that "others didn't like the idea because very few liked bread then. They were afraid of it".[65] This shows that the diffusion of certain consumer goods was not a straightforwardly linear process. Rather the adoption of these

[63] Interview with Willard Chidemo, Mbare, Harare, 7 September 2012.
[64] Chari Chawocha quoted in L. Bessant and E. Muringai, "Peasants, Businessmen, and Moral Economy in the Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe: 1930-1968", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **19**/4 (1993), 560.
[65] Ibid.

products in the rural areas had much to do with the institutionalisation of migrancy and the resultant taste-transfers that occurred in the urban environment.

Many return-migrants were circumspect agents of the dispersal of consumer goods to the rural areas. Migrancy certainly included commoditised products and many more households bought industrially produced commodities. Elsie Magwenzi recalls that, when women returned to the rural areas, they carried, "groceries, everything you would buy...even if the husband didn't come for a while, you would not run out. Sugar, tea-leaves, bread, jam, everything".[66] In this way, the returning migrants became entangled in the commodification of the reserves and acted as a crucial "dietary loop" in linking taste preferences in the reserves and in the townships.[67] However, the foodstuffs they relayed to Goromonzi were also associated with social visits and this to an extent shows the importance return-migrants placed on fostering social relations within the reserve communities.

By 1952, the CNC reported that, "great changes are taking place in African diet. These are most marked in and around the larger towns but are rapidly spreading to the more remote districts".[68] The African people reportedly developed a predilection for tinned food, kipper, dried fish, mineral drinks and other prepared foods. The NC for Marandellas was singularly struck by the "particularly well-nourished appearance of local Africans" and assigned the changes to their dietary habits in the preceding few years that saw "bread and sugar....freely consumed" in the district.[69] He estimated that 40 000 lbs of bread had been sold over the Christmas holidays of 1952.[70] However, the NAD immediately became concerned that the increased consumption of white bread in *their* districts would take over mealie meal as the staple diet.

In response, a Nutrition Council was formed in 1947 to advise the government on diet for the African workers and Dr. E. Baker-Jones was appointed as the Nutrition Officer.[71] The Council argued that the urban African was more liable to develop acute appendicitis, peptic ulcers and gastroenteritis because of his adoption of European foods. It further reasoned that

[66] E. Magwenzi quoted in Teresa Barnes, *"We Women Worked so Hard": Gender, Urbanization, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1999), 113.
[67] Commodification refers to the process by which locally produced objects were displaced by manufactured goods produced by local and transnational capitalist firms.
[68] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Affairs: 1952, 15.
[69] NC Marandellas quoted in Quarterly Review of Native Affairs for the Quarter Ended March 31st 1953 by L. Powys-Jones (CNC) dated July 4th 1953, Salisbury, 3.
[70] NC Marandellas quoted in Report of the CNC for 1952, 15.
[71] Tapfumaneyi Zvechibwe, "The Provision of African Urban Health Care: The Case Study of the Salisbury Native Hospital, 1939-1963", (BA Hons Dissertation, UZ, 2012), 33.

with "detribalisation" the pattern of disease affecting the African would start approximating more closely to that found in European society. It appears that this conversation may have been borrowed from South Africa.[72] However, this was never tested for the urban areas of Southern Rhodesia. If anything, a 1961 study by *The Central African Journal of Medicine* found out that the diet of African urban dwellers in Salisbury was still "African".[73] Therefore, the input of the Nutrition Council's borrowed report amounted to a pseudo-science and was moulded by "ethnocentric notions on the epidemiology of disease".[74]

African malnutrition was more the unavoidable outcome of the Salisbury City Council (SCC)'s infinitesimal investment in the social and material welfare of the African urban population which was aggravated by the gross overcrowding conditions in the townships. Coupled with this, were the unjust labour relations in industry governing the migrant labour system that enforced long hours of work with low pay such that workers were generally unable to buy enough meat and other products to complete a balanced diet. Maruta, an informant of Taruza, who was formerly employed in Salisbury, recalled that a working man's "lunch" was often a mug, or more, of beer obtained at one of the beer halls situated in the industrial sites. The same informant also claimed that some men relied on beer even in the evening as the main part of their intake of food.[75] Johnson, therefore, rightly surmises that Southern Rhodesia's underpaid and underfed urban workers were plagued by malnutrition and a number of illnesses that resulted from deficient diets and an unhygienic environment.[76]

The NAD's concerns were partially motivated by futile attempts to prevent aesthetic transgressions.[77] As Bourdieu explains:

> The most intolerable thing for those who regard themselves as possessors of legitimate culture [that is dominant groups] is the sacrilegious reuniting of tastes

[72] Michael Gelfand, *Medicine and Custom in Africa*, (Edinburgh: E and S Livingstone Ltd, 1964), 148.
[73] *The Central African Journal of Medicine* defined this "African diet" as a diet characterised by low protein, fats and certain vitamins and minerals and a very high content of starch and cereal.
[74] See: Terence Ranger, "The Influenza Pandemic in Southern Rhodesia: A Crisis of Comprehension", in *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, D.A. Arnold (ed), (Manchester, 1988); T. Ranger and P. Slack (eds.) *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992).
[75] Kudzai G. Taruza, "The Economic History of Rufaro Brewery 1964 – 1979", (BA Hons Dissertation, UZ, 2013), 30.
[76] David Johnson, *World War 11 and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1939-1948*, (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications: 2000), 142-3.
[77] NAZ FN/67/1 African Welfare Vol. 1: 1954-1959; Letter dated 2 October 1958 from W. Murray for Secretary for Health to the Private Secretary to the Federal Minister of Health.

> which taste dictates shall be separated....[because] tastes are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference.[78]

The NC for Mazowe captured the essence of Bourdieu's analysis when he attributed the increased incidence of duodenal ulcers and acute appendicitis in *his* district to dietary changes and the increased intake of processed foods particularly among the well-to-do Africans.[79] In 1958 the Nutrition Council went as far as suggesting the introduction of fake bread by sneaking in "maize meal into a wheaten loaf [so as to] ensure that the Urban African does consume a larger proportion of maize meal" – a *solution* that immediately points to the coloniser's paternalism and the *infantilisation* of the colonised.[80] However and perhaps more importantly, the NAD was motivated more with the functional utility of preserving the labour power of African labourers. The CNC captured this when he questioned "whether these [dietary] changes will improve the stamina and physique of the African people".[81]

While the impact of the changing dietary intake was not directly intelligible to many of my informants Robert Chihoro, who was born in 1926, however, related the changing physical traits among the younger generation to the changing food intake. He argued thus:

> When we were growing up we used to swim naked in the rivers with girls and there was nothing there [pointing to his chest] but we began to see girls some as young as the grade sevens [that is about 12 or 13years] having fully developed breasts.[82]

Chihoro credited these changes to the changing diet within the reserves. While some of the ideas and information transmitted from Salisbury to Goromonzi were clearly beneficial others, including new consumption patterns, such as the smoking of cigarettes, are much more open to question. Some changes to diet were harmful in nutritional terms and led to increased dependence on imports, but others provided a real improvement in the quality of life.

Changing Familial and Social Relations

Some works have stressed the loss of social relations which uphold communal values through mutual support based on Scott's (1976) decline of the moral economy thesis.[83] Such works

[78] Pierre Bourdieu quoted in Vinay Gidwani, & K. Siviramakrishnan, "Circular Migration and Rural Cosmopolitanism in India," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* **37**/1-2 (2003), 199.
[79] NC Mazoe quoted in Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Affairs: 1952.
[80] NAZ FN/67/1 African Welfare Vol. 1: 1954-1959; Letter dated 2 October 1958 from W. Murray for Secretary for Health to the Private Secretary to the Federal Minister of Health.
[81] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Affairs: 1952, 15.
[82] Interview with R. Chihoro, Magodhi Line in Seke, 12 November 2011.

argue that commercial goals undermine social arrangements to share food, technology and labour in times of need.[84] These works, further argue that the extended family household units, which provide economies of scale and security for individual nuclear families, weaken as household heads can no longer satisfy their responsibilities to household members.[85]

However, as I argued in Chapter 3, Goromonzi's proximity to Salisbury offered greater opportunities for more frequent visits to the rural homestead by urban-based migrants. This guaranteed the advantages of greater labour inputs into agricultural production and diverted a greater proportion of cash income into the rural base rather than into urban spending. Therefore, this section maintains that while Goromonzi certainly experienced aspects of this "decline of the moral economy" this was not, however, the overriding meta-narrative. Rather, I seek to qualify the various changes that the closeness of Salisbury fostered which simultaneously perpetuated past measures of reciprocity while also undermining other tenets of Goromonzi rural society.

The emigration of male labourers to Salisbury changed the family composition of many families and increased the number of female-headed households managed by older women. Younger and recently married women would effectively fall under the household of the husband's parents as they were considered to be too young to head their own households. This introduced a new ingredient into the social lives in Goromonzi as incidences of younger married women living separately from their husbands increased because their husbands were in Salisbury seeking work.

Having to cope with the intermittent absence of male household members, women often had to rely on their own resources to run the household, to invest remittances, to make important decisions and so on. So, in one sense, women enjoyed a relative autonomy that was encouraged by migrancy. But rural-based women necessarily had to assume dominant roles in the struggle for social survival because rural society remained strongly virilocal and agnatic in descent which often meant that their mothers-in-law assumed a certain form of patronage over their household affairs.[86] Therefore, points of tension could arise, especially

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[83] See: Bessant and Muringai, "Peasants, Businessmen, and Moral Economy in the Chiweshe Reserve"; J. C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1976).
[84] See: L. Grossman, *Peasants, Subsistence Ecology, and Development in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton: 1984); M. Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, (University of California Press, Berkeley: 1983).
[85] See: Claude Meillassoux, *Maidens, Meal and Money. Capitalism and the Domestic Community*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1981).
[86] Refer to the glossary of terms for the definitions of "virilocal" and "agnatic".

over questions of how to share remittances. This contributed to growing pressure from young wives on their husbands to set up their own separate households and contributed to friction between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law.

Taurai Chikove charged that the movement away from the communal or kinship arrangements, which had been in place during the time he was born, was directly because of the influence of the women they married. He argued that, "women were too eager to play husband and wife as white people [did, and] that they would insist that we eat together in the same room as opposed to the men [of the extended household] eating at the *dare* [male assembly point]".[87] We can also deduce from the Chihota Tax Registers that those men in polygamous unions usually migrated to the city with the youngest wife since they would both pay their taxes from the same place.[88] This was perhaps, in part, a response to such tensions arising in the rural households but, for the greater part, this probably represented the migrants' wish to follow some semblance of family life in Salisbury.

The institutions that characterise patriarchy were, to a certain extent, buffeted, challenged and weakened by growing male and female migrancy, land scarcity, urbanisation but also through mass education in the reserves.[89] In the rapidly changing social order of this time many factors were conspiring to shift gender balances of power. Rural-based patriarchs could no longer take for granted that women would perform any number of "traditional" roles. Women could attend mission schools, met the need for cash by selling produce in rural and urban markets and relied on payments from migrant relatives. They could make more of the agricultural decisions during the absence of male migrants. And migrants who had ceded effective authority within the household to their wives while they were in the city sometimes met determined resistance when they sought to re-establish domestic control on their return. The pre-occupation of several novels such as Mungoshi's *Ndiko Kupindana Kwamuzuva* with women who had formed relationships with other men while the husband was away is perhaps reflective of the concern that male patriarchs had with increasing levels of female

[87] Interview with T. Chikove, Hatfield, Harare, 18 May 2010.
[88] NAZ S3540/1-2 Chief Chihota: Native Tax Registers 1947-1949.
[89] By "institutions that characterise patriarchy" I am referring to, among other aspects, arranged marriages, the pledging of infant girls, polygamy, "inheritance" by a brother-in-law on the death of a husband, patrilocal residence and unquestionable male authority.

independence.[90] Such platonic relationships had indeed become part of the social landscape of rural society.

However, while male-migration to Salisbury caused significant changes in family structure, gender ideology and relations, this was perhaps not as great and as dramatic as expected (or feared). For example, while villages were composed of growing numbers of female-headed and female-linked households, women were barred from formally inheriting land and livestock. Since such forms of rural security were extended primarily to men rather than women, women could find themselves dispossessed of resources which they had long commanded by returning husbands or sons. Therefore, as Paradza notes, the woman's position in her matrimonial home was normally precarious such that they usually kept ties with their home of origin as well.[91]

Perhaps more than anything, the resilience and adaptability of the institution of *roora* (bride wealth) to several social institutions including Missionary-Christianity, served to perpetuate the tenets of patrilocality, virilocality and patrilineage. These ensured that upon marriage, the woman moved from her natal home to her spouse's home and assigned the children from a matrimonial union to the husband's family.[92] West suggests that one reason *roora* outlived other practices like polygamy in colonial Zimbabwe was because of "the largely ephemeral and generational specific character of the forces opposing it".[93]

But *roora* was in no way an anachronism. The conception behind *roora* had indeed been greatly altered. *Roora* became a vital mechanism by which migrants invested in the long-term security of rural society and by which rural kin made up claims over absent earners.[94] This also ensured that newly married young women could build up their social visibility with their husbands' family, especially before the mother-in-law.

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[90] Charles Mungoshi, *Ndiko Kupindana Kwamuzuva*, (Gweru: Mambo Press in association with the Literature Bureau, 1975).
* The literal translation for the book's title is "That's how Time Passes."
[91] Gaynor Paradza, "Livelihood Decision-Making Experiences Of Single Women-Directed Hearth-Holds in Communal Farming Areas of Zimbabwe," (Conference Paper presented to the Colloquium on Exploring Hidden Dimensions of the Zimbabwe Crises, Hofmeyer House - University of the Witwatersrand, 2 July 2009).
[92] Barnes provides a trenchant analysis that explores the reasons for the longevity of *lobola* in an urban context. See: Barnes, *"We Women Worked So Hard,"* 100-107.
[93] Michael O. West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe 1898-1965*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 118.
[94] For further discussion see Colin Murray, *Families Divided: the impact of migrant labour in Lesotho*, Cambridge University Press, 1981 *esp*. 118-148.

Weinrich's study, in the mid-1970s, reckoned there were more country-rural marriages (i.e. 54 percent in Highfield) than town originating marriages.[95] The principal factor conditioning rural-originating marriages was an attempt by the remaining patriarchs to ensure the redistribution of urban wages in the rural reserves. However, it is important to underline that many of these marriages were "ethnically" mixed despite social sanctions captured in a local proverb, "*Rooreranai vematongo*" (that is "marry from your people") that sought to dissuade such marriages. Mixed marriages were a strong sign that any lingering ethnic loyalties were being put aside, at least by some of the people, for new values and standards which excluded ethnic affiliation as a basic consideration.

Some examples from the case histories of some of my informants point to such transformations and simultaneously dispense with notions suggesting that ethnic affiliation was still the determining factor for the choice of a partner. Fabien Majonga, from Chikwaka, married a Manyika woman in 1960 while he was stationed as a police officer for the British South Africa Police (BSAP) in Umtali (now Mutare) between 1959 and 1967.[96] Similarly, Taurai Chikove of Mahusekwa in Chihota recalls that his *Tete* (paternal aunt) in 1969 "found" a wife for him from Murehwa who then moved to Mahusekwa following the *roora* payments.[97] These examples open up the possibilities of using the migrants' marriage as indices of social change.

The longevity of most of my informants' marriages also suggest that in practice the overall impact of intra-national migration by Africans from the Goromonzi District was not one of "deserted wives and children, frustrated virgins and neglected fields".[98] This was due in large part to societal norms that prioritised household chores as the primary duty of married women which often meant that wives assumed an inordinate share of the responsibilities that would have usually fallen to the husbands. For instance, Felistas Makiwa ceded her urban employment when she got married in 1968.[99] Similarly, Zivanai Chaora's wife relocated to Chikwaka following the birth of their first child in 1974 to look after the family household.[100]

Without necessarily deconstructing the patriarchal institution many of my female respondents presented the decision to remain in the reserves as a sacrifice that they readily made for the

[95] See: AKH Weinrich, *Mucheke: Race, Status and Politics in a Rhodesian Community,* (Paris: UNESCO, 1976); Olivia N. Muchena, "Women in Town," (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, UZ, 1980), 37.
[96] Interview with Fabien Majonga in Mbare on 15 April 2012.
[97] Interview with T. Chikove.
[98] Vambe, *Ill Fated People,* 243.
[99] Interview with F. Makiwa, Mbare, Harare, 25 April 2012.
[100] Interview with Zivanai Chaora, Mbare, Harare, 5 March 2012

sake of the family.[101] This was perhaps even an attempt to redefine their practices as migrant mothers based on a particular notion of the "historic" discourse on motherhood, which is the mother's sacrifice for her children.[102] However, because of the relatively shorter distances encouraging a greater frequency of marital migrancy this did not put any undue stress on the marriages. Even township-originating marriages did not, of themselves, weaken family ties. Masora Dende's marriage to a woman of Malawian origin, whom he successfully integrated into his village community in Seke, makes this point quite well.[103]

There is evidence, nonetheless, to suggest that the suspicions that some rural-based wives harboured that their husbands had taken mistresses or *mapoto* wives in town did lead to noticeable domestic strife following the husbands' return. The suspicions were of course fanned by hearsay and other informal channels of passing on news from the city – but, in any event, the "evidence" was rarely actionable. Despite this, Vambe records that the suspicion alone was often enough to create:

> ....an atmosphere in which women, especially wives, felt emotionally insecure, and, because of this, became less and less satisfied with their traditional position of subservience. The women of Chishawasha abandoned their simple obedience and self-abnegation and became instead more aggressive, more demanding and more unfeminine. And as insecure, suspicious wives resort to nagging; this whole development introduced a note of social discord into the Shawasha domestic life which had hitherto been largely confined to a few luckless polygamous families.[104]

Vambe's nostalgia notwithstanding, the reality of migrancy in the rural settings created conditions that "problematize[d]....marriage" in which disaffected wives challenged deep-seated misogynist tendencies through a refusal to "internalise self-erasure and subordination".[105] However, for the avowed "traditionalist" this simply heightened his or her belief in a growing sense of eroding core relationships and values of rural society.

Intra-national rural-urban migration invariably had a marked effect on the more intimate relationships within households and families, especially when those movements involved an increased engagement with the income disparities that prevailed in Salisbury. So, return-migration also introduced new sources of inequality, as between those who did and did not

[101] Separate interviews with A. Mushangwe, Remencia Muza (24/7/11), M. Madondo (11/7/12) and F. Makiwa.
[102] Welshman Ncube et al. *Continuity and change: The Family in Zimbabwe*, (Harare: Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Project, 1997), 164-165.
[103] Interview with M. Dende in Seve Village (Seke) on 14 November 2011.
[104] Vambe, *Ill-Fated People*, 248.
[105] Thabisani Ndlovu, "The Family as a Contested Arena: Voices of Discontent in Charles Mungoshi's Works in Shona and English," (PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2011), 158-159.

migrate and between more and less successful migrants. This opened new contentious conversations centred on the theme of reciprocity and social values. There was a marked increase in individualisation because of migrant labour and a cash economy. This development in the Goromonzi District led, in turn, to a decline in co-operation among kin and increased poverty and insecurity for resource-poor households. While family members often provided one another with mutual support they could also be drawn into bitter conflicts over the control of remittances and other income that they regarded as important to survival.

The obvious disparities in material circumstances and the growing inability, or unwillingness, of some households to respond to repeated requests for relief heightened feelings of envy, anger and jealousy among neighbours. And, faced with low levels of cash flow and rural degeneration, the reserve communities developed an uneasy relationship with the more successful businesspeople in the community. In the context of generally pervasive economic insecurity and increasing differentiation, observable between business-owners and ordinary rural dwellers, this gave the cultural distinctions of religion, sex and generation new interpretations and meaning.

For instance, some villagers rejected the privileges which business people claimed such as evading forced labour on roads, conservation measures and what was made out to be a lack of respect for the chiefs and his headmen. The ordinary peasants suspected that business traders were willing to betray and subvert the *community's* values of reciprocity to secure their own material advantage. This view was heightened by the failure of most business traders to play the publicly redistributive roles that had helped to legitimate previous patterns of accumulation within the reserves. The NC for Mazowe captured some of this tension when he reported in 1945 that, "public opinion against the contractor, storekeeper, and others who are too busy to do their share of Reserve work [i.e. forced labour] is crystallising".[106] Kriger's study in the north-eastern districts of Southern Rhodesia argues that the liberation struggle in the 1970s provided an alibi for the poorer rural villagers to exploit the context of war and "fix" those who had refused to offer them aid during their times of need.[107] However, because most of Goromonzi was not a rural battleground in this war some of these simmering inter and intra-class tensions never came out in the manner they were exposed in Mutoko and other areas.

[106] NC, Mazoe, Annual Report, 1945.
[107] Norma Kriger, "The Zimbabwean War of Liberation: Struggles within the Struggle," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **14** (1988), 318.

This discussion therefore points to entangled familial and community relations within the reserves owing to the changes that migrancy and the migrants themselves introduced into the village communities. The younger and relatively better educated migrants were pulled more towards the city and developed a sense of individualism that the elderly viewed as harmful to the family's or village's solidarity. This group of migrants idealised the city and its many attractions and often made no effort to hide their contempt for the "rustic" ways of the village folk. This, at one level, encouraged further migration to the city, especially for the impressionable youth in the reserves but, at another, fanned disharmony and dissension within the village. The older generation of migrants remained attached to the reserves. These differences were not only observable along generational lines but extended to gender as well. In essence, there was no cultural uniformity but a complexity that arose out of the institutionalisation of migrancy and the varied imprints returning migrants made on Goromonzi.

Housing and the Built Environment

Many migrants cherished the hope of returning *kumusha* with assets and social standing. Therefore, one of the priority uses of an emigrant's savings was to improve the quality of his or her rural house which was often an inherent part of transforming the migrants' local status. Wilson Madimu recalls that he bought corrugated zinc sheeting for his parents' house in the Seke Reserve (which he now uses) in his first year of working at Meikles Department Store in the late 1950s.[108]

At one level, the new architecture expressed what the returning migrants saw and admired about the urban landscape and way of life. However, at another level, these new buildings represented efforts to uphold and increase the migrants' household honour, as particular attention was paid to preserving and reproducing the patrilineage. In this way, the socio-spatial imprint brought about by the return-migrants' investment in houses paradoxically became one of the means by which the "traditional" family units in the reserves were preserved.

This was readily noticeable among the older migrants who had a greater affinity to build their new houses in the same villages from which they had first moved out (that is the centre of location (COL)). The older migrants managed to erect large and identifiable family

[108] Interview with W. Madimu

compounds within the villages. The case of Wilson and Isaiah Madimu and George and Tiki Mujoma whose houses are co-located makes the point (see picture 6.1). They lived together in a "compound" and kept gender-based meal-sharing subgroups. Their households generally shared the collective property of the "corporate household" and common assets such as cattle and ploughs.

So, despite the increased social and economic role of many return-migrants the agnatic family or lineage remained the basis for family reference. In this way, the older return-migrants perpetuated the notions of honour and respectability that had long held sway in the reserves based on age, authority and the extent to which a man succeeded in carrying out his social duties. However, these age-old distinctions on honour were to a large extent compromised, especially among the younger return-migrants who infused a different pattern drawn between the educated people and those who were not educated and championed the independent production of their "personal" fields. More of the younger generation had attended upper primary school and secondary school than the older generation of migrants and this developed into a marker or indicator of social distance between the two generations of migrants.

The houses built by the younger returning migrants were based on a new style of architecture which reflected the increasing autonomy of the "monogamous family". The architectural changes reflected in different patterns and designs also revealed new religious and behavioural patterns among the Goromonzi population. Traditionally Shona *rondavels* (i.e. round huts) were divided according to sex and this ensured that men ate apart from the women and children. But the houses that were built from the 1950s incorporated the notion of a "main bedroom" that was shared between the male breadwinner of the household and his wife. This probably accounted for greater levels of intimacy and interaction between the sexes than before. Because these new buildings were moulded around the "monogamous family" the corporate extended family structure diminished as the labours of reproduction of the home devolved onto a single woman i.e. the "mother". Previously, the household's chores were shared among the women in the extended family compound who included the "grandmother" (*mbuya*) and the "aunt" *(tete).*

As a result, the latter or second-generation of return-migrants noticeably moved the COL of the houses they built. This was often only a marginal shift, but they could also move significantly away. For example, Rukudzo Chinyemba settled in the Murape Village even

though he was born in Pote (village) in the same Chinamhora Reserve.[109] The reasons for this are, of course, varied but while none of my informants confirmed this, a desire to free oneself from family responsibilities cannot be discounted. However, sometimes, as with Johannes Ngwerume, the headman failed to secure a place for him near his original village and therefore had to be moved slightly to other land but he was still able to maintain daily contact with his parents.[110] Therefore the architectural evidence seen in the distribution of the houses return-migrants built reflects the different styles of settlement patterns between first and second-generation migrants.

It would be wrong, however, to infer that the direct result of the fragmentation for households caused by second-generation returning migrants was a simple transition from extended to nuclear families. Rather a complex picture emerged that did not necessarily conform to an outcome in which the importance of larger kinship or residential groupings within villages lessened. In practice, a wide variety of differing and constantly shifting forms of family constellations existed, few of which met the definition of a nuclear family. The absence of both male and female migrants and the presence of –variously – siblings, grandparents and grandchildren made for a vast array of household forms. Families could still call on members of their extended families and their lineage to act in counsel when they became involved in disputes and, in other contexts, requiring the aid and backing of the larger kinship grouping. In essence, the family agglomerations that emerged were far from uniform and could partly be accounted for in the life cycle of the migrants in question. But the observable differences were also a function of a mixture of selectivity and consequence.

The appearance of the monogamous family in Goromonzi had much to do with the conversion to Christianity, more so, among those who converted to the Protestant and Orthodox type churches which shunned polygamous unions. The more Africanist or Ethiopian type churches like the *Vapostori* accepted polygamy as a welfare mechanism in which male breadwinners were "asked" to take in young widows and indigent women as additional wives. However, while the Judeo-Christian model of the nuclear family was encouraged in the missionary-led churches, it seems probable that economic factors held greater sway in accounting for the decrease in polygamous unions. For instance, Tendai Chitimbe, a member of the *Vapostori* maintained a monogamous marriage and Taurai Chikove also never considered taking in a second wife even after converting to Islam in 1974.

[109] Interview with R. Chinyemba, Murape Village, Chinamhora, 3 January 2012.
[110] Interview with J. Ngwerume, Madimu Village, Seke, 14 November 2011.

While both these informants rationalised this by pointing to the greater costs involved in managing a large household, changing personal values and ideals were also decisive.[111]

Most of the houses in Goromonzi before 1950 were pole-and-dagga *rondavels* with thatched roofs. But from the late 1950s rectangular Kimberly brick houses with transparent windows, pitched metal roofs (see picture 6.2) or burnt brick buildings under corrugated-iron or flattened drum usually with two bedrooms and a central living area became an increasingly common sight. The central living area occasionally served as a kitchen but in many other instances there was a separate building or an outbuilding which served as the cooking area.

By 1957 Margesson, the Land Development Officer (LDO) for Goromonzi reported, that, "all houses [in the Kunzwi Reserve] are now Kimberly brick or burnt brick".[112] Similarly, Von Memerty, the ANC, recorded that by 1953, "several of the inhabitants [of Goromonzi] have constructed good type houses of burnt brick under corrugated-iron or asbestos roofs".[113] The table below shows the increase in the number of "improved" buildings in African farming areas erected by 1961 in the Mashonaland East province in which the Goromonzi District was found. E.P. Scott attributes the adoption of burnt brick in the reserves to the colonial government's efforts to subsidise the costs of brick production to build worker compound huts on European commercial farms.[114] The buildings themselves illuminate a rich history of adaptability on the part of the returning migrants and also the local peoples' sense of dynamism as well as their economic and cultural transformation.

Table 6.1: Improved Buildings Erected by 1961

	HOUSES			
	ONE ROOM		MORE THAN ONE ROOM	
PROVINCE	YEAR	TOTAL	YEAR	TOTAL
Mashonaland East	1 520	14 104	698	5 549

Source: Annual Report of the Director of Native Agriculture for the year 1961, 65.

It is possible to frame an architectural history of when the houses were built based on the architectural designs of the houses. The designs mirrored the types of architecture the returning migrants had been exposed to during their stay in Salisbury. For instance, George Mujoma's building career had taken him to Botswana in the 1960s, when he was working for

[111] Separate interviews with T. Chitimbe (14/11/12) and T. Chikove.
[112] Survey Report: Kunzwi Reserve (Goromonzi District) for consideration by Assessment Committee appointed in terms of the NLHA, 1951 from TVH Margesson, LDO dated 18th March 1957.
[113] Report: Chinamhora Reserve (Goromonzi District) for Consideration by Assessment Committee appointed in terms of the LHA, 1951 by W. von Memerty (Asst. NC), dated 25th Feb. 1953.
[114] E.P. Scott, "Home-Based Industries: An Alternative Strategy for Household Security in Rural Zimbabwe," *The Journal of Developing Areas* 29/2 (1995), 198.

Costain Construction. In the late 1960s George absorbed more architectural designs while he was working on the construction of Chadcombe; a white middle-class suburb in Salisbury that he says was based on designs from Portugal. However, George Mujoma recalls the house he eventually built in his home village in Seke, was based on a design he saw while he was working in Mushumbi Pools in the early 1970s. The building has an octagonal lounge-cum-kitchen area in the middle (see picture 6.3).[115] The houses built in later years are not only distinguishable because they are "newer looking" - such as the house belonging to Maria Chisvo's grandson (see picture 6.4) - but they are also reminiscent of the houses that were found in the Mabvuku and Tafara Townships of Salisbury.[116]

These new houses were regarded as status symbols and as a "twentieth-century expression of household honour".[117] To this *day*, the houses continue to infuse a sense of great pride in many of my informants who were able to improve their household's living quarters. The author, Tsitsi Dangarembga, in *Nervous Conditions*, manages to capture this, when she describes how Jeremiah scolds his daughter Tambu for not being thankful for what her uncle had done for the family back in the reserves. Jeremiah rebuked:

> Look, see how your home is. We impress people around here. Who built the first baked-brick house in this area? Who has such a bright corrugated-iron roof that it can be seen twinkling as far as the main road? Mukoma! [i.e. "older brother"] Let me tell you, Mukoma did this for us.[118]

Equally, one of my informants, Zivanai Chaora, who was in his late 60s reminisced:

> I am happy with what I have managed to achieve. At my *kumusha* [in Chikwaka] I built myself a large house indeed - I have a good [water] well. If you come to my house there is no difference with Harare, my wife and children and grandchildren are all well, such that it is me who is staying *kumusha* most of the time. Yes we sometimes come here [Mbare/Harare Township] with the wife from time to time so that my wife can rest especially after the planting season.[119]

Some of these homes were built with migrant savings and remittances but others bore witness to expanding local business opportunities in the reserves. From the late 1940s, there was a steady increase in the numbers of African civil servants, teachers and nurses who reinvested in the reserves. However, many of these migrants concentrated their investments in the

[115] Interview with G. Mujoma, Mujoma Village, Seke, 14 November 2011.
[116] Interview with M. Chisvo, Seke, 14 November 2011.
[117] John Iliffe, *Honour in African History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 285.
[118] Tsitsi Dangarembga, *Nervous Conditions* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1988), 31.
[119] Interview with Z. Chaora, Mbare, Harare, 5 March 2012.

neighbouring African Purchase Areas (APAs) and the larger business centres in the district like at Juru and later in the Seke Township.[120]

Apart from building houses for their own use, several returning migrants also made critical interventions towards setting up community schools because of an acquired awareness that had come to identify schools with upward mobility. The better off migrants and eminent nationalists like Isaac Samuriwo and Stanlake Samkange were centrally involved in constructing fairly well-resourced schools in Goromonzi like Nyatsime College close to St. Mary's.[121] Even migrants that were engaged in blue-collar employment in Salisbury carried out some fund-raising initiatives and brick-making projects of their own, towards constructing local schools in their villages. In the Jonasi Village, for instance, the community erected a secondary school in the 1960s, after years of having had only a primary school in the area.[122] The community's initiatives coupled with the government and mission stations investments in education ensured that by the end of the 1960s, most villages in Goromonzi boasted a primary school and by the early 1970s witnessed the proliferation of junior secondary schools.[123]

The regular traffic of bus services to Salisbury, discussed in Chapter 3, served to influence settlement patterns in the reserves themselves. For instance, an assessment survey of the Chinamhora Reserve in 1953 by the ANC, Von Memerty, reported that the "northern and eastern areas of Mawanga [Ward] are very sparsely populated and whole stretches of country are completely uninhabited". Von Memerty went on to remark that, "these places are not popular with the local people as they are too far and too difficult for easy access to their Mecca – Salisbury".[124]

Perhaps the most imposing socio-spatial imprint that Salisbury's migrants made in the Goromonzi District was in the short-lived *Guta ra Jehova* (GRJ) an alternative religious community established by the female spiritualist healer Mai Chaza in 1954.[125] Mai Chaza and her followers were granted an area of only one acre on which to build over 500 pole-and-

[120] For further discussion see: A. K. Shutt, "Purchase Area Farmers and the Middle Class of Southern Rhodesia, c. 1931-1952," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, **30**/3 (1997).
[121] Emmanuel Mudhiwa Chiwome, *A Social History of the Shona Novel*, (Kwekwe: Juta, 1996), 4.
[122] Interview with P. Rudhwava, Seke, 14 November 2012.
[123] See Appendix 3.2.
[124] Report: Chinamhora Reserve (Goromonzi District) 1951 by W. von Memerty (Asst. NC), dated 25th Feb. 1953.
[125] Eric Wood, "Community Action, Urban Protest and Change in Zimbabwe and South Africa," *African Affairs*, **77**/307 (1978), 178.

dagga huts by the Kandava Village headman Chihota, who controlled and allocated land in Kandava. A clearly impressed CNC reported that Mai Chaza's "healing compound" was complete with "waiting rooms, outpatient facilities and overnight accommodation for sick patients".[126]

The spatial patterning of GRJ represented a binding example of rural cosmopolitanism and the imaginings emigrants relayed or transferred on their return. Mai Chaza and her followers combined both "traditional" architectural structures and colonial African township planning. The resulting shape of the community reflected the practical building skills, the resources available in Seke, and the lack of space with which they were confronted. Spatially, the GRJ was closer to the private locations that were found in some peri-urban farms in Salisbury at around the same time.

The GRJ in December of 1954 had a population of 2 500 inhabitants living in 615 huts.[127] The community's development had followed lines similar to that of the African townships in Salisbury. The inner compound comprising close to 400 houses was built around a central small brick urban-style house occupied by Mai Chaza. These "older" homes comprised what was called the "National Compound," corresponding to the National Section of the Harare Township.[128] Next to these houses making up an outer compound were another 200 houses, built similarly in rows, known as "Donnybrook Compound," after the area of married housing in an area to the east of Salisbury that later became Mabvuku Township.[129] The spontaneous division and naming of the Guta's areas following the patterns of Salisbury's African townships clearly represented the African township experience of many of the first inhabitants.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that indeed profound changes had taken place in almost every facet of life of Goromonzi's populace. It has shown that migrants who moved internally were just as cosmopolitan or as modernising as external migrants. In fact, this group of migrants were better placed to effect change in a more quotidian sense because of the nearness of Salisbury to the reserves under investigation. The discussion has shown how the movement to Salisbury

[126] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1956, 15.
[127] Timothy Scarnecchia, "Mai Chaza's Guta re Jehova (City of God): Gender, Healing and Urban Identity in an African Independent Church," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **23**/1 (1997), 92.
[128] This was a large area of married housing built by the Rhodesian government's National Building and Housing Board to placate demands for better housing during the 1948 General Strike.
[129] Scarnecchia, "Mai Chaza's Guta re Jehova," 93.

was much more than a simple economic phenomenon: it was one of the means through which modernity and transformational practices entered the lives of an otherwise "localised" rural population.

The discussion generated in this chapter made two important qualifications. First, I pointed out that because the culture contacts that Goromonzi migrants had with the modernising influences in Salisbury were never in any event complete, what was then relayed was necessarily also incomplete. The older generation of migrants, for example, tried to buttress what they imagined as "traditional" on their return, while simultaneously introducing several modernising influences into their homesteads.

The second qualification that I make is that the reserve communities themselves set the pace for social change through their own wide-ranging engagements and contestations. While "city ways" gradually came to be regarded as more "progressive", the internal contestations and negotiations in the reserves "ensured" that the *city* assumed no ideological superiority over the villages. For instance, the gender role "disruptions" that followed migrancy were negotiated within existing gender ideologies which limited women's power and authority within the family. So, the vision and imaginings of the city did not dominate culturally, even though they had a marked influence in shaping the hopes and ambitions of many, especially the youth.

Therefore, rather than celebrate the return migrant's transfers, this discussion presents a mixed picture. Features of urban modernity were, depending on context, adopted, reconfigured or rejected. The new styles of consumption introduced through contact with Salisbury and by the return-migrants themselves ushered in novel forms of social differentiation that had highly ambiguous ramifications on social relations. In making these observations the discussion avoided eclipsing what was considered "decadent" or "untraditional" sub-cultures that influenced the rural reserves in their own ways or what was disowned and repulsed by the rural community.

Picture 6.1: Mujoma Village/Line



Picture 6.2: A kimberly brick and thatched house



Picture 6.3: George Mujoma's Octagonal Lounge



Picture 6.4: 'Modern' house in the Seke Reserve



*All pictures were taken by the writer between the 12th and 14th of November 2011.

CHAPTER 7: Rural Socio-Economic Transformation and Differentiation

This chapter examines some of the changes brought about in the socio-economic fabric of the reserves that were born out of the various human interactions between Goromonzi and Salisbury. I trace some of these transformations in the social organisation, labour processes and economic activities that the inhabitants of Goromonzi engaged in. The chapter assesses rural transformation through the lens of intra-national migration. This, at once, challenges several perspectives that argue that such a classification of social and geographical relations does not provide a relevant dimension to our understanding of society.[1] However, this chapter argues that African rural-urban movements were, in some ways, more significant for social and economic change than was the case with similar processes elsewhere. I identify some of these changes in the shifting dynamics of rural-urban income distribution, in the internalisation of the rural-urban terms of trade and in the monetisation of exchange in rural society. The chapter argues that by the close of the period under study (that is, 1979) the most important transformation of all was that intra-national migrancy had moved from being an important buttress for the Goromonzi rural economy to providing its foundation. There was scarcely any aspect of the society which did not affirm this reality such that rural Goromonzi at the close of the 1970s was qualitatively different from the 1930s.

The first section in this chapter observes that a rapid monetisation of the local reserve economy took place in the 1960s. This was, partly, because labour migrancy and other life strategies the migrants used to extract some resources from Salisbury stopped being discretionary choices for survival during times of distress but became crucial for household reproduction. With time, the migrant community came to regard some commoditised items as "basic necessities" as they spent an increasing proportion of their time in Salisbury while the capacity of the land to reproduce the community was also decreasing. The discussion notes that gift remitting, on one hand, expressed affection for and remembrance of families and communities in the rural reserves (*kumusha)* which ultimately strengthened those relationships. However, on the other hand, I argue that while remittances strengthened social relationships over time through a combination of social and material investments there were possibilities of redefining power relations in the reserve communities as a result.

[1] Ellis for example declares that the rural transformation process in Tanzania is much more effectively analysed from the perspective of state-peasant relations.
See: F. Ellis, "Agricultural marketing and peasant state transfers in Tanzania," *Journal of Peasant Studies* **10**/4 (1983); _____, *Peasant Economies: Farm Households and Agrarian Development*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

The second section explores how the men and women, who remained in the reserves, developed various survival strategies compelled by a scarcity of male labour power. I do this by principally focusing on home-based industries in the Goromonzi District and some of the income transfers with the city of Salisbury that emerged within the vegetable supply zones such as Seke and Chinamhora. I argue that the Native Affairs Department's (NAD) depictions about the demise of home-based industries conceal more than they reveal. Because, firstly, the disappearing "traditional" crafts were, in a direct sense, a result of colonial checks on particular trades such as hunting which disrupted certain craft industries engaged in processing animal parts. Secondly, the craft-based industries that emerged in the post-1940s period reflected, in part, the changing rural aesthetic that had increasingly been in contact with the "modern" urban idyll of Salisbury. The section notes how many rural-based women and especially wives of absent migrants turned to market-gardening and other income-generating activities to supplement their homesteads' income. I argue that these ventures had the potential of reshaping social relations in the reserves and redefining some of the labour processes as well.

The third section examines some of the multi-layered social changes in the labour processes and socio-economic division of the reserve societies of Goromonzi. It discusses the impact of men's extended absence on agricultural production. I argue that, the complex labour arrangements that emerged did not necessarily conform to a blanketing in the notion of "feminisation of labour" even though female involvement in "husbandry" activities increased. This discussion also follows the significant diffusion of certain crops into the agriculture of the Goromonzi District as a direct result of the transfers that intra-national migration promoted. I go on to assess how this fostered, in certain unique instances, upward mobility of those engaged in market-gardening. However, I maintain that while dependency on labour migrancy was the result of the worsening position of the rural economy, the shortage of men in turn further undermined the rural material base and reinforced the cycle of dependency on Salisbury.

The fourth section discusses the emerging retail and trade sector in the Goromonzi District. This sector developed, partially, in response to the dietary and taste transfers observed in the previous chapter but, mainly, it was the attendant outcome of colonial strictures placed on African investment of surplus capital in the urban areas. The discussion, however, qualifies that the new economic and social relations that emerged with the shift to business enterprise by a select few return-migrants were often fostered along horizontal relationships among

people with equally marginalised socio-economic status. So, ultimately, the "trade boom" failed to yield the access to significant consumer resources as well as sever the structural dependency on Salisbury.

Remittances and Migrant Savings

A substantial part of the migrants' income flowed out in the form of remittances, gifts, goods and savings to the migrants' home communities'. But while some of these were made to rural kinsmen others remained within the immediate family. Migrants remitted a wide range of items from food, cloth and fashioned clothing, especially school uniforms, agricultural inputs, farm implements, construction materials and, if they were financially able, an oxcart. In time, some of these products became available in the local stores. Conspicuous consumption was, however, not the hallmark of this grouping of rural-urban migrants because of generally poor wages.[2] As such, the items remitted were usually lower-end products but some durable consumer goods did make their way to the reserves. Consumption was nonetheless central to the return-migrants' attempts to reinvent themselves and, in many ways, offered new sources of social distinction and status.

The major end-use of remittances was household consumption, that is, living expenses and foodstuffs, mainly sugar, tea, bread and maize or maize meal. The other important uses were education (school fees), repayment of debts, construction and repairs of buildings. Some was spent on consumer goods by the rural kinsfolk; some was used for medical treatment, and a little was injected into agriculture. Larger sums were injected into the rural economy in the event of special crises or ceremonies such as weddings or funerals. Yet another use of increasing importance, especially where urban dwellers had inherited land, was the payment of one or two farm labourers. Some remittances were also used to develop small trading concerns, as we shall expand on below.

Many of the rural households in Goromonzi by the 1960s had equally come to depend on migrant wage incomes to buy basic food needs, such as mealie meal. In general, the reserves, at least by the 1960s, were net importers of the staple food products with more maize or

[2] By the 1970s, Cubitt and Riddell estimated that the urban PDL for Salisbury for the average family unit of 6 occupying municipal accommodation was $73.52 per month in January 1974 but this was at a time when the average African earnings had risen from $212 per annum in 1962 to just $357 per annum in 1973.
See: V.S. Cubitt and R.C. Riddell, "The Urban PDL in Rhodesia: A Study of the Minimum Consumption Needs of Families," (Faculty of Social Studies, University of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1974), 116.

maize products brought in to the area than sent out of it. This is probably what spurred, a contemporary commentator, N.A. Hunt, to argue:

> ....as a result [of remittances] the land is not regarded, as it should be, as the main support of the family and a powerful incentive to improve farming methods is absent. The money sent home by the breadwinner acts as an economic cushion and militates against farming efficiency. The land is not the sole, or even the main source of income, and there is little incentive to improve techniques and thus increase the cash returns from agriculture.[3]

Hunt's analysis was obviously too simplistic because of the structural limitations the reserves had to grapple with; which added to the effects of severe weather, such as the 1960 drought. Instead, a combination of these structural limitations, cyclical unemployment, environmental degradation and drought were responsible for what Cousins, Weiner and Amin refer to as a "reproduction squeeze" for many of these rural households.[4] If anything, remittances were responsible for shoring up socio-economic structures that needed drastic reform.

The income from migration made it possible for migrant households to compensate for structural disadvantages in access to education and agricultural income. They were also better positioned to be able to invest in crop production and keep a herd. Thus, the remitted items contributed substantially to the long-term capacity of the rural households to achieve food security. Several of my informants remember that the first large purchases they made were in buying cattle to stock up the family's herds. These herds were for the more immediate purpose of ploughing the land but also for later use during *roora* (bride-wealth) negotiations.[5] Thus, there were certainly clear benefits at the individual level.

At first, the households in Goromonzi, as I revealed in Chapter 1, needed migrant labour incomes mainly to finance taxes, school fees and other non-food expenses. However, by the 1960s and 1970s, most returning migrants had come to consider many other items as "basic necessities". Elements of the means of production (e.g. manufactured mattocks, ploughs, commercial fertiliser and hybrid seed) also became commoditised over time. In essence, consumer goods bought as commodities began to replace local use-value production. This supports Masst's assertion that:

> While in the earlier phases of colonialism, the poll tax had been a key instrument in forcing the African peasantry into oscillatory labour migration, commoditisation of

[3] N.A. Hunt, "Age and Land in a Native Reserve," *NADA* **40** (1963), 108-9.
[4] Ben Cousins, Dan Weiner and Nick Amin, "Social Differentiation in the Communal Lands of Zimbabwe," *Review of African Political Economy*, **53** (1992), 19.
[5] Separate interviews with W. Madimu (13/11/11), T. Mujoma (13/11/11) and G. Mujoma (14/11/11).

> elements of their reproduction process together with land pressure and declining returns from labour in peasant production, were the main factors behind the high rates of labour migration towards the end of the colonial period.[6]

From this, the *benefits* of seasonal migration began to outweigh the costs for individual migrants. And, on the level of the rural household economy, urban employment became one of the most efficient ways to meet some of the family's income needs. However, at the village level, because of the small amounts of money involved, the benefits were rather short-term and even presented an obstacle to structural change.[7] The mounting unemployment in Salisbury, starting in the late 1950s, threatened the urban lifelines of Goromonzi society because of the decisive increase in dependence on remittances. Because of severe population pressure on limited resources, some people had become dependent on remittances for sheer survival. This, in turn, spurred various survival strategies within the reserves as I shall explore below.

Many migrants made regular remittances. Moller estimates that, in the early 1970s, possibly a quarter of the income from hostel dwellers' salaries employed in Salisbury made their way back to the reserves through the established form of communication between these migrants and their families.[8] However, the testimony of one of my informants, Michael Makiwa, suggests that, in some instances, the amounts sent could be much more. Makiwa recalls that in 1966, before he got married, for every "$3 weekly wage he received he would buy groceries and other items for $2 to send to his rural home in Chikwaka".[9] In rationalising this, Makiwa notes that "the $1 [that is the remaining amount from his weekly wage] was just about enough and besides we did this because we wanted to show respect and honour to our parents".[10] This displays the extent to which migrants were "prepared" to go through some of the most difficult conditions in the urban areas in their attempts to lessen the even harsher conditions in Goromonzi. This also shows the value that economically active men and women placed on contributing money as a matter of household survival. For them, the benefits of household membership outweighed breaking away. So, the cash wages coming

[6] Mette Masst, "The Harvest of Independence: Commodity Boom and Socio-Economic Differentiation among Peasants in Zimbabwe," (PhD. Diss. Roskilde University, 1996), 160.
[7] In 1976 the per capita income level in the Africa reserves was no more than $28. This was less than 10 percent of the national per capita income level in that year.
A Strategy for Rural Development: Databank No. 2: The Peasant Sector, Project 1.05 (a) October 1978, 5.
[8] Valerie Moller, "Migrant Labour in Harare Hostels." *Zambezia*, **5**/2 (1977): 147.
[9] Interview with Michael Makiwa, Mbare, Harare, 25 April 2012.
*My informant could have confused the currency in this case because the dollar ($) was only adopted in 1970 and before that Rhodesia was using the pound (£). But his evidence holds regardless.
[10] Ibid.

from economically active Goromonzi migrants made up the means, through transfer of resources (food and money), by which rural families increasingly continued to live on the land.

The more "traditional" or patriarchal migrants, however, felt it was inappropriate to send money to their wives but would bring back clothes or blankets when they returned home. Other men failed to send money home, but would give their wives lump sums when they came home on visits, which were sometimes irregular. Yet, others abandoned their responsibilities entirely.[11] This, in turn, led to the (re)negotiation of notions of honour in the reserve communities. Iliffe's discussion on the notion of honour in African history contends that, "to return without gifts was as shameful as to return defeated from the battlefield".[12] Beyond that, a failure to remit often had certain sociological implications on the rural reserves. The case of Misi, who was "forced" into prostitution because her husband stopped remitting to her and their children, discussed in Chapter 3 powerfully makes the point.

Members of households that did not receive remittances had little choice but to seek some cash income from piecemeal and random jobs or tasks. These tasks included washing, building, cleaning, hoeing, threshing, etc. Other families could also make money by helping to plough and weed fields of absentees but this provided unpredictable and often miniscule amounts of money. It is also significant that most of such casual workers came from households that owned no cattle and therefore received most of their income from casual labour. In this way, the rural labour market came to be dominated by casual labour and piecework rather than fully proletarianised labour.

Thus, urban wage incomes were perhaps the most significant factor of social differentiation within the rural areas and contributed significantly to the overall well-being of the rural households. Rural households whose main source of income was salaried urban employment generally recorded lower poverty levels than families whose main source of income was from communal farming.[13] Migration, however, did not level out the economic gap between rural and urban populations.[14] If anything it was entrenched and widened. Ironically the inequality was simultaneously the cause and effect of migration. This also shows how historical forms

[11] Moller's survey among Harare Township's hostel dwellers figured that up to 88 percent of hostel dwellers sent remittances back home and 69 percent were able to do so - on a monthly basis or more regularly.
Moller, "Harare Hostels," 147.
[12] John Iliffe, *Honour in African History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 285.
[13] National Accounts of Rhodesia, 1976, CSO Salisbury, 1977.
[14] See footnote 7 above.

of social differentiation overlapped with new forms of *class* distinction to perpetuate the status quo.

The net effect of erratic patterns of remittances increased the activity rates for female labour within the reserves. Therefore, remittances in female-headed rural households were a response to labour-crisis situations and were invariably used in hiring labour when the need arose. Female-headed households hired more labour than male-headed households. Yet another practise involved "adopting" a young adolescent male relative who was enrolled into the local schools. In turn, the "adopted" young man helped around the household in the mornings before school and in the afternoon after school.[15] Female-headed households that did not have the basic agricultural means of production and did not receive remittances were, mostly, the poorest members of the community and the source of casual labour.

As I pointed out in Chapter 1, migration took root in the 1940s and 1950s because of the huge economic disparity between the rural and the urban and this drew out villagers who had lost their means of subsistence. The poorer migrants were then trapped in low-paying industrial employment while the better-off migrants had access to clerical, teaching and other relatively better paying professions. These differences were mirrored in the impact the migrants' remittances and savings were used for: better houses and better-stocked stores for the better-paid return-migrants in comparison to the industrial blue-collar workers. Therefore, households with members engaged in skilled and "permanent" urban wage labour made up the wealthiest core of the community. These households often produced and marketed more crops and had greater access to agricultural capital amassed from previous employment. They also hired more labour for agricultural and domestic tasks.[16] So, in essence, migration increased differences along inter and intra-class lines.

Apart from a tiny minority of salaried individuals working within the reserves, the rural households in Goromonzi continued to earn very little income. A report by a Commission of Inquiry into incomes, prices and conditions of service under the Chairmanship of Roger Riddell that was set up soon after the country attained its independence captured the historical dimensions of the low-income levels in the rural areas. The report stated:

> The peasant economy has over time become so denuded of income generating capacity and has been so starved of investment that the incomes from the peasant economic activity have become so low in aggregate and per capita terms that survival

[15] Interview with A. Mushangwe in Murape Village/Ward 4 on 3 January 2012.
[16] R.W.M. Johnson, "Introduction," *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, **36** (1964), 6.

> of inhabitants and even the maintenance of production at the low level is only sustained through transfers from the wage economy.[17]

Remittances therefore, broadened the income base in Goromonzi that some rural households used towards contributing to their gross incomes.[18] However, farming and other avenues of making money, though they contributed little to the family's gross incomes, remained important and were in no way supplanted by urban incomes. Thus, the system of household reproduction combined non-rural "incomes of a various level...with agricultural production in an attempt to achieve...household reproduction".[19] What this points to is that while remittances made a significant contribution to household incomes, the ways in which the migrant community harnessed resources in both the rural and urban spaces amounted to some form of internal subsidisation within a single economic unit. As O'Connor has surmised:

> Agreement on the extent of real benefit resulting from the spread of remittances will never be reached, but without doubt they play a large part in ensuring that urban dwellers and many rural dwellers remain part of a single interlocking system.[20]

The income flows from the urban to rural areas made it possible for a large number of people in the rural areas to benefit from the development and growth of the urban economy. The cash flows were a demonstration that the development of the urban economy directly benefited very large numbers of people who did not take up residence in the towns. Further, the net effect of cash remittances on rural areas was a good deal more important in causing fundamental economic change than is suggested merely by a rise in consumption levels. Urban-rural income transfers provided a means of mitigating the serious inequalities that existed between the urban and rural areas. Migration therefore served as a means whereby rural dwellers extracted wealth from the urban areas and transferred it to their village communities, using their mobility as the medium of transfer.

Rural-based Survival Strategies

Besides remittances the rural households in Goromonzi earned much of their income from several enterprises such as market-gardening that had the potential for cash income because of the closeness of urban markets in Salisbury. These ventures were at once attempts to avert

[17] Roger Riddell, Zimbabwe Commission of Inquiry into Incomes, Prices, and Conditions of Service, 1981, 61.
[18] Johnson survey in Chiweshe estimated that the average gross income for each was just over £50, with £18 of this, or 36 percent, coming from sources outside the reserve.
R.W.M. Johnson, "An Economic Survey of Chiweshe Reserve," *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 85.
[19] Orvis cited in Pekka Seppala, *Diversification and Accumulation in Rural Tanzania: Anthropological Perspectives on Village Economics*, (Nordiska Afrikaninstitutet, 1998), 217.
[20] Anthony O'Connor, *The African City*, (Hutchinson University Library in Africa, London, 1983), 293.

risk by spreading out their subsistence and income-earning activities to secure their rural livelihoods as well as opportunistic ventures. They presented the inhabitants of Goromonzi with opportunities made possible from a combination of local ecology and market access. However, even beyond market-gardening there were many other ventures that were important in decreasing risk as well as for local use in the growing commodification of the reserves.

Vambe recounts that in the 1920s his home village in Chishawasha (i.e. Mashonganyika) experienced a business boom as it attracted farm and mine labourers from the nearby Arcturus mine and settler farms that flocked to the area over the weekends precisely for beer-drinking.[21] He claims that "the people of Mashonganyika made good money out of the food and beer they sold" and that many bought "bicycles, sewing-machines, ploughs and the wonder in those days, the gramophone".[22] However, by the mid-1930s the beer trade was cut off by prohibitions imposed by the Roman Catholic missionaries who associated opaque beer with the continuing *mashave* (alien spirits) ritual ceremonies. The local beer-brewing industry in Seke was dealt a further blow when Chibuku Breweries established its brewery in the new Seke Township in 1962. Chibuku also made deliveries to the rural stores which meant that these beers could be purchased easily at the local stores even though home-brewed beer was far cheaper. Chibuku's introduction of a convenient plastic coated cardboard carton (i.e. *chisheki-sheki*) made a huge impact in the reserves as it did not carry a deposit. This made it easier for returning migrants to bring their own beer over the weekends and other visits. The taste transfers, which I pointed out in the previous chapter, and the changes in the drinking patterns all helped to hurt the rural-brewing industry.

The Acting Chief Native Commissioner's (CNC) 1954 Report presented a depressing picture of a dying art and craft industry in the rural reserves as follows:

> Native arts and crafts have become more and more neglected...The Native population has become reliant to a large extent on the products of the European. Drums, tins and empty canisters have taken the place of the old clay pots and vessels and similarly old-fashioned implements and tools have been ousted by the modern substitute.... generally the crafts are dying out.[23]

While there was, indeed, a general trend towards adopting "European" tools and receptacles, items such as baskets, brooms and curios still found a ready market in the urban areas. Also,

[21] L. Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, (London: Heinemann, 1972), 224.
[22] Ibid, 225.
[23] Report of the Secretary of Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Development: 1954, 14.

as stated in Chapter 4, these "artistic" crafts still held a central place during cultural ceremonies and funerals.

One key reason for the decline was the colonial prohibition on tree felling, hunting, etc. which effectively cut off the resource-base for most of the craft items. Migrancy itself also effectively cut short the levels of ingenuity in the craft industry though some migrants were able to continue with their crafts in the urban environments. Many of the labour migrants however, returned to the reserves, following their retirement in their greying days. For instance, Willie Morotini Rudhwava was famed for his skills in making handgrips for axes and hatchets in the Jonasi area of Seke. But following his retirement, at the age of 70, he only engaged in the craft to pass time with no commercial motive in mind because of advanced age.[24]

Some home-based industry and commoditised skilled services did develop outside the arts and crafts. These included builders, carpenters, brick-makers, brick-layers, thatchers, cobblers, well sinkers, cycle repairs and bakers. Most of these artisans worked from the small business centres in the district. The Native Commissioner (NC) for Mazoe, for example, reported on a "first class tradesman who is turning out well-finished Scotch carts".[25] In the Marandellas District an African upholsterer was reportedly earning £2 or £3 a day as his services were in great demand.[26] These petty commodity trades were part of the diversification strategies exercised by Goromonzi dwellers wishing to escape reliance on risky agriculture. Sometimes, the returning migrants also engaged in these trades as part of their survival strategies especially with shrinking formal employment opportunities in Salisbury. However, while a few artisans managed to sell their skills locally and earn modest amounts of money as builders and roofers the inelastic market in the reserves made this a broadly non-viable niche. On the whole, the major ancillary activities that many reserves within the vicinity of Salisbury chased were in market-gardening.

Some of the other home-based industry types such as metalworking, beer-brewing, tailoring, and pottery that could be identified in farther districts like Buhera and Mutoko were not prominent in the Goromonzi District. This is largely because of the proximity of Salisbury and the high traffic of migrants to that city that severely strained the competitiveness of the

[24] Interview with P. Rudhwava, Seke, 14 November 2011.
[25] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1952, 27.
[26] Ibid.

products churned out by these small-scale industries.[27] In the outlying districts of the country, home-based industries were regarded as feasible alternatives to engaging in wage labour, such that the able-bodied readily worked as artisans within their rural communities. For instance, Berkvens argues that labour migration from Mutoko to the urban areas had in fact decreased in importance as a result of the growth of agricultural production and non-agricultural employment.[28] However, in areas like Seke and Chinamhora, the nearness of Salisbury and the relatively lower returns that artisans earned placed the home-based industry option at a great disadvantage. The weekly visits *kumusha* that some migrants exercised meant that these return-migrants could also continue farming and urban employment at almost the same level the artisans in areas like Buhera were doing.

Many peasant-producers in Goromonzi grew fresh fruit and vegetables on a small-scale to supply markets mainly in centres of high population density. These centres ranged from local boarding schools to the municipal fresh produce markets in Salisbury. Green production became increasingly important in Goromonzi in that it provided jobs for school-leavers who had failed to find jobs in the formal sector.[29] Fresh produce traders were also able to earn enough income to survive in the city or to meet some of the basic needs in their rural homes. In 1939 the NC Goromonzi commented:

> The Natives of this district are extremely fortunate in that they have easy access to the Salisbury market for all their produce...the amount of maize on the cob, nuts, vegetables etc disposed of to the Africans employed in Salisbury...must be considerable and in many instances the prices demanded and paid are ridiculously high.[30]

However, by the 1930s fresh produce production had assumed an ancillary role to urban wages with its contribution to total household income. Schmidt estimates that by 1932 the sale of produce was worth less than 20 percent of total cash income. This marked a significant decline from 1903 when such sales accounted for some 70 percent of Africans' total cash earnings.[31] However, by the end of the 1940s fresh produce began to contribute a larger part towards the household's income. A 1946 report by the Assistant Native

[27] See: E.P. Scott, "Home-Based Industries: An Alternative Strategy for Household Security in Rural Zimbabwe," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, **29**/2 (1995).
[28] R.J.A. Berkvens, "Backing Two Horses: Interaction of Agricultural Household Activities in a Zimbabwean Communal Area," (De-agrarianisation and rural employment network, Working Paper, 24; African Studies Center, Leiden, 1997).
[29] Interview with Joseph Muzuva, Ardbennie, Harare, 11 September 2012.
[30] Ibid, 78.
[31] Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe: 1870-1939*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1992), 73.

Commissioner (ANC) in Domboshawa made a direct connection between market-gardening resuming in the mid-1940s to increased food production beyond the subsistence level. He stated that, "Africans have begun using the damp places for growing vegetable products which they market in Salisbury".[32] In this period, peasant-producers began to carry basketfuls of produce like beans, peas, *nyimo* (round nuts or bambara nuts), groundnuts and green mealies to Salisbury. At the same time, as *we* saw in Chapter 4, Harare based retailers began to penetrate the nearby rural areas, particularly Domboshawa and Epworth, to buy fresh fruits, vegetables and handmade products like wooden spoons, baskets and mats. These were resold in urban locations but also in the city centre. In 1979 Cheater estimated that the un-enumerated income from the sale of these products could add as much as 40 percent of the total income apart from that coming in from the sale of controlled products like beef and maize.[33]

Many market-gardening projects in Goromonzi were dominated by women who managed to secure income under their own control. Many women, therefore, came to depend on access to land for market-gardening purposes so that they could sustain their households and as an important local source or revenue.[34] The prevailing gender relations in Goromonzi, which associated market-gardening with light-work and the prevalence of male outmigration for waged employment in Salisbury, encouraged this trend. Market-gardening was also attractive to female-headed households without access to remittances although the possibilities for significant levels of profit were limited. The income from market-gardening was also crucially important to chronically underpaid men. This, in essence, shows us that the direction of subsidies was not unidirectional from the urban to the rural sector but urban workers were, in fact, also subsidised by their rural families.

The marketing patterns of green produce from the Goromonzi District existed along a continuum. Some peasant-traders built elaborate marketing networks with various end-users and set up exclusive arrangements to supply fixed customers with specified quantities at given time periods. Others, however, had customers or retailers coming directly to collect from their plots of land. Some peasant-traders were also able to engage local schools and sign contracts to supply rice, vegetables, fruits, etc. These were, however, more often than not, the

[32] ANC (Domboshawa) quoted in T. Barnes & E. Win, *To live a Better Life – An Oral history of Women in the City of Harare, 1930 -1970* (Harare, Baobab Books, 1992), 110.
[33] AP Cheater, "The Production and Marketing of Fresh Produce Among Blacks in Zimbabwe", Supplement to *Zambezia*, (1979), 10.
[34] Interviews with M. Chisvo (14/11/11) and A. Mushangwe (3/1/12).

exception. Most producers transported their produce by hired private transport or bus into Salisbury where they assumed the role of producer-wholesaler, selling in bulk to one or a few retailers who would then resell to the consumers.

The built market structures that were erected in the 1970s in Salisbury African locations rationalised the supply-side to a great extent. This acted as a draw for more rural suppliers to market their produce in Salisbury and introduced a marked measure of stability for those engaged in this project. Before 1970 the *musika* (vending market) in the Harare Township had just been a fenced enclosure and this attracted not only produce thieves (*Makoronyera*) but also exposed the marketed green produce supplies directly to changing weather patterns.[35]

The market area in the Harare Township gave African producers from Goromonzi access to sell their commodities when neither the colonial state nor the city municipal authorities provided any marketing support or marketing sites for African fresh produce suppliers. The available official markets such as the Independent Market in Eastlea and Rezende Street set up in the 1930s by white farmers' cooperatives were solely for use by white farmers.[36] Therefore, the *musika* gave them a source of income and enabled the more successful producers' access to certain needs and luxuries. The market also made it possible for them to fund their children's education.

It must however, be pointed out that the amounts of money that eventually trickled down to the producers were often extremely low. In part, this reflected real transport costs, the risks of handling perishable commodities, and so on: but it also reflected the profit margin of the urban-based middlemen. However, the certainty that they would keep all or almost all their market earnings drew increasing numbers to market their produce within the African urban areas of Salisbury.[37] The large proportion of labour migrants within Salisbury's African locations, which did not produce their own food, meant there was a certain buying power in these townships. This created a fairly large nearby market for green produce and other food items especially among the hostel dwellers that were less likely to engage in urban agriculture as I explained in Chapter 4.

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[35] M. Matanganyidze, "'The Struggle for Urban Survival': African Women in the Informal sector in Harare: 1947-1990", (BA Honours Dissertation, UZ, September 1994), 32.

[36] I. Mudeka, "Fresh Produce Markets and Peasant Agricultural activities: The Case of Mbare Market and Domboshawa Producers 1946-1997" (BA Honours diss., University of Zimbabwe, 1997), 8.

[37] In 1962 the CNC recorded a 20 percent nationwide increase in the number of market gardeners to 458 and then again to 741 in 1963 – an increase of 62 percent.
See: NAZ SRG 3/INT 4 SR: Departmental Reports: Internal Affairs 1962-1963; SR: Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs and CNC for the year 1962, 23; Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs: 1963, 16.

This, in turn, increasingly generated rural livelihoods by persuading the reserve communities of Goromonzi to take part in plural and spatially dispersed labour processes that displayed influences attached to their interaction with the urban space. Thus, the small incomes notwithstanding, this flow of fresh produce brought some extra income to Goromonzi and provided an outlet for surplus food crops that would otherwise just go to waste.

One early producer-marketer from Domboshawa, M. Jakarasi, claimed that between 1946 and 1970, it became common practise among producers in his area to simply take produce for sale in Salisbury's township if they needed cash for an immediate need.[38] The prospects for prompt payment in hard cash that the Harare market provided gave producers strong links with the market. In addition, the absence of a large enough market for produce in the reserves themselves meant that the people in the vegetable supply zones had to look for a market outside their own area. This is even more so after considering that almost everyone in Goromonzi, in the very least, was engaged in fresh produce production for their own consumption. Salisbury's markets therefore, gave the producers an opportunity to charge higher prices for their produce than in other lesser markets in the smaller towns such as Marandellas.

The NAD initially shunned wetland farming. S.G. Trow, the Land Development Officer (LDO) for Goromonzi in 1945, equated the practice to "loafing", stating that the inhabitants of Chinamhora "are using the damp places for growing tomatoes, green peas, green mealies, etc. which they market in Salisbury instead of growing vegetables for their own consumption".[39] Trow's successor, E.A. Ditelaw, would however, take a different path as he tried to regulate the practice and proposed that:

> .....only limited areas be granted for the production of rice and vegetables only in grazing areas and suggest[ed] that one acre per family be allowed for the production of rice and a quarter of an acre for vegetable growing.[40]

However, what this *compromise* merely did was to formalise arrangements that had already been built into the reserve communities' own socio-economic engagements. Goromonzi society had long since rationalised and stipulated the inalienable rights of the "wife" to have usufruct rights over her own garden, to grow vegetables as relish for family meals. Production from this garden was entirely under her control, although the land itself was never

[38] M. Jakarasi quoted in Mudeka, "Fresh Produce Markets," 16.
[39] NAZ S 150 DG 100/1/50, LDO Monthly Reports; May 1945 LDO Report
[40] September 1947 LDO Report.

ceded to her and what she did with the produce surplus to family's needs was her own business.[41] So, even though formal control over both land and livestock was vested in the hands of "husbands", in practice, the management of these resources had devolved to women by the 1950s.

As a result, women could build up their own estates in the form of movable property, independently from their husbands, through the earnings from their gardens, fowls and livestock.[42] These economic activities represented some of the enterprises that women could engage in that were not directly controlled by male household heads. The income from the sale of vegetable products from these gardens was socially significant because they marked an important shift in control over the land and labour resources that had been the basis for subsistence production. However, while these income-generating activities were able to increase the revenue accruing to women through a reallocation of household resources they did not entirely undermine the basis of the larger subsistence-oriented household. "Ownership" was still vested in the male household heads.

Farming and Division of Labour

The great majority of families living in the reserves under investigation before the 1940s were predominantly subsistence farmers who depended on urban remittances. Chirapa contends that this was because there was an economic and social logic to prevent both food shortage and surplus.[43] In this period, as already stated, the strategy was to send young men out of the reserve to work for wages, to get the cash needed to pay colonial taxes.

The years between 1945 and 1960 were, however, an era of rapid agrarian change. Agricultural production in Goromonzi went through fundamental changes as rural households significantly expanded their cropped acreage. They also reduced the acreage devoted to other crops and increasingly concentrated their efforts on green production. While the scale of this production for each household never exceeded 2 acres on average, the extent of such production was widespread. In this way, fresh produce-based cropping systems for green market supplies came to dominate the agricultural landscape in Goromonzi to the point of transforming the social and economic outlook of a few peasant-producers within the district.

[41] M. Mukundwa quoted in Eric Kushinga Makombe, "A People's Perspective of State Conservation Policies in the Seke Reserve: 1941-1961" (BA Honours diss., University of Zimbabwe, 2003), 16.
[42] M. Besa quoted in Makombe, "State Conservation Policies," 17.
[43] P. Chirapa, "Aspects of Black Agrarian Labour in Commercial Farms, with reference to Goromonzi and Marandellas," (BA Honours Dissertation, UZ, 1984), 1-2.

Apart from the increases in fresh produce output in rural agriculture, changes in rural land-holdings occurred from the late 1940s. According to A. Hamundibayi of Domboshawa, before the 1940s, families cultivated only those fields which they knew would yield enough food for the whole year.[44] Large tracts of land lay uncultivated, particularly in areas farther away from the homesteads as there was no incentive to expand the land under cultivation and to open new lands. However, in the 1950s land-holdings in Domboshawa began expanding as more people became more confident of marketing in Salisbury's African locations that they set out to increase their output.[45] This prompted the CNC to comment:

> In districts up to 60 miles and more from the larger urban centres, perspicacious Africans have built up a considerable trade with the towns, catering for both Europeans and Africans in the towns, in vegetables, firewood, charcoal, sugar cane and malted rapoko, using almost entirely African owned transport.[46]

In 1961 Robinson, the Director of Native Agriculture reported that green mealies grown on wetlands in Mashonaland East were proving a popular crop for sale in Salisbury with recorded returns of up to £100 an acre.[47] Robinson went on to note that maize had become "a very important cash crop" in Mashonaland West. This was not only in the surplus grain sold (over 50 percent in some areas), but also because some farmers had begun putting down large acreages to green maize.[48] Groundnuts were another popular crop in Mashonaland East. Irish potatoes were grown in the Chitowa African Purchase Area (APA), Madziwa Reserve, and Marirangwe APA and reportedly had "a very ready market" in Salisbury.[49] In 1961 the LDO for the Chinamhora Reserve estimated that 472 acres were planted to fruits and vegetables like peas, beans, tomatoes, mangoes and gem-squash producing 444 140lb.[50]

As demand for green produce in Salisbury rose in the 1960s, Goromonzi's output increased to meet this demand. At this stage, individual producer families that were increasing their land-holdings went beyond the mere addition of more land to an already cultivated piece of land to bringing lands earmarked as grazing land under the plough. The new crops that were introduced for the market like tomatoes and *rugare* often meant that new land had to be cleared for these new crops anyway while the established crops continued to be produced as before.

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[44] A. Hamundibayi quoted in Mudeka, "Fresh Produce Markets," 21.
[45] Ibid, 22.
[46] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1952, 27.
[47] Annual Report of the Director of Native Agriculture: 1961, 51.
[48] Ibid, 52.
[49] Ibid, 51.
[50] Ibid.

While some producers still held the same size of land allotted under the Land Husbandry Act (LHA), some enterprising individuals came to hold scattered tracts of land which could add up to 5 hectares. Those with larger land-holdings would often justify their share by claiming that they were holding some of it on behalf of absentee relatives "temporarily" based in the city.[51] Older people also held larger plots because more land was available for allocation when they were younger. However, these older people often ceded control of their land-holdings to their sons who were finding it increasingly difficult to access land in their own right.[52] In the same way as land, livestock ownership was also skewed around a few individuals who came to hold the larger concentration of livestock within the reserves while the rest were either marginal stock owners or did not have any cattle at all.[53] This meant the latter grouping did not have enough draught and often had to rely on borrowing or hiring cattle.[54] The shortage of draft animals and manure could also be made up by tractor ploughing and artificial fertilisers, yet these required more money than most peasant cultivators possessed.

Gandiwa Munetsi, from the Zawari Village in Chikwaka, came to hold a large piece of land in the manner described above and was able to employ "three non-indigenous Africans in his vegetable garden, two of whom worked in the garden and the third hawked produce of the garden for sale in the Harare African Township".[55] In 1959, Munetsi paid his two fieldworkers a monthly salary of £1.10/- each and the third worker who hawked the garden's produce earned £2 monthly.[56] Munetsi was able to send his two older children to boarding school at the St. Paul's Mission in Murehwa from the earnings of his market-gardening venture.[57] In many ways, such enterprising individuals represented an emerging petty

[51] Interview with Blessing Nemahwe, Tendesekai Village, Chinamhora, 3 January 2012.
[52] Separate interviews with Cosmas Kajasi, Hatfield, Harare, 5 June 2010 and Munyaradzi Chironga, Mbare, Harare, 5 March 2012.
[53] There is a paucity of empirical evidence to indicate the cattle distribution patterns in the African reserves during the colonial era but several surveys conducted in the early 1980s do give some indication of the skewed patterns which most likely emerged because of the prevailing income differentials among rural households. For instance, the CSO's 1986 survey shows that 44-54 percent of cattle were held by the top 10 percent of the population and another 15-20 percent was marginal stock owners.
See: Ian Scoones, "Livestock Populations and the Household Economy: a Case Study from Southern Zimbabwe", (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 1990).
[54] This practice is known as *kurunzira* in which one holds cattle in trust on behalf of someone else while the keeper uses the beasts for his own purposes.
[55] NAZ S 3338/2/1/1/2 Detainees Arrangements Goromonzi 1959; H.A.K. Simpkins, Assistant CNC and Temporary Curator - Account required to be lodged by the Curator in terms of Section 7 (7) of the Emergency (Temporary Detention) Regulations, 1959 dated 9th of June 1959.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

commodity producer *class* in the reserves that was regarded internally in approximately equal measure as the grouping identified as an African middle-class in Salisbury.

The *Vapostori* also established a viable vegetable growing venture at the point of entry into the Chinamhora Reserve from Salisbury. Weinrich estimated (in a work published in 1982) that the average income from this venture was well over several hundred Zimbabwean dollars a year and that some could earn up to Z$670 per household, a sum that was very much in excess of that earned by most peasants.[58] She contrasted this with the incomes that prevailed in Gutu near Fort Victoria (now Masvingo) where the average peasant household harvested crops worth some Z$100 a year.[59] The difference was primarily because most of the more distant reserves lacked the economic stimuli of the people of Chinamhora.

Goromonzi producers also took to such agricultural implements as pesticide sprayers and water-pumps to increase their productivity. These trends were, however, more pronounced in the APAs because the use of chemical fertiliser was usually far too expensive for most peasant-producers in Goromonzi. Nevertheless, several producers did take up the use of draught ploughs, pesticides, chemical fertilisers and other industrially produced implements in a deliberate attempt to increase their overall output. T. Gwashure, who, together with his son, bought a used water pump from a white farmer in 1977, confirmed this by arguing that: "I knew that it was an expense which was to enable me to earn more from Harare Musika. Even today, the profit that my family gets is worth the expense I incurred".[60] Some of the poorer peasant-producers could, however, pool their money together towards hiring tractors or towards buying water-pumps and other tools which they would use in turns.

Cheater's study of Msengezi APA in the 1970s notes how ownership and use of these "modern" instruments informed quotidian "idioms of accumulation" in the area. She observed that typologies as "civilised" or "old-fashioned" emerged as directly indexed against the use of commoditised implements.[61] The concertina or barbed wire was also one of the technologies of farming introduced to the countryside by the return-migrants as protection against stray herds. The barbed wire, however, also aided the return-migrants in claiming the

[58] A.K.H. Weinrich, *African Marriage in Zimbabwe and the Impact of Christianity*, (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1982), 24.
[59] Ibid.
[60] T. Gwashure quoted in Mudeka, "Fresh Produce Markets," 25-26.
[61] A.P. Cheater, *Idioms of Accumulation* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984), 45.

homestead as personal property as it became a marker of "private property" and social and economic distance.[62]

The adoption of new crops into the agriculture of Goromonzi is also directly linked to the diffusion that occurred from the 1940s with urban marketing centres. The pre-1940s agricultural production in Goromonzi was characterised by crops such as maize, groundnuts, *nyimo*, okra, millet, pumpkins, sorghum and beans. These crops (*esp*. maize and *nyimo*) supplied the most important source of energy and protein in the diet. Tomato production did not form part of this culture even though wild tomatoes were found in various forests and were picked by women and children.

From the 1950s onwards, several crops like peas, domesticated tomatoes, *tsunga* (Indian Kale or *Brassica Juncea*) and *rugare* were introduced into the reserves' agriculture. These crops were popular among urban dwellers that were the targeted market for their production.[63] *Tsunga* and *rugare* were adopted from urban-based Malawian women who had long grown these vegetables in their backyard gardens in the Harare Township.[64] Rural producers came into even greater contact with new varieties of crops and several new crops like spinach, cucumbers, king onions, cabbages, gem-squash and "baby-marrow" and several other tomato varieties were adopted, though at a small level.[65] The reserve-based suppliers were broadly receptive to new products in a bid to earn maximum profit from the market. But the adoption of these vegetable varieties also influenced the changing diets within the reserves as alluded to in the preceding chapter.

Besides vegetables, other plant varieties could have also diffused into Goromonzi in a similar manner. For instance, in 1958, the Salisbury City Council's (SCC) Department of African Administration (DAA) started distributing trees and shrubs among the residents of the Harare Township to plant within their small yards. But this exercise was soon stopped because in the DAA's Director's words "it soon became apparent that those collecting the trees and shrubs had diverted them to other parts and few buried their roots in Harari [*sic*] soil".[66]

The cropping patterns practised also signal an important adaptation that many market-gardeners employed within these gardens. Market-gardening was taxing work involving

[62] A. K. Shutt, "Purchase Area Farmers and the Middle Class of Southern Rhodesia, c. 1931-1952", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, **30**/3 (1997), 568.
[63] Mudeka, "Fresh Produce Markets," 24.
[64] Ibid
[65] Ibid.
[66] Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 96.

weeding, pruning, etc. and it was not without various cropping risks coupled with the limited land sizes. Because of this many market-gardeners adopted mixed or inter-cropping to decrease risks and to spread the income from the garden throughout the year. This, as Dominico Besa argued, enabled them to grow as many vegetables as possible within the wetlands or close to the shallow wells that they dug for this purpose.[67] Inter-cropping was one of the first practises the agricultural demonstrators who descended on Goromonzi in the 1930s sought to break up as they advanced the more "scientific" crop rotation cycles which they argued maximised crop returns. However, because these gardens were usually outside the reach of the demonstrators, inter-cropping continued unabated.[68]

Agricultural production in the post-1940s dispensation also entailed adjusting the socially framed notions on the division of labour. With the early efflux of young adolescent males from the reserves their labour input in agriculture fell. The responsibility of herding cattle fell more and more on the elderly males and children who typically managed the stock of a group of relatives. Social codes against women handling stock also began to break down and there were cases where young women herded stock and helped with ploughing. Thus, besides their own household tasks, women also had to take over most of the tasks that men had previously done. Schmidt asserts that by 1944 women accounted for as much as 80 percent of the agricultural labour in the reserves.[69]

The foregoing should not, however, lead us to infer that the pattern of agrarian change in Goromonzi followed an "evolutionary" and "unilinear" path. This is characterised by increased monetisation of domestic relations which becomes the entry point for the large-scale modernisation of agriculture through increased investments, fertiliser and pesticide applications, and purchases of equipment such as ploughs and tractors. Rather the changing farming strategies, including the many interactions with the urban markets, have to be viewed more broadly. In essence, they were strategies for securing access to alternative sources of income outside grain production. Goromonzi households pieced together a living from various sources as they tried to make the best of difficult circumstances, as the conditions in their own lives, and in the larger economy dictated. Therefore, they shifted between grain production, menial tasks, market-gardening and urban employment. In reality, increased production, productivity and high levels of marketed produce were reached by only a

[67] Dominico Besa quoted in Makombe, "State Conservation Policies", 8.
[68] For further details see: Makombe, "State Conservation Policies."
[69] Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives*, 82-85.

minority of Goromonzi landholders. But still, this "minority" had little income and modest levels of production compared with their counterparts in the APAs. In the mid-1960s, purchase farmers accounted for one-third of marketed produce from Africans, although they only made up 2 percent of African cultivators.[70]

The reserves' middle-aged male population was missing primarily because of a high rate of labour migration and this made cooperation beyond the nuclear families essential and traditional work parties (*nhimbe* or *hoka*) absolutely necessary if production was to be maintained. However, the cash imperative that became a feature of Goromonzi rural society ushered in strained social relations among the reserve communities that were played out along generational, gender and inter and intra-class lines. This affected the basic pattern of cooperation in agricultural tasks and eroded the communal work party ethic as people, especially the youth, demanded a cash wage for working in someone's field.[71] Since social relationships determined the labour problems of peasant-producers, they greatly influenced the productivity of farming. The inability to call on neighbours for help presented peasants with a serious problem of labour shortage. To find additional workers, peasants tried to attract single kinsmen from elsewhere and those who were able hired wage labourers. However, even the more successful producers in Goromonzi usually engaged such hired labour in and out in the same year because of their own limited cash flows.

Therefore, agricultural skills remained at a low level in these broadly based production units because of the shortage of men, who were responsible for economic planning.[72] On top of this, most labour migrants started seriously considering permanently returning to the rural reserves after spending no less than half their lifetime working in the city. Without any significant pensions this meant men were retiring at an advanced age and with low incomes to reinvest on the land. Many of my informants testified to working well into their 60s. George Mujoma, for example, was born in 1929 but only retired in the mid-1990s.[73] Such a context prevented, or at least retarded, the rate of change.

It is also important to stress that despite laying claims centred on lineage "ownership" of land the emerging petty commodity producer *class* did not signal the individualisation of tenure in

[70] William R. Duggan, "The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the African Middle Class of Southern Rhodesia," *African Affairs* **79** (1980), 235.
[71] Separate interviews with L. Mukaha (5/1/12) and E. Seve (10/7/11).
[72] A.K.H. Weinrich, *African Farmers in Rhodesia: Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1975), 9.
[73] Interview with George Mujoma at Mujoma Village on 14 November 2011.

the reserves. Individualised property rights were still hedged in by a wide-ranging set of social duties in which the interests of the *community* were championed. Individual "ownership" was set in a larger "communal" tenure system in which rules governing access to and use of the commons remained important.[74] Thus, while a few petty commodity producers often produced a surplus, the pervasive structural limitations of land, among other factors, made reinvesting this surplus back into production to extend the material base of the production unit a near impossibility. This suggests that the overall sizes and strength of most of the landholding ventures held by this emerging petty commodity producer *class* measured in terms of the land area cultivated or numbers of labourers employed remained limited.

In any case, while Goromonzi did have small pockets of "successful" farming, these were largely the by-product of success in commerce or the underpinnings of a significant salary than an outgrowth of production on the land. Some returning migrants with better paying jobs or with other sources of income from non-agricultural enterprises were investing part of their total income in equipment, crop inputs and cattle and employing small numbers of waged labourers. Thus, households with access to remittances, draught power and greater access to land became the primary agricultural surplus producers. According to Phimister, many of these men held, or had previously held, above-average paid wage employment.[75] These individuals, who include those engaged in small trading or in the transport business, sought to translate their assumed status and wealth into positions of prestige within the reserves on their return. Therefore, the increase in the number of accumulating households; that is, the emerging petty commodity producer *class*, while limited was real nonetheless.

The more successful business peoples' approach to farming used what Cheater has characterised as the "commercial farmers' model". This was qualified, mainly, by using hired labourers to grow maize, rather than relying on family labour.[76] Households with migrants holding "permanent" jobs usually combined this position with extended agricultural activities and this expansion depended crucially on using hired labour. Tractors were also used for working the land. While private tractor owners sometimes offered to lease out their tractors to anyone willing to hire out the machinery this was often at what the "average peasant-

[74] Michael O'Flaherty, "Communal Tenure in Zimbabwe: Divergent Models of Collective Land Holding in the Communal Areas," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, **68**/4 (1998), 539.
[75] Ian Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, (London: Longman, 1988), 73-7.
[76] For further discussion see: Cheater, *Idioms of Accumulation.* esp. Ch. 5, 80-97.

producer" considered "too steep" that this gesture only served to heighten inter-class tensions.

A pattern of uneven development, both socially and spatially, developed because of the highly unequal access to "communal" land and to other productive resources. A group of households which regularly produced surpluses for sale emerged, especially, in the green vegetable supply zones of Seke and Chinamhora largely because of their closer proximity to Salisbury. Many households, on the other hand, could not reproduce themselves through their own efforts, and were dependent on the remittances from urban-based migrants. This was more evident in the distant Goromonzi reserves like Kunzwi which as we saw in Chapter 3 was inadequately serviced by a road network. Since only few peasant families could live on agriculture alone, most combined it with wage labour.

Differences between reserves could occur for a number of reasons. Seke and Chinamhora were closer to Salisbury and were connected to it by tarred roads and frequent bus services. Therefore, more migrants who worked in Salisbury could return home over the weekends. In a sense, therefore, the urban influence was stronger in Seke and Chinamhora than in Kunzwi. However, while proximity to, and linkage with, Salisbury was a key variable of spatial patterns of transformation in Goromonzi the contrasting rates of change within the district reveal that proximity alone was less significant than the type of relationship established.

Trade and Commerce

The penetration of village life by the market economy was evident through the many shops owned by petty local capitalists, many of whom were returning migrants who had saved their wages to build a grocery, butchery or bottle store within their home villages. Rural trade had been previously dominated by Indians and Europeans (usually of Greek origin). However, the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) removed any obstacles to African traders in the reserves. Therefore, in a sense, the LAA *safeguarded* African traders from European competition within the boundaries of the reserve but the European traders continued to trade on bordering farmland. (For instance, Crowhill Farm Store continued to operate in Borrowdale which borders the Chinamhora Reserve).

The remaining African traders steadily expanded the number of shops under their control. Many of those who opened small shops often had very little capital and had to travel to Salisbury at frequent intervals to purchase supplies. In 1960, the CNC reported that "there are

many [rural] traders who have shown considerable initiative and enterprise, and by the use of 'family' capital have erected modern premises and carry a large and varied stock in trade".[77]

Some consumer goods the return-migrants had become used to in Salisbury were introduced into the reserve households through these shops. In 1953, the CNC alleged that when the NC for Marandellas enquired in one shop about a large stock of Vim (scouring powder) displayed on the shelves the shopkeeper retorted that, "women no longer use ashes to clean their cooking utensils".[78] Blankets and ready-made clothes, as well as food items increasingly found their way into the local reserve stores as demand for these items increased. While changes in material culture, concerning dress, furniture and house-building materials usually involved increased convenience they also led to the loss of cultural distinctiveness, as I alluded to in the previous chapter.

The refreshment kiosks that became a regular feature along bus routes were enough to warrant some concern for the coloniser who desperately wanted to maintain dietetic differences with the colonised Africans. The CNC, for instance, "hope[d] that the mineral water and bun habit of many of the urban Africans will not gain a hold in the Native [i.e. rural] areas" because of these kiosks.[79] The racist undertones notwithstanding, these shops did create a taste for luxury consumer goods supplied from the cities which, in turn, generated local inflation. For instance, in 1956 the CNC reported that, "during the past few years, the popularity of the bakery has grown in the rural areas [and] where the products of the baker are of good quality, they are in great demand".[80]

Figures furnished by the NAD in 1962 revealed a nationwide increase of 200 grain millers and a 100 percent increase in the number of bookkeepers.[81] African traders were also playing an increasing part in grain trading; an undertaking which called for substantial short-term capital. Restaurants referred to in the NAD's correspondences as "Native Eating Houses" were also a common feature. Kefasi Chimutsa, for instance, ran one such "eating house" in the Chikwaka Reserve which was conveniently situated near the bus stop to Mutoko. In 1959 Chimutsa estimated that he could earn upwards of £20 every month.[82]

[77] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1960, 11.
[78] Report of the Secretary of Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Development: 1953, 13.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1956, 23.
[81] SR: Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs and CNC for the year 1962, 23. (Refer to Appendix 7.1).
[82] NAZ S 3338/2/1/1/2 Detainees Arrangements Goromonzi 1959; Letter from Kefasi Chimutsa to the Master of the High Court dated 28th July 1959.

As many budding entrepreneurs invested in the rural areas, small business centres started developing around many of the stores in the reserves. These business centres became the focal points of local neighbourhoods and also acted as social centres. They were invariably situated along major roads and so could always be reached by car. In 1960, the Under Secretary in the Department of Native Agriculture and Lands reported that the Seke Township was by far the largest with a total acreage of 4 958. In comparison, the Mahusekwa Township in the Chihota Reserve measured 647 acres and the Chinamhora Township was just 370 acres.[83] Of the 321 business sites surveyed for the Seke Township in 1959, 130 had been taken up by 1960 compared with 86 surveyed and 27 taken up respectively in Mahusekwa.[84] Isaiah Madimu reminiscences over the growth that he witnessed at PaGombe Business Centre:

> I do not quite remember when all this started to take place – but what I know is when I was growing up there were just two or three shops PaGombe – but, as you saw, it's now like a small town.[85]

Most of the general-dealer stores used a barter exchange-type system and few transactions were conducted using cash. In instances where the store-owner also owned a grinding mill for example, the transactions would be conducted using maize as the currency. The peasant-producers, in turn, took groceries from the store in place of cash payments. Similarly butcheries bought oxen from the peasants on credit and then peddled the meat within the reserve and in the nearby farming or mining compounds. Only after the meat was sold did they pay the cattle owners. This enabled the farm owners to sell their cattle at higher prices than they would have obtained at auction sales, and the businessmen were able to establish a going concern with a minimum of start-up capital.

The increase in traffic to the rural reserves during the period under study presented opportunities for some business-owners to erect structures that the travelling public could use such as shelters, rest houses and goods storage sheds at bus stops. District officials immediately seized on these high population centres as presenting "a fine field for development by local councils".[86] The Chihota-Svosve African Council, for instance, was tasked to manage some of these business centres in the Chihota and Svosve reserves. The NC

[83] Report of the Under Secretary, Department of Native Agriculture and Lands: 1960, 23.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Interview with I. Madimu, Madimu Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.
[86] Report of the Secretary of Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Development: 1953, 11.

in charge of the District, the NC for Marandellas, envisaged that bus stops would "eventually be looked upon as stations to which goods could be consigned".[87]

Unfortunately, most of these budding business people did not search out new types of investments. Many of them applied for licenses for general dealers' stores, and the next largest group applied for licenses to set up grinding mills for maize and rapoko. Both sorts of businesses were already widespread in Goromonzi. The grinding mills were, however, very popular among women, who saved much labour by no longer having to grind by hand.[88] There were, however, a few business applicants who wanted to start petrol stations and garages, snack stands, and various other enterprises.[89] There were also a few launderers and dry-cleaners that set up businesses but these were far fewer than those engaged in the "general-dealer" business. One female launderer who worked from the Seke Township soon attracted the attention of the NAD. In 1955, the CNC reported that the female launderer "employed a staff to handle the large volume of work" and had "an up to date delivery van" to complete her establishment.[90]

By the late 1960s, there was already an excess of general dealers in the reserves and, as a result, new entrepreneurs were only able to secure licences for hardware stores. These stores were able to take advantage of the rapidly growing local demand for building materials. The hardware stores, stocked cement, wheelbarrows, fertiliser, etc. used in building better housing around the homestead and for various other purposes. One of the most dramatic increases was reflected in bottle stores and beer outlets that sold bottled beer and packaged opaque beer. The weight of all this, however, was a flood of new shops which soon began to outstrip the levels of local demand.[91]

By the early 1950s, the NAD became broadly concerned with the ramifications of the "business boom" in the reserves prompting the CNC's remark that: "there are now so many Africans with stores of their own that over-trading has resulted, and they cannot make any profit".[92] The NAD hastily organised a training workshop at the Goromonzi Secondary School that was, however, disappointingly attended such that there was no immediate or

[87] NC Marandellas quoted in Report of the CNC: 1953, 11.
[88] Separate interviews with A. Mushangwe (3/1/12) and Mai Jeena (14/11/11).
[89] NAZ S2259, NC, Concession, Correspondence.
[90] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1955, 24.
[91] See Appendix 3.2.
[92] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, CNC and Director of Native Affairs: 1952, 9.

long-term impact.[93] But, in any event, the challenges that many rural storeowners were experiencing had more to do with the low cash flows in the reserves and an inelastic market. These had been structurally built into colonialism and a "workshop" could not possibly even begin to address such issues. The late veteran nationalist and Vice-President of Zimbabwe, Joshua Nkomo, who set up a business venture as a real estate dealer and insurance salesman in the mid-1950s recounted:

> I studied the books that told how it should be done and the benefits that should follow for my clients. But the theory simply did not match the facts....We [the African colonised people] could not buy real estate.....I soon lost faith in the business activities I had launched into. I made very little money, which was hard on my family.[94]

Apart from structural limits, rural-based business people also had to grapple with operational drawbacks many of which were beyond their immediate control as well. The major difficulty lay in actually getting the goods from Salisbury to one's store. There were no deliveries except for a few items like bread and beer. But as for the rest of the groceries that were needed for the stores, one had to make his or her own transport arrangements which significantly increased the business's overheads.[95] Therefore, the prices at these shops tended to be high, both because of the reasons cited above and also because of the inefficiency of the shop owners themselves, many of whom fell into bankruptcy.[96]

The business entrepreneurs operating in the reserves came from diverse backgrounds. They included men who had experience of working in stores either in Salisbury or in the smaller towns like Marandellas or Hartley, and invested their savings, and their hopes for a secure retirement, in rural-based shops. Retired civil servants like extension assistants also invested heavily in local businesses in an attempt to secure themselves with another source of income. Some were individuals who had been frustrated by the difficulties of securing licences in urban townships and turned instead to the villages of their birth. Still others were return-migrants from Salisbury who had no trading experience at all but decided to invest in a store on their return. For instance, Kefasi Chimutsa was based in Highfields but he returned to Chikwaka on his brother's request to take over his eating house in the late 1950s.[97]

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[93] Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC: 1959, 27.
[94] Joshua Nkomo, *The Story of my Life* (London: Metheun, 1984), 65-66.
[95] Interview with T. Chikove, Hatfield, Harare, 18 May 2010.
[96] For further discussion see: Volker Wild, *Profit not for Profit's Sake: History and Business Culture of African Entrepreneurs in Zimbabwe*, translated by Daphne Dorrell, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1997).
[97] NAZ S 3338/2/1/1/2 Detainees Arrangements Goromonzi 1959; H.A.K. Simpkins, Assistant CNC and Temporary Curator - Report required by the Curator in terms of Section 5 (i) dated 17th July 1961.

However, not all prospective business-owners were returning migrants. Bessant and Muringai have termed another grouping of these budding business people as "peasant-businessmen", who were "peasants who owned businesses".[98] They clung to farming as their primary occupation, no matter how little they got from it. Running a business was only ancillary to farming. They aimed for family self-sufficiency, both for their earnings, and for the labour needed to manage the business. In such business establishments the male head of household was the nominal owner of the business and decided what goods the store carried. The wife (or wives) and children were engaged as active shop assistants and helped in the store in undefined capacities.

The peasant-businessmen stood in contrast with the more successful businessmen. These business people defined themselves and their families as business-owners first and peasants second.[99] They relied first on their business enterprises for most of their income and only secondarily on farming. In fact, these businesspeople began farming for the market only after they had settled their businesses. For them, farming was just another opportunity to make money. These men match Ranger's classification of "reserves' entrepreneurs" who had their roots more in their ability to exploit opportunities offered by the colonial capitalist economy.[100] Because many peasant-businessmen struggled to keep their shops adequately stocked this placed the more successful shop owners in a virtual monopoly which they knew how to exploit.

Most of the more successful business-owners were men who came forth during the late 1940s and using money amassed from urban ventures decided to invest in general-dealer stores, grinding mills and mechanised farming ventures. The catalyst for this marked trend was, in broad terms, the implementation of the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (AUAARA) that effectively shut off the Central Business District (CBD) from African traders.[101] But, rural-bound investments in the late colonial era were also in response to the slow growth of African business opportunities in Salisbury that made some enterprising individuals turn to their rural areas of origin as investment avenues.[102]

[98] Leslie Bessant and Elvis Muringai, "Peasants, Businessmen, and Moral Economy in the Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe: 1930-1968", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, **19**/4 (1993), 580.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Terence Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*, (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985), 257.
[101] Volker Wild, "An Outline of African Business History in Colonial Zimbabwe," *Zambesia*, XIX (I), 1992, 36.
[102] Ibid.

It is significant that the *class* of people who were able to make these investments directly mirrored the differentiated character of Salisbury's labour market. This meant that only a minority could invest significant sums of remittance money into expanding their rural base through either starting up a new business or increasing their agricultural holdings. In Chihota, Isaac Samuriwo invested heavily in different areas throughout the reserve opening general-dealer stores and eating houses.[103] Luxmore Mukaha recalls that some of the business-owners at the Chogugudza Business Centre in Chinamhora included Takundwa and Nyemba.[104] Some prominent nationalist leaders also followed this trend in small business ownership. Maurice Nyagumbo and Joseph Msika, for instance, opened grocery stores in the 1950s when they found themselves unemployed and without easy access to land.[105] However, other businessmen, like Aiden Mwamuka, were more resourceful and decided to open their shops close to the Harare Township bus terminus in Salisbury so as to target rural consumers, some of whom had brought in rural produce for the city markets. The bulk of the inventory in Mwamuka Wholesalers was therefore made up of such items like ploughs, fertilisers, seeds, building materials and some basic food items.[106]

The economic slowdown the country experienced starting in 1958 temporarily led to an influx of return-migrants into the rural reserves. Men who had been employed in semi-specialised tasks found that they could *now* only get work as errand "boys" and builder's assistants. Some refused to accept their cut in wages, and returned to the reserves to farm, but as more and more families exercised this choice, the land shortage became worse. The land shortage was coupled with a growing population of idle school-leavers and a greying population in the reserves which added significantly to the social burden on the economically active. In short, such a context presented a definitive example of what has been termed the "dual crisis of production and reproduction" experienced when increasing urban unemployment and deteriorating conditions of rural production coincide.[107]

The return-migrants and resident-peasants were *now* no longer trying to open general-dealer stores or grinding mills, because these sorts of businesses demanded more capital than these entrepreneurial families had. Instead, they usually started snack stands, known as "hot dogs",

[103] Interview with Malvern Samuriwo, Hatfield, Harare, 13 June 2010.
[104] Interview with Luxmore Mukaha, Murape village, Chinamhora, 5 January 2012.
[105] Maurice Nyagumbo, *With the People: an autobiography from the Zimbabwe struggle* (London, 1980), 87; Nathan Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia* (Nairobi, 1967), 39.
[106] Interview Isaiah U. Madimu, Madimu Village, Seke, 13 November 2011.
[107] R. Bush, L. Cliffe and V. Jansen, "The Crisis in the Reproduction of Migrant Labour in Southern Africa", in *World Recession and the Food Crisis in Africa*, ed. P. Lawrence, (James Curry, London, 1986).

where they sold buns and soft drinks. These hot dog stands were set close to schools, bus stops, and clinics, to attract potential customers. Many others resorted to the erstwhile "businesses" that did not need require much initial capital such as beer-brewing, basket-weaving and other home-based industries. Others became itinerant traders selling sewing needles, razors, mirrors and various other inexpensive goods. Those engaged in this trade cycled between the market in Goromonzi's rural business centres and their suppliers in downtown Indian-owned shops in Salisbury to make a slim margin on sales. These observations display the extent to which access to Salisbury had become crucial to the reproduction strategies in rural Goromonzi.

Further, because the buying power of most of the reserves' communities was still limited, consumerism never fully developed. Beyond the returning migrants the only other people with significant disposable incomes belonged to an unfledged local wage economy made up of teachers, storekeepers, dip attendants and the like. It was not uncommon for a potential *customer* to make flimsy and whimsical claims of being related to the shop owner in an attempt to secure free groceries or on easy credit terms.[108] This, in turn, usually led many storeowners to shift the Centre of Location (COL) of their businesses away from their kinfolk or even those claiming such affiliation to villages farther away from where they had been born.

There were also "disturbing" signs of increasing numbers of people falling into debt, and having to pay high interest charges, especially to traders from whom they have made purchases on credit.[109] Such indebtedness bound them to the storeowners, for since the stores were few; no villager could neglect his/her debts and yet continue to obtain goods locally. Businessmen, therefore, succeeded in making themselves indispensable to the community.

While many of the rural stores experienced a boom in business following the harvests, business was usually too slow and too low during the middle of the week and would pick up slightly with the weekend influx of the returning migrants. The bus route centres were more profitable than those farther away from the main route ways. While many store or mill owners generally failed to make a great profit from their enterprises, they did nonetheless help them to support their large families.

[108] Interview with T. Chikove
[109] Ibid.

The economic upswing the country experienced briefly between 1970 and 1974 meant that, while unemployment continued to be an issue, there was healthy inflow of remittances into the local economy and a wide variety of businesses prospered. But this "upswing" was soon followed by a slowdown in the mid-1970s which soon reversed the gains made in the pre-1970 era. These cycles show the structural dependency that Goromonzi had come to assume on Salisbury and how it was accentuated during peaks in unemployment.

In 1977, Harvey took on a largely futile task of testing the applicability of Christaller's Central Place Concepts in the Seke Reserve.[110] Christaller's formulation suggests that there will be a large number of small centres and as the functional complexity increases, the number of centres decreases according to the progression 27:9:3:1 from the smallest to the largest. The exact ratio itself is unimportant but logically it should follow that services that cater for people's daily concerns should outnumber services that cater for occasional needs. However, Harvey discovered that there was in fact a "distortion" of hierarchy owing to the dominance of first-order services within the reserve.[111] The complete lack of any higher order businesses which Harvey credited to the "proximity of Salisbury and the good bus services through the area" suggests that Goromonzi was very much functionally and structurally reliant on Salisbury.[112]

Conclusion

The chapter has shown that the new styles of consumption introduced through migration and by returning migrants ushered in novel forms of social differentiation that had highly ambiguous ramifications on social relations. I note that, given the desperate land pressure and long traditions of commodification in Goromonzi, there were sharper socio-economic inequalities that were, in turn, increased by the diverse movements of the reserves' populace into Salisbury. The chapter has also argued that migration brought a new axis of social differentiation through the access – or lack of it – to Salisbury. Salisbury was not only a

[110] According to Morris, the Central Place Theory is:

> A geographical theory advanced by Walter Christaller concerning the way settlements tend to be distributed in regular patterns and the way in which they are influenced by economic considerations (e.g. people's requirement to travel to markets). Each "central place" is associated with its surrounding area and size hierarchies are evident.

Mike Morris, *Concise Dictionary of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, (Sussex: John Wiley and Sons, 2012), 34. See also: Walter Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*, Translated by Carlisle W. Baskin. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

[111] S.D. Harvey, "A Testing of Central Place Concepts in a Rhodesian Tribal Area," *Geographical Association of Rhodesia: Proceedings of 1977/78*, 11 (1978), 34.

[112] Ibid.

source of income, but informed idioms of power relationships in the villages that became anchored on one's resource-base. However, there were still some key processes at work which continued to inflect meaning on the interaction of these *class* differentials with other kinds of collective identification based on age, gender and community values. Put differently, class differentiation intersected with differentiation by social organisation e.g. patriarchy, gender, generational cycle, etc.

The chapter has also argued that while the intimacy Goromonzi had with Salisbury aided social life in the reserves in various ways; structurally it was ultimately harmful. This was traced in the devaluation and decline of subsistence grain production and in the collapse of some home-based industries that raised use-value as opposed to exchange value. Also, the rural investments in a sector that was essentially extractive, that is the retail business, increased the levels of rural inequality. In any case, the business centres could not carry the rapidly increasing rural population and this inversely perpetuated the dependency on Salisbury. The discussion has identified this dependency in the rural income procurement patterns that combined remittances with various income-generating ventures such as market-gardening. The economic slowdowns and bursts of employment in Salisbury served to increase the degenerative state in Goromonzi, mainly because the rural economy was anchored in shaky ground.

As far as the social differentiation patterns that emerged in Goromonzi, I discovered that while historical inequalities in land-holdings contributed to increasing differentiation, the overriding cause was based on how much income the returning migrants had managed to amass during their sojourn in Salisbury. This became obvious, in both the short-term through the purchase of inputs for annual cropping and hiring local wage labour, and in the longer term through investment in implements, farming equipment, livestock, etc. In this way, Goromonzi witnessed acute signs of social differentiation during the last decades of the colonial period because of the intricate interplay between booms and bursts in the national economy and the migrants' own responses to those crises. Thus, rural differentiation was advancing through an articulation of agricultural production with a range of non-agricultural, including urban-based, economic activities. As a result, the *new* social arrangements that emerged as a direct result of institutionalised forms of migrancy and varied life strategies could be inherently unequal, exploitative and disempowering for others. It brought benefits and prospects of mobility for some but increasing inequality and dependency for others.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has presented an account of the ways in which intra-national migration formed and transformed the rural and urban social spaces and how intra-national migrants' constructed alternative discourses that (re)shaped their rural and urban realities. I proposed that intra-national migration moulded more or less homogenous patterns of socio-economic and cultural organisation not only among the migrants concerned but also within the spaces they occupied. The thesis focused on the migratory experiences and life strategies of rural-urban migrants from the Goromonzi District who were engaged in Salisbury as low-income earners, informal traders, students, etc. in the late colonial era (1946-1979). It has explored the ways in which mobility enabled these historically marginalised groups to transform or reframe colonially imposed and socially engineered rural and urban spaces. It has analysed the efforts of the colonially marginalised Goromonzi migrants straddling the rural-urban divide at transforming their urban living space and associational arrangements.

The thesis departs from analyses which privilege state capacity and ignore how the colonised rural migrants' tried to manage/control space on their own terms. The study has revealed how Goromonzi migrants in Salisbury took over spaces and redefined certain land-use functions. Such efforts at reframing extended to attempts at (re)defining their own socio-cultural discourse and setting up autonomous forms of associational life rather than the more overt methods of demonstrations and protests. This, seen alongside the contradictory nature of the state and its attempts to force distinct social and political forms in the city, informed the dialectical confrontations between structure and agency.

The thesis argues that intra-national migration was much more than simply an economic phenomenon. It was one of the means through which "modern" and extraneous values and practises entered the lives of the rural population. It was the vehicle for rapid social change; social mobility, economic change, and culture contact led to the creation not only of new relations, but also of *new* values, *new* attitudes, and *new* ideals. Intra-national migrants were indeed major agents of cultural change. Their sense of cosmopolitanism was not particular to a specific *modernity,* but was a more general condition of being in flux - disciplined by living

at close quarters with various modernising influences. It was a condition brought about by migration, which was just as much a part of life in the rural setting as it was in the urban.[1]

Indeed, the cultural distinctions between rural and urban began to blur. The forms of interaction through people such as vegetable vendors, labour migrants, migrant wives, schoolchildren, etc., traversing the rural and urban spaces became so entrenched between 1946 and 1979 that the conceptual dualism which identified rural people as "traditional" and urban as "modern" began to make little sense. These intra-national migrants lived across cultural, spatial and political borders and thus undermined the essentialist logic of "western" modernity. They tried to master their "world" and devised complex responses and strategies which enabled them to cope, against all odds, with the context in which they found themselves. As Freund presciently remarks:

> .....the question was not how urban [rural-urban migrants] proposed to become but how to access the resources of town in a way that enabled their lives to be improved. Urbanisation as a process was something that came second to this and [rural migrants] were inclined to struggle to maintain their situations at both ends rather than be defined by the state as either peasants or proletarians.[2]

Instead, what we witness, is what Gramsci referred to as the "plurality of the self", conflating the rural and urban spaces into a livelihood continuum mediated by, and within, various agencies.[3] Because Goromonzi migrants occupied what Myers refers to as a "necessary inbetweeness", they occupied a sphere encompassing both rural and urban livelihoods.[4] The migrants saw themselves as having two homes, the rural and the urban one, both important and serving different purposes. They also had multiple identities and also multiple economies that complemented each other.

Each and every migrant man or woman connected a locality of origin and a locality of destination. Once Goromonzi migrants relocated to Salisbury, they would acculturate in the workplace, the townships, schools, the marketplaces and in the peri-urban zone. Within the townships they found a community of earlier arrivals from their own culture and from beyond the boundaries of Southern Rhodesia. Goromonzi migrants' sense of cosmopolitanism developed, in the first instance, through various processes in which they changed themselves

[1] Vinay Gidwani, V. & K. Sivaramakrishnan, "Circular Migration and Rural Cosmopolitanism in India," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* **37**/1-2 (2003), 345.
[2] Bill Freund, *The African City: A History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 119 and 96.
[3] Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the study of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* **10**/2 (1986), 23-5.
[4] Garth Myers, cited in Allen M. Howard, "Cities in Africa, Past and Present: Contestation, Transformation," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, **37**/2-3 (2003), 329.

by integrating certain aspects of diverse cultural ways of life into dynamic new ones while simultaneously trying to retain and infuse their own ideas and values onto the urban space. In the second instance, these migrants would then transport, transpose, translate, and assemble aspects of different cultures and influences into their own translocal existence. Needless to *say*, that this was a non-linear process, the architecture of which this has been presented in the thesis was primarily for heuristic reasons. However, the sense of cosmopolitanism this generated among the rural-urban migrants implied that the people, ideas, values and the spaces they inhabited did not have clearly defined and bordered identities. Their cosmopolitan practices often involved spoken and body language, aesthetics and beliefs, tools and social relationships etc. as discussed in the thesis.

By considering the lives of migrants "straddling" the rural and the urban in the post-World War II colonial period this thesis challenges notions of rural homogeneity, stability and stasis. The general impact of the town life in Salisbury reached well beyond the *enframed* boundaries of the city into the very fabric of African society. The Goromonzi migrant *community* created new social and economic institutions that produced a web of spatial interdependence linking social groups and families in new economic and social exchange relations. This evidence calls for more discrimination between the rural areas in close proximity to the cities and those more distant from the cities than has been customary in discussions of urban-rural relationships.

While ever aware of the inherent violence and displacement of colonial encounters, I have tried to undermine any image of the African colonised as hapless victims. While also recognising the influence of "western" colonial influences, be it through the Department of African Administration (DAA) or the Native Affairs Department (NAD), in the imaginaries of rural migrants, I argue that the historicist assumptions embodied in these "western" institutions were upstaged and reinterpreted by colonial subjects. Through their daily lives, through their families and communities, in ritual and belief, in their travels, their struggles, and their travails, Goromonzi rural migrants to Salisbury, as subjects, were active agents in making the colonial world. The thesis describes how migrants from the Goromonzi District reworked processes of "modernisation" and "urbanisation" to their advantage. In other words, colonial ideological hegemony was by no means complete; "spaces of hope" sprouted in the interstices of domination.[5]

[5] See: David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

Urban-township living for most rural-urban migrants to the city was a living which needed several adjustments and re-adjustments compatible with the demands of urban living on the barest minimum of income, as well as maintaining linkages with rural life. These adaptations were often found in a cultural assertion that could fulfil the need for social reproduction and the need for urban survival. This, in turn, translated into a socio-cultural articulation that did not have official approval and led to disagreements and disputes between the migrants and civic authorities.

The introductory chapters of this thesis pointed out that even during their historical antecedents the rural reserves under investigation were neither closed nor static. Instead, rural Goromonzi was linked to several places or regions, engaging in open-ended processes of change and transformation even before the institutionalisation of labour migrancy. The reserve communities, in fact, arose out of various processes of partition and incorporation of diverse elements. The rural-based options which Goromonzi inhabitants exercised were, for the most part, highly resilient. These options were, ultimately, overtaken by state interventions designed to ensure the out-migration of the able-bodied to the so-called European centres of employment.

However, even the incorporation of colonised Africans into the wage-earning economy of the towns did not involve the complete submergence of indigenous cultures. And while the state attempted to fragment the colonial city through excluding the African masses from key facilities and partitioning "rural" and "urban" space this colonial project was far from coherent and uninterrupted. Although official reports emphasised stabilising labour and developing a more permanent urban environment for African workers, policy application was often trapped in a mire of problems. These usually stemmed from disagreements over who should bear the cost of reproducing African labour power. This lack of unified administration often led to disparate initiatives that usually remained localised and underfunded. This is significant because the often half-baked and equivocal policies of the *enframing* project created cracks which Goromonzi rural migrants to Salisbury were able to exploit. The thesis has however, been careful to point out that the state's strategies to *enframe* socio-spatial relations were not all repressive. Their efforts extended to ideological apparatuses, through such medium as films, sports, and prescribing the use of Africans' recreational time.

This thesis has concentrated on the long-term unfolding of complex relationships which simultaneously shaped and, in turn, were shaped by, migration but in doing this it should

have brought out their intensity and importance, as well as their complexity. I argued that intra-national migration was part of a wider family strategy of economic diversification, especially among the extended families, in the face of declining landholdings. Without homogenising the types of movements the rural migrants exercised, I have detailed the various patterns of mobility exercised simultaneously by different groups of urban migrants. The duration of circular migration varied. Sometimes the cycle was a daily one between places of work and home; in other cases, it was seasonal; in yet other cases, migrants would return home sporadically, after long intervals; and some migrants would even leave "permanently" only to return home (*kumusha*) after retiring from their workplace.

The changing demographic trends in the urban and rural space highlights that, once migration outpaced employment opportunities in the cities, various avenues were then created for economic articulation outside the ambit of the employer-employee relationship. Various other pointers, such as female migration emerging on a larger scale than before, the birth of second and third-generation Africans in the urban space and family migration, suggest that the character and composition of Goromonzi migration to Salisbury changed significantly over the decades under discussion. This ran parallel to the "labour dormitory" vision the state tried to impose on the colonised against the background of rapid black urbanisation of the 1940s–1950s which called for the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (AUAARA) to control and discipline the African labour force. I argue, however, that the increasing number of family units was not a spontaneous development, nor was it necessarily a result of an oversight by the state. This was, in fact, a direct result of more families *opting* to disregard municipal controls and to live as such in the urban space.

The colonised rural migrants to the city superimposed strong two-way links with the rural economy, seen most noticeably in the successful establishment of the urban township of Harare as the chief market for Goromonzi rural produce. The new entrants to the city were able to foster backward and forward linkages with the rural environs of Goromonzi, as well as other areas with similar proximity to Salisbury such as the Mazowe and Murehwa Districts. This had a direct impact not only on the way in which peasant producers organised their production and marketing, but also on the quality of life for those in the green-vegetable supply zones of Salisbury. Not only did market traders pass on different cultural equipment to the rural environment, but they ministered to the nutritional deficiencies in the urban areas. Because many of the colonised rural migrants to the city engaged in informal income-generating ventures, with a mix of land uses, their very location residences became

multifunctional and they effectively expanded their economic base. I argue that, while squatter settlements and overcrowding in the urban space reflected the ongoing decay in the rural reserves, they also bore testimony to the limits of the colonial state's socio-spatial engineering.

I have attempted to describe the various influences that shaped African urban life. I suggest that it would be useful in understanding the systems of social relations developing within the cities, and the implications for social and economic change, through studying autonomous subaltern inputs into the cityscape in areas such as the marketplaces, "squatter" settlements, etc. This approach, I believe, complicates the binaries and disrupts the chronologies that have framed African colonial history more broadly. In these conventional binaries - rural/urban, peasant/proletarian, production/reproduction, formal/informal - African women, for example, were pictured in the rural areas reproducing the labour force, while men were shown migrating to productive wage-paying jobs in urban areas. African women were relegated to a fixed domestic sphere, while only men were shown to have access to the public sphere. But the migrants' diverse historical experiences, described in this thesis, defy such static representations. For instance, Goromonzi women as market traders and migrant wives were central to cultural and social reproduction of the African communities in both the rural and urban areas. By highlighting the experiences of women in Salisbury – in income-generating activities such as petty trading, prostitution and beer brewing –the thesis presents how women, in their own right, remapped the urban colonial landscape. Therefore, boundaries between the male urban worker and the female rural producer shift and blur.

I contend that, rather than creating a township cultural life from scratch, the DAA's contribution was to superimpose alternative forms of recreation (often with limited success), and impose a general system of control through new institutional forms. The often partial, and un-sustained, application of the DAA's policies meant that such efforts were ultimately unable to preserve a defined cultural discourse. The Salisbury Council's cultural policies had to contend with a gamut of African responses ranging from apathy, resentment, ambivalence to adaptability and collaboration. The DAA's efforts also had to contend with the presence of viable and alternative avenues of cultural articulation spread through the rural-migrant to the city.

The everyday construction of social lives, economic activities and urban places by the Goromonzi migrant community framed an alternative social vision for the city. Goromonzi

migrants adopted a variety of complex and creative ways for dealing with their social and associational experiences in Salisbury, for instance at tea-parties, *mahobho* parties, etc. African cultural institutions in Salisbury captured and represented the attempts by the rural-migrant community of trying to preserve and remodel their own hopes and ideals on the urban context and foster alternative cultural pathways for the city. These are examples of how the colonised Africans took over space and inscribed their own autonomous visions onto the city. Chapters 4 and 5 show how the state's attempts to *enframe* the social life of Africans settled within the urban areas often brought it into conflict with African landlords, prostitutes, *shebeen* queens and brewers who offered alternative "social services". Kin networks, a willingness to work for relatively low wages and involvement in the informal economy allowed migrant workers to maintain an urban foothold in the face of intensifying efforts to exclude them from the urban economy.

Migrant agency, I contend, often surfaced as latent forms of protest. Thus, migrant agency could be found within their survivalist culture rather than in clearly political ways. This is revealed in their inversion, or inflection, of certain hegemonic values to suit their translocal realities. These observations challenge the *structuralist* tendency to emphasise both the power of the colonial formation and the strength of African nationalist and workers' movements. This "tendency" oversimplifies the dynamics within colonial society and inadequately describes the dialectics of human action in such a context.

While most of the white citizens of Salisbury regarded the AVSs as no more that a dark shadow on the map of the city, a nest of crime, vice and disease many of the Goromonzi migrants, however, came to regard these places as their second home. And despite all their problems and challenges, townships dwellers always engaged in interesting social events to brighten their township life. The discussion has shown that despite the state and despite the harsh conditions that material life offered there was rich evidence of social vitality and genuinely urban and autonomous popular culture which, in turn, informed the basis of a common *Zimbabwean* culture.

I argue that, in the "adjustments and re-adjustments" made by the migrant community, the villages and households of Goromonzi remained vivid reference points in conceptions of home and an imagined world of continuity between town and countryside. The continued identification with the rural space however, helped to establish the migrant community within both the rural and urban spaces. For instance, the health-seeking patterns exercised by

Goromonzi migrants not only helped establish a place attachment with their rural areas of origin but their recourse to "traditional" medicines helped foster the transfer of medicinal knowledge across the rural-urban divide. They also made access to health and other social services, such as midwifery readily available at a time when the Salisbury City Council invested little in African health. Such trends, at another level, displayed an ambivalence or obliviousness to the modernist rules about separating public and private spaces. The quest to master the urban environment invariably called on rural-based knowledge systems.

This having been stated, the adoption of *non-urban* practices in Salisbury does not demonstrate a lack of urban "commitment" or "involvement". Tradition, in its *common* usage, as institutionalised practices and artefacts of culture, had long stopped to be (if ever it was) the key organising principle among rural-urban migrant families. Instead, I suggest that the persistence of *non-urban* practices in the urban context, despite an intrusive state apparatus, was undoubtedly a sign of the incompleteness of colonial modernity. This, in part, meant that migrants to the city did not always experience Euro-western modernity equally, or to the same degree, even though the people who migrated to the towns were more exposed to "western" influence than village folk. This draws attention to the transformative role of migration, while stressing the substantial ambiguity of social and cultural processes brought about by the movements of people.

Having established the ways in which commuting and straddling became central survival strategies for rural migrants from the Goromonzi region, the discussion in Chapter 6 and 7 demonstrates that the experiences of mobility were indeed integral to the subjectivities and socio-cultural and socio-economic goals of these groups. By 1979 far-reaching changes had recast almost every aspect of the life of the population of Goromonzi. They were subject to new social hierarchies and were deeply enmeshed in an industrialising economy. In short, many types of changes were transmitted from Salisbury into the rural areas. While this was discernible in both the material and non-material transformation in Goromonzi, this was through actual interaction among people rather than in any mechanistic way. Rural-urban migrants were better placed to effect such rural changes in a more quotidian sense because of the nearness of Salisbury from Goromonzi. Thus their mobility, far from being a simple economic phenomenon, was one of the means through which modernising influences and transformational practices entered the lives of an otherwise "localised" rural population.

Goromonzi's livelihood strategies became inextricably linked to remittances from migrant workers. Furthermore, migrants, wittingly or unwittingly, acted as agents for diffusing political, social, cultural and aesthetic sensibilities across the rural landscape through their acquired consciousness, sensibilities, tastes and even body-carriage. Classifying the population of Goromonzi simply as peasants or, more loosely, as rural, in the period under discussion obscures the dominant role of urban sources of income and the importance of resources, networks and experiences spanning the city and the countryside. For decades a predominantly male migrant workforce had pioneered and elaborated these connections; but from the 1950s migrant wives, schoolchildren, traders, etc., all promoted a wider range of cultural, social and economic exchange.

However, Goromonzi's men and women did not simply surrender to the dictates of this new *world*. They themselves mediated the adoption of "western" modernity and the reach of the market, and crafted continuities between countryside and the city. While the villages and households of Goromonzi became subject to divisions, debates and conflicts, rural Goromonzi was still regarded by many of its inhabitants as a place of refuge from abrasive white power, corrosive capitalist relations and urban moral decay. I have depicted the returning migrant as a creature of modest goals, foresight, and agency, especially among the first generation of migrants. They displayed a streak of "conservatism" and continued to hold primary attachments to the institution of chieftaincy and their home villages, as seen in the initial investment of urban wages to upgrade the social status of their households. In this sense, they were cautious "rebels" who sought to move up, or adjust, a given hierarchy rather than to take it apart.

This thesis placed return-migrants at the centre of agricultural and social transformations in the countryside. I argue that migration introduced a new axis of social differentiation through the access – or lack of it – to Salisbury. Salisbury was not only a source of income, but also informed idioms of power relationships in the villages seen when the better off returning migrants assumed a social status informed by their realised wealth. I contend that, while improved technologies of movement promoted social life in the reserves, at the structural level they were ultimately harmful as seen through the devaluation of crop-based agriculture and in the collapse of home-based industries. The investment in a singular sector (that is, the retail sector) that was essentially extractive eventually increased the levels of rural inequality. The transformations brought in by returning migrants could not sustain the rapidly increasing rural population and thus inversely perpetuated the dependency on Salisbury. The economic

slowdowns, or bursts in employment, in Salisbury would only serve to accentuate the degeneration of the reserve economies.

Overall, then, I have tried to recover at least part of the complexity of intra-national human migration. In so doing, I hope to contribute to a more rounded understanding of the colonised Africans' past, in which his or her agency, or "voice", is not collapsed into several other grand accounts. The thesis tries to restore the inner workings of an indigenous community for which colonial rule was but one (though important) thread in the fabric of social life. It therefore contributes to the scholarship on rural-urban interactions by exploring how those who traversed between the rural and urban spaces transformed their own social arrangements and livelihoods. It moves away from conventional centrist perspectives on social change that remains largely "unable to deal with such diversity in rural-urban migration patterns".[6]

Rooted in a social history approach, I have tried to balance the seemingly oppositional notions of structure and agency. I did this by bringing out the interplay between the colonised and the coloniser through an emphasis on the interactive nature of all transactions and social relationships as well as the multiple and ingenious ways through which the oppressed resisted their domination. In doing this, I have attempted to offer more than merely another case study - in the traditions of ethnography. Rather, I have explored several historically informed perspectives from various disciplines, in which the rural and the urban were simultaneously kept under observation to bring *us* closer to a fuller understanding of human concerns. Rather than presenting the rural and the urban as two distinct but instrumentally and hierarchically linked social environments, the social situations discussed in this thesis reveal that the rural and the urban formed a single social universe encompassing both notional geographical spaces.

[6] J.A. Andersson, "Going Places, Staying Home: Rural-urban Connection & the Significance of Land in Buhera District, Zimbabwe," (Doctoral Thesis, Waginingen Universitiet, 2002), 50.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1: Livestock Concentration in Goromonzi Reserves: 1948

Reserve	Total area (in acres)	Total area for grazing[1]	Cattle only	Total in large stock equivalents[2]	Total acres per beast	Carrying capacity for stock[3]	Percentage over or under stocked
Seke	82 640[4]	82 640	8 105	8 758	9.4	8 264	+6
Chinamhora	81 837	65 464	5 317	5 812	11.2	6 546	-11
Chikwaka	63 600	63 600	6 056	6251	10.1	6 360	-2
Msana	53 830	48 447	3 828	4 156	11.6	4 844	-14
Kunzwi	13 440	13 440	1 306	1 413	9.5	1 344	+5
Chinyika	13 440	13 440	1 099	1 212	11.0	1 344	-10

Source: Annual report of the Director of Native Agriculture for the Year 1948, 13.

Appendix 1.2: Population Concentration in Goromonzi Reserves: 1948

Reserve	Total grazing plus arable	Present number of families of 5 persons	Arable acres per family	Livestock per family	Carrying capacity in families	Percentage over or under populated
Seke	82 640	3 174	14.5	2.8	1 377	+131
Chinamhora	65 464	1 906	17.2	3.0	1 091	+75
Chikwaka	63 600	1 930	23.9	3.2	1 060	+82
Msana	48 447	1 586	13.6	2.6	807	+96
Kunzwi	13 440	514	10.6	2.7	224	+143
Chinyika	13 440	462	14.5	2.6	224	+106

Source: Annual report of the Director of Native Agriculture for the Year 1948, 16.

[1] "Total area for grazing": total area of reserve less waste land and includes arable areas which came under grazing after crops are removed.
[2] "Large stock equivalent": means all stock expressed in large stock with 5 goats or sheep to 1 head of large stock.
[3] "Carrying capacity": was based on degree of rainfall and is 10 acres per beast in high rainfall areas, $13\,^{1}/_{3}$ acres per beast under medium rainfall and $16\,^{2}/_{3}$ acres per beast in areas of low rainfall.
[4] Please note that the 82 640 acres used in these tables includes the total of the Seke reserve proper of 77 780 acres [cited in text] plus the land areas of Dema and Rutongo that were known as Special Native Areas (SNAs). SNAs were created after an amendment to the LAA and were supposed to serve as additional land for Africans in the reserves. Dema and Rutongo were therefore considered part of Seke when it came to administrative and planning purposes.

Appendix 3.1: Average Annual rate of increase of African Population in Salisbury; 1961-1973.

YEAR	AFRICAN POPULATION No.	TOTAL INCREASE %	NATURAL INCREASE (National Average) %	ESTIMATE INFLUX	
				%	No.
1961	214 000	_	3.32	_	_
1962	214 000	0.93	3.49	-2.56	-5 478
1963	218 000	0.93	3.37	-2.44	-5 270
1964	220 000	0.92	3.26	-2.34	-5 101
1965	230 000	4.55	3.40	1.15	2 530
1966	230 000	_	3.29	-3.29	-7 567
1967	260 000	_	3.41	9.63	22 149
1968	280 000	7.69	3.52	4.17	10 842
1969	280 000	_	3.61	-3.61	-10 108
1970	315 000	12.50	3.48	9.02	25 256
1971	352 000	11.75	3.37	8.38	26 397
1972	379 000	7.67	3.45	4.22	14 854
1973	414 000	9.23	3.70	5.53	20 959

Source: City of Salisbury: African Affairs Urban Plan: Objectives and Policies (Corporate Development Group), 10.

Appendix 3.2: Development Indices for Harava[1] and Goromonzi-Kubatana Districts for 1982.[2]

DEVELOPMENT INDEX[3]	HARAVA DISTRICT	GOROMONZI-KUBATANA
Accessibility	1.75 and above	1.75 and above
Commercial Activity	1.25 – 1.49	0.75 – 0.99
Health Services	1.00 – 1.24	1.25 – 1.49
Extension Services	1.75 and below	0.75 – 0.99
Education	1.00 – 1.24	1.75 and above
Mean level of infrastructure and services development	1.25 – 1.49	1.50 – 1.74

[1] After some post-independence reorganisation of the boundaries of the reserves the Seke Reserve fell under a newly constituted district i.e. Harava.

[2] Even though this data pertains specifically to 1982 it could not have been too dissimilar just a couple years prior to this.

[3] The variables used against each Development index are tabulated below:

DEVELOPMENT INDEX	VARIABLE
EDUCATION	Number of primary schools
	Number of secondary schools
ACCESSIBILITY	Number of bus permits granted
	Motorable road density (m/km$^{2)}$
HEALTH	Number of approved clinics
	Number of hospital beds
	Number of nurses and medical assistants in approved hospitals
COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY	Number of general dealer leases granted
	Number of grain mill leases granted
EXTENSION ACTIVITY	Number of extension staff
	Number of community Development workers
	Number of home economic demonstrators

For each variable, the share of each district relative to all other districts was computed using Isard's location quotient (LQ):

$$LQ = \frac{Si/S}{Ni/N}$$

Where Si is the number of the variable in the district i;

S is the total number of the same variable in all the districts;

Ni is the population in district i;

N is the total population in all the districts.

A LQ greater than one indicates that, at the present level of development of that variable throughout all the districts, the particular district has more than its fair share of that facility or service.

A LQ of less than one suggests that the district has less than its fair share of the service.

Appendix 4.1: Distribution of African Population and Other Details: 1962.

AREA	Males Born		Females Born		Total	Tribal Trust Lands	Purchase Areas	European Farming Areas	Urban Areas
	Before 1946	After 1946	Before 1946	After 1946					
Goromonzi	16 630	18 660	16 520	19 200	71 010	42 460	220	26 680	1 650
Marandellas	18 910	17 170	15 200	16 700	67 980	26 450	970	34 700	5 860
Salisbury	135530	50 720	49 200	46 120	281 570	210	2 660	62 520	216180

Source: Culled from SR: Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs and CNC for the year 1962.

Appendix 4.2: Area under woodland cover 1955-1978

YEAR	NW of Kambuzuma	NE of Dzivarasekwa	West of Mabvuku	North of Zengeza
1955	100	100	100	_
1965	89	79	80.8	100*
1972	77.8	63.8	63.7	90*
1978	22	20.1	18.5	30.3*

*expressed as a percentage of the 1965 woodland cover.
Source: D. Mazambani, "Periurban Deforestation in Harare, 1955-1981" in Geographical Association of Zimbabwe: Proceedings of 1982/1983, No. 14, Sept 1983, 55.

Appendix 4.3: Annual Average Registered Employment for all Industrial Sectors from 1965 to 1979.

Year	Total employed (000s)	Percentage Change
1965	747,5	-1.7
1966	735	+2.1
1967	750,6	+5.0
1968	790	+5.4
1969	835,5	+2.1
1970	853,3	+4.3
1971	891	+6.5
1972	952,9	+4.5
1973	997,5	+4.1
1974	1039,5	-1.0
1975	1050,2	-1.6
1976	1033,4	-2.0
1977	1012,2	-2.6
1978	986,2	
1979	984,7	-0.2

Key: -: years in which the percentage change in employment exceeded the official rate of population growth. +: years in which population growth exceeded percentage change in employment.

Appendix 4.4: Official Self-Employed Women in Salisbury 1951-1960.

YEAR	No. of Employed Women	Self Employed	Pending or seeking employment
1951-52	1 046	22	
1952-53	1 201	29	
1953-54	1 573	68	
1954-55	1 810	72	
1955-56	1 435	92	
1956-57	1 651	191	1 838
1957-58	1 799	197	1 065
1958-59	1 999	231	1 657
1959-60	2 495	233	2 352

Source: Various DAA Reports.

Appendix 5.1: Clubs Operating in the Harare Township in 1958

	Harare township	Mabvuku	Total
Burial Societies	28	1	29
Social and Cultural	18	2	20
Entertainment Groups	38	3	41
Political and semi-political	22	2	24
Sporting	39	5	44
Dancing	11	_	11
Women's clubs	8	2	10
Children's clubs	4	1	5
Men's clubs	_	1	1
Total	168	17	185

Source: Annual Report of the Director of Native Administration: 1957-1958, 80.

Appendix 5.2: Attendance/Patronisation at 'welfare facilities' in Highfield and Salisbury Municipal African Areas

Facility	**Attendance in Highfield Township**		**Attendance in the Council's African Townships**
	1965	**1970**	**1970/71 municipal year**
Cinema	34 195	127 419	346 988
Football	89 000 (Gwanzura stadium)	410 600 (Gwanzura stadium)	160 social clubs using 22 soccer fields in the locations+54 teams in the Neshamwari Industrial League
Swimming pools	Nil[1]	49 192[2]	73 796 (George Hartley swimming pool in Harare)
Library	79	454	54 201
Feeding Centre	27 116	79 064	
Milk Scheme	Nil	42 807	
Boxing 'challenge' matches			400 000 spectators
Day care centres for pre-school children			926
Youth Centres for adolescents			1 000
Paid performances at public halls[3]			72 038

Source: Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the year ended 31st Dec. 1970, 10; Housing Annual Reports 1957 – 1972; S/SA 6175 DAA, 1971, 7.

[1] The swimming pool was only constructed in 1965.
[2] Not including school children.
[3] Excluding cinema shows.

Appendix 5.3: 'Urban' Spoken Shona

'Chijoki'	**English**
Stiru a nayo	He still has her (my wife)
Ane lotso impasha	He has a lot of property
Une shuwa?	Are you certain?
Brandi nyuwa	Brand-new
Ndakakopa	I made a copy
Plomu stoffu	A Primus stove
Ndaka passa (or 'fera')	I have passed (or failed)
Kuita produce	To put in (as evidence) as an exhibit in a case. (Used by an African constable)
Festi boni	The eldest child
Va ne 'against' neni	They hate me
Anondikonza trabul	He causes me trouble
Kudeposa	To pay a deposit
Ndachaya reverse turn	I returned once I came
Kucheka	To check (of money)
Kuita shoti or kushotwa	To be short of money
Pa afta dina	In the afternoon
Waenda auti	He has gone out
Ari pa offu	He is off duty
Anobva panekisi do yangu	His kraal is next to mine
Ndamutora sekondi handi	My wife has been married before
Waiva neraki	He was fortunate
Yakaitwa smasha	It was broken
Ku sapota	To pay maintenance
Wandifosa	He compelled me
Takaita sheya	We divided it

Ndaibenda	I bent or twisted it, hence also bendera, a prostitute, from their reputed fondness for wearing a beret at a rakish angle
Taita flendi (or frendi)	We live together without being married
Takaita kampani	We were in partnership
Takaikunda	We counted it (of money)
Nda mubasopera mwana	I looked after his child
Ya setwa neni	I put it there
Takapromisa	He agreed to marry me
Ndawina moswa yangu	I was successful in my claim
Foni	A telegram
Ndabeja £5	I bet £5 on a horse
Katututu	Quarter to two (o'clock)[4]

Appendix 5.4: African Beer Consumption Profits from Salisbury Council's Beer Undertaking

Year	Brewed (gallons)	Daily Average (gallons)	Gross Takings £
1952/53	622 950	1 734	62 457.7.3
1953/54	709 208	1 943	72 207.8.0
1954/55	1 733 459	4 851	181 846.4.6
1955/56	2 441 310	6 688	253 868.12.10
1956/57	2 952 383	8 089	322 111.1.0
1957/58	3 203 377	8 776	344 259.3.3
1958/59	3 487 175	9 280	367 320.12.4
1959/60	3 688 614	10 106*	381 439.3.9
1960/61	3 188 256	8 735*	328 732
1961/62	3 606 195	9 880*	322 181

*My calculation

N.B. The table shows takings from 'African'/Opaque beer only and excludes other types of liquor.

Source: Several DAA reports.

[4] N.A. Hunt, "Chizezuru as She Spoke" in *NADA*, 93-94.

Appendix 5.5: The Relationship between Salisbury "tea parties" and STDs: May and June 1949

Place	**Number of STD Cases Recorded**
"Masaka"	40
Municipal Power Station	29
Railway Compound Dance	15
Brickfields, Various	15
Quarries	5
Thirteen other parties near or near the outskirts of town including Horticulture gardens	23

Source: R.R. Wilcox, *A Venereal Disease Survey of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia*, 1949, 42.

Appendix 6.1: Distribution of African Population and Other Details: 1962.

AREA	Males Born		Females Born		Total	Tribal Trust Lands	Purchase Areas	European Farming Areas	Urban Areas
	Before 1946	After 1946	Before 1946	After 1946					
Goromonzi	16 630	18 660	16 520	19 200	71 010	42 460	220	26 680	1 650
Marandellas	18 910	17 170	15 200	16 700	67 980	26 450	970	34 700	5 860
Salisbury	135530	50 720	49 200	46 120	281 570	210	2 660	62 520	216180

Source: Culled from SR: Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs and CNC for the year 1962, Presented to the Legislative Assembly, Govt. Printer, Salisbury, 1963, in NAZ SRG 3/INT 4 SR: Departmental Reports: Internal Affairs 1962-1963.

Appendix 7.1: Self-Employment Rural & Urban Areas 1961

Bakers 255
Barbers 97
Basket makers 756
Blacksmiths 162
Book-keepers 12
Brick-layers 919
Brick-makers 799
Broom Makers 345
Builders 1 027
Butchers 579
Carpenters 829
Charwomen 332
Cobblers 467
Curio Makers 74
Cycle Repairs 254
Driving Instructors 24
Dry Cleaners/Launderers 52
Eating-house/Innkeepers 517
Fishermen 71
Fishmongers..... 6
Foodstall holders 166
Gardeners, Jobbing 16
General Dealers..... 2 798
Hawkers..... 103
Herbalists 894
Market Gardeners 383
Mat makers 555
Millers 1 095
Mineral water dealers 81
Motor Mechanics 89
Musicians 47
Painters (artisan) 442
Photographers 91
Plasterers 145
Plumbers 71
P.S.V. Owners 201
Second-Hand dealers 83
Spray painters 8
Snuff sellers 85
Stock, Produce dealers 126
Tailors 470
Thatchers 419
Tinkers 368
Upholsters 62
Undertakers..... 2
Well sinkers 192
Watch Repairers 30
Wood Merchants 300
Miscellaneous 249

Source: Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and CNC for the Year 1961, p. 12, in NAZ SRG 3/INT 4 SR: Departmental Reports Native Affairs.

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