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'RHODESIANS' IN SOUTH AFRICA:  
A STUDY OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS FROM ZIMBABWE

Dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of

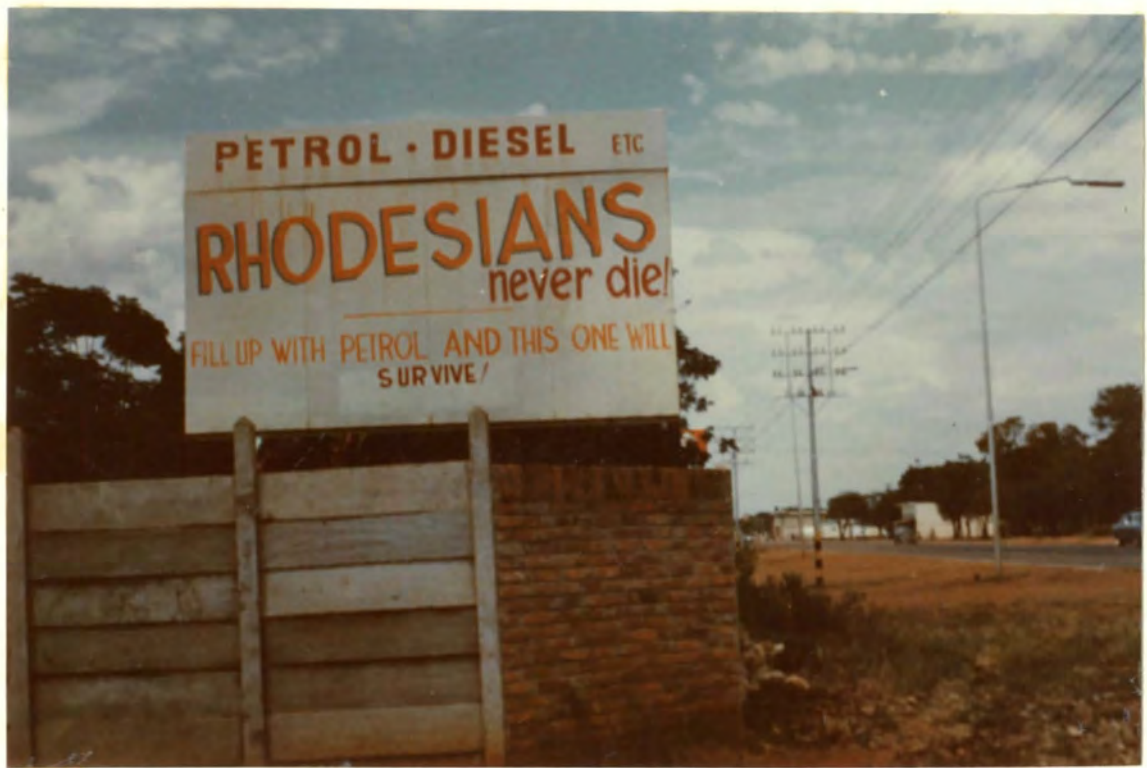
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of Rhodes University

by

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December, 1983



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ABSTRACT

Although most whites have remained in Zimbabwe after independence and not all who have emigrated came to South Africa, large numbers established themselves as an immigrant community in this country.

The aim of this study is to "sociologically capture" this community's views about their past experiences in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and their present experiences in South Africa.

This is done by employing a generative methodological procedure whereby members of the target population themselves generated issues considered to be of importance to their previous and new situational contexts.

As it was not possible to obtain a random sample of all Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa, questionnaire data were collected from four separate categories of respondents. In addition, depth interviews were conducted and thus responses have been analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The findings demonstrate that for the most part, few "Zimbabweans" - whites who are reasonably accepting of the new socio-political order in independent Zimbabwe - have come to South Africa. Rather, most of the immigrants, whose views were canvassed in this research investigation, seem to be bitter "Rhodesians" who have been unable to accept change and integration and the consequent loss of white privilege in the new Zimbabwe. These recent immigrants have not found all things to their satisfaction in South Africa moreover, despite the similar socio-political structures in former Rhodesia and contemporary South Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express my sincerest appreciation to:

Professor Simon Bekker for his assistance, guidance and supervision in the planning and execution of this research.

The Human Sciences Research Council for providing the grant which made this graduate study possible.

The students and relatives, especially Penny Nealon, Delia Malcolm, Nigel Unwin, Peta Solomon, Elizabeth Field, Clive Simon and Melanie Simon, who assisted me in the field.

Ricky Pott, who arranged the interviews in the Eastern Transvaal.

Steven Bluen and Clive Fullagar from the Department of Psychology, Wits. University, for their assistance with the factor analysis procedure.

Sylvia and Esmé, for their endless patience and good humour while typing the draft and final version of this dissertation.

## INTRODUCTION

Shortly before, and soon after Zimbabwe became an independent country on the 18th of April, 1980, many whites from north of the Limpopo departed from their previous situational context - Rhodesia/Zimbabwe - and elected to start new lives for themselves in South Africa. Since arriving here, they have regularly and repeatedly expressed their immigrant status either by forming and joining Rhodesian clubs and contact organisations which have mushroomed all over this country;



or in letters to the press that usually raise issues such as the "loss of Rhodesia", problems in post independence Zimbabwe, or difficulties they experience in their new country. For example, Oliver J. Wills of Randburg (north of Johannesburg) made the

following remarks in a letter to 'The Citizen' newspaper on April 28th, 1980:

'The lesson for South Africa is that she must not heed the views and opinions of the liberal West, which have been adopted by educated Blacks as it serves their immediate ends. They are not valid. What is valid is the realistic approach of the White Africans who have developed this South Africa - a place where Blacks are better off than elsewhere in 'Black' Africa.

Meanwhile, we former Rhodesians will forever mourn the loss of our beloved country, and will trust that we never have occasion to mourn the loss of 'South Africa'.

Besides expressing nostalgia for their previous environment, many immigrants writing to the press reflect a belief that independence has plunged Zimbabwe into a state of political and economic chaos. The majority of immigrants canvassed in this study subscribed to this "Rhodesian" view.

On the other hand, there does seem to be a small body of opinion that displays a belief contrary to the more widely expressed idea that "everything Rhodesian was super and everything Zimbabwean is rotten". This minority "Zimbabwean" opinion is apparent in a letter to the 'Cape Times', published on April 14th 1981:

'Ian Smith's RF policy was almost identical to the NP down to the same laager syndrome and platform rhetoric..... That the Blacks were allowed no voice, that they were allowed no leader, must sound familiar to all South Africans... I write from experience: I was a founder member of the opposition Rhodesian Party'.

With regard to South Africa, not only have several immigrants expressed a belief that South Africa will be faced with "difficulties" similar to those in former Rhodesia, but they have also complained that they experience financial problems. The advertisement below (reproduced from 'The Star' - Classified, "Used Cars" section, Thursday 3rd September 1981, p42) serves as an example:

'RHODESIANS. This is not a catch ad. I am an ex-Rhodie from Bulawayo and I sell new and used cars and I make a point of helping fellow Rhodesians to get going. At the present times in SA it is difficult generally to get finance. The company I work for however carries most of its own finance and we have managed to help people from all over Rhodesia, including Enkeldoorn. Don't worry about how little cash you managed to leave with, just give me a ring, let's see what I can do. Theresa 21-4929.

Many of these immigrants therefore seem to view themselves, in South Africa, as a refugee community forced to start afresh at a considerable disadvantage. Hence it was the aim of this study to "capture this community sociologically" by focusing on the views of these immigrants in a new land with social and political structures remarkably similar to those in their previous country. Their views have been fashioned by (past) experience in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and by present experience in South Africa. The aim therefore was to canvass opinion, first, on the "loss of Rhodesia" and its aftermath in Zimbabwe - arguably it would seem that such views represent a justification for their decision to emigrate - and secondly, to assess their opinions regarding their choice of South Africa as their new country of residence. It should be noted at this point that the aim of this

study was not 'dual-synchronic', the term Murphree (1983:2) employs to describe before-after research investigations; it is a survey that aimed to assess how a group of Rhodesian/Zimbabwean immigrants saw their process of migration by focusing on the attitudes of four categories of respondents:

- (i) a group of university students
- (ii) members of Rhodesian clubs and contact organisations
- (iii) a snowball sample
- (iv) a sample from a list of naturalised citizens published in the Government Gazette.

By virtue of the nature of the categories, it is feasible to assume that the students and Rhodesian club members represent divergent attitudes. The snowball sample is meant to provide the opinions of "men and women in the street" while the sample from the Government Gazette aims at achieving a degree of representativity.

Besides describing the migratory process, therefore, Chapter One highlights the relevant historical parallels in both countries. This is done by identifying historical similarities and differences in so far as these seem to have influenced the views of immigrants. Both countries have a history of white minority rule entrenched after colonisation, and black hostility and resistance to this rule. In the case of South Africa, certain structural forces have ensured that white domination persists after Zimbabwe obtained her independence, thus providing a "haven" for those immigrants from the north who felt unable to countenance majority rule.

Chapter Two describes the methodological procedure employed, namely multiple operationism. Issues relevant to the aim were generated from the target population, (i) by content analysing letters to all South African newspapers (as published in their respective readers' views sections) for the year succeeding independence, and (ii) from data obtained by employing various modified participant observation techniques. The issues/themes that repeatedly emerged from both the content analysis and participant observation procedures were subsequently refined in fifty-five depth interviews which served to provide material for the construction of a questionnaire, as well as, in terms of more conventional triangulation, to enrich questionnaire data. Interviews were conducted with, and questionnaires sent to, students, members of clubs and respondents whose names had been provided in a snowballing manner. The sample of naturalised citizens from the Government Gazette list solely received questionnaires as their names had not been published during the interviewing stage of the research.

The generated issues themselves which formed the basis for interviews and the questionnaire are presented and discussed in Chapter Three. Selected portraits of informants have been included in order to add depth and intensity to these themes.

In Chapter Four, an introduction to the contents of the interview schedule and the questionnaire is provided to give the reader some idea of questions that were derived from the themes. The reader is

also introduced to the socio-economic profiles of each category : students, club members, the snowball sample and the gazette list. Technical information on the four categories is also provided in this chapter.

Chapter Five analyses data relating to respondents' attitudes to their previous situational context - Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Here, their views on the generated themes:

- (i) "betrayal by foreign powers - Great Britain and South Africa"
- (ii) "The tragedy of the Rhodesian war"
- (iii) "economic and educational decline in communist ruled Zimbabwe"

are described and discussed in detail.

In particular, similarities and differences between the four samples are analysed.

Data pertaining to themes related to the South African context:

- (i) "financial difficulties"
- (ii) "Rhodesia's problems of yesteryear will be experienced in South Africa"
- (iii) "time to start new lives in South Africa"
- (iv) "immigrants will never have the same life here"

are discussed in similar fashion in Chapter Six.

Chapter Seven, the conclusion, begins with a brief summary of the research investigation and then attempts to provide a feasible

explanation for the views held by white ex-Zimbabweans concerning their process of migration from Rhodesia-Zimbabwe to South Africa.

In order to do this, data obtained from the four samples are analysed in terms of their similarities and differences.

The role of ideology (and the mass media), in both Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and South Africa are discussed to further account for the attitudes of the immigrant community to their old and their new homes.

CHAPTER ONEFROM RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE TO SOUTH AFRICA

As the opinions of immigrants are only explicable in a past and present context, this chapter attempts to provide an account of the historical processes affecting white rule in both countries in so far as these affected the attitudes of the respondents towards Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and South Africa as well as their decision to emigrate. In order to attempt to place the recent influx of white Zimbabweans into South Africa in some sort of perspective, to begin with some discussion of the historical events leading up to a reasonably large scale immigration is merited. For it is against a background of initial pioneering from South Africa in 1890 and the establishment of political dominance followed by eventual decline that the emigration of many whites "back to" the country of origin south of the Limpopo must be seen. Indeed as O'Brien (1979) points out, South African and Rhodesian white histories have always been closely intertwined and it can be argued furthermore, these two histories are remarkably similar in places.

1. Rhodesia/Zimbabwe

Although white traders and hunters had visited Rhodesia prior to the 1850's, they were relatively few and far between and it was only 'after the opening of the London Missionary Society mission at Inyati in 1859' that the 'Matabele domains were visited increasingly

by European hunters and adventurers' (Kay, 1970 : 37). According to Standing (1935) this Mission was founded on Christmas Day 1859 (with Chief Mzilikazi's permission) and the Reverend John Moffat and his wife, who, Loyd (1960) believes, was one of the first white women to set foot in Rhodesia, can be regarded as early forerunners.

Nevertheless, the establishment of this mission represented no real concrete attempt on the part of white colonists to settle permanently in that country. Thirty one years later, however, Cecil John Rhodes, who had first come to South Africa in 1870 in order to recuperate from tuberculosis, received 2 000 offers to a call for volunteers to join a pioneer column which would trek north in order ultimately to take physical possession of then Mashonaland. Comprising 200 men eventually selected from the volunteers, 'the column left Macloutsie, in Northern Bechuanaland, at the end of June 1890, and after nearly three months hazardous trek reached the site of Fort Salisbury on September 12' (Gale, 1962 : 3). There, according to Good (1973), these earliest white settlers raised the British flag near a small hill called Harari.

The British South Africa Company (under Royal Charter) was now responsible for the administration of Mashonaland, Manicaland and Matabeleland which was named 'Rhodesia' in 1897 as a tribute to the Oxford graduate and as a territory eventually occupied '150 333 square miles' (Parker, 1960 : 2).

Not long after the advent of the Pioneering Column, white settlers received a foretaste of what later was to come when, 'in March 1896 throughout the greater part of the province of Matabeleland whites living outside the towns were suddenly attacked and killed...'  
(Ranger, 1967 : 1). The Matabele were not alone in their uprising, for, four months later, in June, as Miller (1958 : 133) points out, 'the Mashona tribes also broke into rebellion'. Ranger (1970) notes that most of the Shona, in fact, committed themselves to armed struggle against the settlers and indeed, it is said that contemporary Zimbabwean historians refer to these early revolts as the first wars of independence.



Rhodes's grave in the Matopos Hills near Bulawayo

In spite of these early uprisings 'by 1911, the white population had risen to 23,000' (Malaba, 1980 : 8) and in 1914, the British South Africa Company charter to administrate Rhodesia was renewed for a further ten years. However, as Strack (1978) has observed, the British government expressed a preference for annexing the territory to South Africa and so in September 1923, a referendum was held on whether Rhodesia should become a self-governing territory. Nyangoni and Nyandoro (1979) point out that 8,774 votes were cast for and 5,089 against (annexation) and so on 23rd September 1923, Company rule ended and Rhodesia was granted "Responsible Government", meaning in effect something along the lines of a British self-governing territory. Some disquiet on the part of local Africans had been expressed, according to Stokes and Brown (1966) but petitions drawn up by blacks, in this regard, were, in practice, simply disregarded.

Not long afterwards, in 1930, this "responsible government" instituted the Land Apportionment Act which became effective on the 1st April, 1931. Its major effect for Palley (1970) was specifically designated land with approximately 51% being placed in the hands of the whites and the rest either unassigned or African. This Act probably represents the most major piece of discriminatory legislation to be passed in former Rhodesia and its devastating consequence for the indigenous population is aptly expressed by Doris Lessing (1975 : 77) when she writes of her twenty five years sojourn in Rhodesia prior to being declared a prohibited immigrant: 'My father, by white terms, was poor... But he had 3 000 acres of land. He paid ten bob an acre for it and this was land off which Africans had been thrown - into reserves... After the Second World War, they did this all

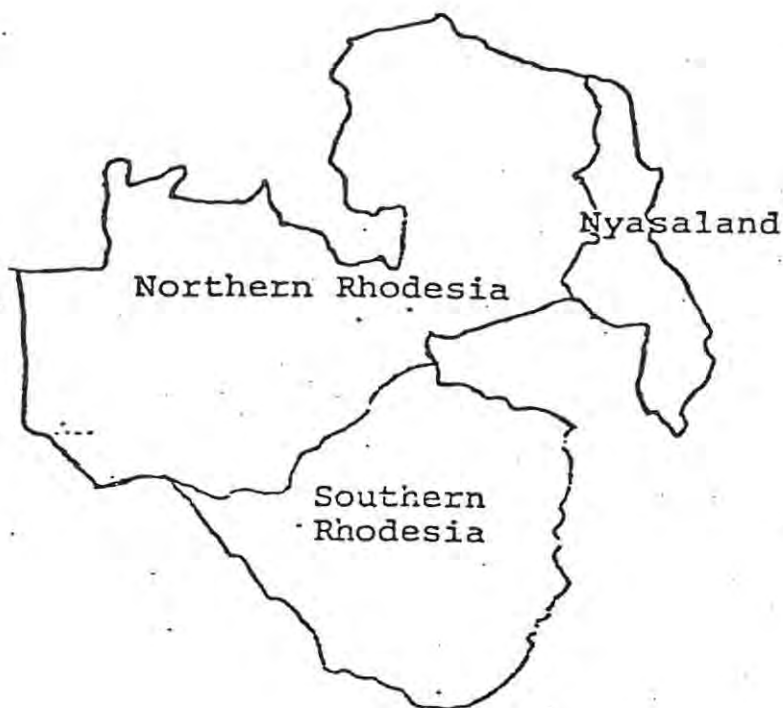
again'. The reference is to the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 which dispossessed a great many Africans from their land.

Shortly after the implementation of the Land Husbandry Act, the formation of the Federation of then Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland represented the next major landmark in "white" history.

Welensky (1964 : 27) points out that 'a conference to consider the possibilities of a form of federal association between the three territories assembled at Victoria Falls on February 16th, 1949'.



By 1953, the idea mooted at the conference became a reality with the appointment of Sir Godfrey Huggins as the Federation's first Prime Minister, and with its major aim being to achieve Commonwealth status by 1960 or soon afterwards.



However, this aim was never realised for 'agitation against this federation by the African populations in the protectorates that feared they would have difficulty in achieving independence led to...dissolution in 1963'. (Freedom House, 1979 : 6). The writer Hilsson Edwards was extremely agitated by dissolution and remarked (1966 : 14) that 'the economically thriving Federation was broken primarily to make it possible for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to become sovereign, independent states', never considering the possibility that blacks in these territories might have preferred independence to a Federation whose economic policy would only really benefit the whites.

Shortly before the Federation ended, the Rhodesian Front came to power with an election victory in 1962 which for Hintz (1972 : 173) represented 'the primary manifestation of a fundamental transformation in the Rhodesian political system between 1958 and 1965. White

voters deserted the racially moderate establishment party and switched to the pro-white party'. There seems no doubt that the Rhodesian Front came to power on a white supremacist ticket for its expressed intentions, as stated in its 1962 manifesto (see Appendix A) have been summarized by Patel (1979 : 61) 'in terms of three "generic" themes ,that is:

- (a) permanent European rule,
- (b) no African advancement,
- (c) an end to multiracialism'.

The practical policies of the Rhodesian Front would tend to support this notion, for not long afterwards, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which had been founded at the end of 1961, was banned on April 13th, 1964, along with the PCC (Peoples' Caretaker Council) which had been formed on the 10th August, 1963, after a split in the African nationalist movement.

Finally, in order to firmly "entrench" white rule, on the 11th November, 1965, the Rhodesian Front produced its Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) after first proclaiming a state of emergency on the 5th of that month. As Sithole (1978 : 9) has rightly observed: 'the main objective of the Rhodesian Government's unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) was to prevent the establishment of African majority rule in Zimbabwe, to perpetuate indefinitely white minority rule, and hence the subjection of the Africans to the white man'. It seems most probable that Harold Wilson's presence in the country at the end of October was the "straw that broke the camel's

back", but UDI should also be seen in the context of dissolution of the Federation and the emergence of independent black states to the north. Murapa (1972 : 16) points out that 'soon after he had issued UDI, Ian Smith was asked by a reporter when he expected to see African rule in Zimbabwe. The Prime Minister replied that he did not expect to witness it in his lifetime'. Of further interest and significance to this study is that on UDI day, 'students in the port city of Durban climbed a tower of the University and unfurled a banner proclaiming 'Rhodesia'' (Good, 1973 : 21 - 22).

World reaction to UDI followed very soon afterwards in the form of sanctions which were first imposed against Rhodesia 'by the British government immediately after the Rhodesian government's unilateral declaration of independence on 11 November, 1965. Certain other countries followed suit, and the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos (February 1966) agreed that members should apply sanctions to Rhodesia wherever possible. In December 1966, the United Nations adopted a resolution calling for mandatory sanctions against specified items in Rhodesia's external trade' (Curtin and Murray, 1967 : 11).

While the purpose of sanctions was to force the collapse of UDI and ultimately bring about majority rule, they failed in this regard simply because Rhodesia could rely on its neighbour South Africa both for supplies of strategic commodities such as oil and arms, as well as for a market and/or outlet for exports: 'from the first days after UDI, South Africa, and to a lesser extent other countries, were usable as intermediate destinations for many types of goods' (Handford, 1976 : 19).

Indeed, as soon as sanctions were implemented against Rhodesia, South Africa became her major trading partner as Makgetla (1980 : 68) shows:

'Trade between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia reflected the essentially neo-colonial relationship that persisted between the two countries. Southern Rhodesia exported to South Africa mostly crude agricultural and mineral products, and a few light manufactures mostly apparel and radios, assembled by low-cost labour from imported parts. It imported manufactured goods, particularly machinery and petroleum. South Africa re-exported about half the crude products it imported from Southern Rhodesia, processing some of them first'.

In fact, once Mozambique closed its borders, South Africa became the only outlet for exports and inlet for imports.

Beyond trade, South Africa up until 1975, also provided Rhodesia with military assistance:

'By mid-1967, the possibility of the use of force by Britain was gone because the South African para-military police had joined with the Rhodesian security forces along the Zambesi border with Zambia. It would have been dangerous for us to have risked fighting South African troops as well as Rhodesians' (Maxey, 1976 : 157).

The consequences of sanctions, therefore, for Porter (1977 : 17), were not as severe as whites first thought they would be because 'if economic sanctions are incompletely applied to a relatively mature and flexible economy, they are unlikely to impose much hardship beyond a brief transition period'.

Of course the whites banded together by finding ways to beat the sanctions but black resistance seemed to become more intense at this point in time with serious implications for continued white political power and it is here that some discussion on this aspect of Zimbabwe's history becomes pertinent. Good (1973 : 36) has written that 'by 1956 African militancy had surfaced' and Palley (1970 : 92) noted that 'from 1957 African nationalism emerged as a powerful force in Rhodesia'. But for Mutambirwa (1980 : 9), the real guerrilla war began in 1966 'in response to the challenge of UDI that was intended to deny African majority political power for all time'.

On the 28th April of that year, ZANU guerillas engaged the security forces near the town of Sinoia, some 85 miles from the capital. Just over a year later, nearly one hundred further insurgents infiltrated Rhodesia in four separate groups. This marked the 'beginnings' of the major guerilla offensive although Dube (1971 : 20) was quick to assert that African resistance had been present long before 1966; it was simply less overt: 'the action of Rhodesia's Africans is like an iceberg, showing only a small portion above water, but possessing a massive invisible body. The African majority is silent only in the eyes of the West and the Rhodesian government'.

For a few years after these initial incursions, incidents of such a nature were relatively less serious compared with what was to come - particularly after the end of 1972. It was during this period that various initiatives to reach some form of acceptable settlement failed. For example, as Sithole (1978) has observed, the parties

failed to reach agreement during both the Wilson-Smith aircraft carrier "Tiger" talks in 1966 and again during the Wilson-Smith "Fearless" negotiations in 1968. Even though the "Tiger" and "Fearless" (and possibly the later Smith-Home proposals of 1971) blueprints would probably have resulted in an independent white Rhodesia for all that was really required at the time was a broader based administration and policy, white Rhodesians saw these proposals as an end to white rule. In fact, not long after "Fearless", Rhodesia proclaimed itself a republic: 'at one minute past midnight on Monday, 2nd March, 1970, Rhodesia became a Republic. The proclamation by which Parliament was dissolved was signed by me and the Prime Minister...' (Dupont, 1978 : 213).

On the 21st of November, 1971, proposals for settlement between the British and Rhodesian governments were once again put forward. However after sitting at length, the Pearce Commission which considered the acceptability of these proposals to both sides in the conflict, concluded that these were acceptable solely to whites: 'We are satisfied on our evidence that the Proposals are acceptable to the great majority of Europeans. We are equally satisfied, after considering all our evidence including that on intimidation, that the majority of Africans rejected the Proposals. In our opinion the people of Rhodesia as a whole do not regard the Proposals as acceptable as a basis for independence' (Rhodesia Report of the Commission, 1972 : 112). Indeed, as Windrich (1978) believed, the Pearce Commission began with the blessings of Rhodesian whites but ended with conclusions favourable to the black majority.

By 1972, the war for Day (1978 : 270) had become very much more serious: 'the unprecedented scale and efficiency of the ZANU guerrilla activity in the north-eastern area stretched the resources of the security forces and the white economy'. Of significance to contemporary South Africa is that as the war intensified so too did the State's ideological output. Authors, radio and television media, the Rhodesian Ministry of Information, records and t-shirts all intensified their espousal of 'Rhodesia's cause' and this was coupled with further censoring of the press and attacks on foreign news reporters who were unsympathetic to current white ideals - the detention and deportation of Pieter Niese wand providing one of the better known examples.

The Lisbon coup in April, 1974, and subsequent independence of Mozambique in June, 1975, with that country firmly in the hands of the Frelimo government, meant that 'Rhodesia's longer and in every respect most vulnerable border was also exposed' (Wilkinson, 1980 : 114). As Dupont (1978) believed, the "loss of Mozambique" stretched the Rhodesian security forces further. In that year, once more, initiatives on the part of Vorster, Kissinger and Kaunda, culminating in the famous Victoria Falls railway bridge meeting failed, although it is contended by Strack (1978) that South African policemen were withdrawn from Rhodesia soon afterwards.

Following on the Kissinger-Vorster proposals, the Geneva Conference was convened towards the end of 1976, and was attended by all Rhodesia's black nationalist leaders. Almost monotonously this conference ended in failure too, for as Sithole (1978 : 12) has noted, '...the democratic

principle of majority rule based on one man one vote, was not conceded'. What is of major importance with respect to the Geneva conference, however, is that the Patriotic Front alliance of Nkomo and Mugabe became clearly articulated and this did not auger well for the continuation of white political domination.



Nevertheless, it took a now very seriously troubled white government until March 3rd, 1978, to take the first basic steps in conceding defeat when Smith signed an 'agreement for majority rule' with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Senator Jeremiah Chirau. This culminated in the April 1979 elections in what was now called Zimbabwe-Rhodesia but of wide historical import is, as Willers (1979) has observed, that not all the parties to the conflict were involved in this election as the Patriotic Front was not included. Furthermore, according to Delap (1979 : 432), the Rhodesian constitutional lawyer, Claire Palley concluded that 'the election was neither free nor fair by any electoral standards applicable in Western democracies, or even according to those prevailing in elections preceding the granting of independence to developing African or Asian states'. And, though Zimbabwe now had some semblance of black government, whites continued to exercise powers disproportionate to their numeric minority and this is probably the reason why the short

reign of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian government came to so rapid an end much to the disbelief of white Rhodesians and also to the consternation of South African whites. Beyond these considerations, as Gregory (1980 : 12) remarked, 'heavy reliance upon South Africa also posed a threat to the Bishop's African nationalist credentials, already potentially compromised by his government's inheritance of the Smith regime's forces'.

Preceded by the raising of the British flag in Salisbury on the 12th December, 1979, when UDI officially ended, Lord Carrington announced the results of the first full and fair election to be held in Zimbabwe in April, 1980. 'Robert Mugabe's ZANU (PF) party won 57 seats by capturing 62,99 percent of the poll' (Gregory, 1980a : 12), Bishop Abel Muzorewa's UANC party only 3 seats and Joshua Nkomo's Patriotic Front party 20 seats. With marked finality (for white rule), Carrington (1980 : 40) announced that 'Rhodesia will come to independence as Zimbabwe on Friday 18 April', thus ensuring that Judith Todd's (1966 : 10) prediction made soon after UDI that 'Rhodesia, the land of white supremacy was doomed, Zimbabwe, the land of democratic government, would soon be born', came true.

Of direct relevance to the attitudes of the respondents canvassed in this study are four controversial issues which have emerged from Zimbabwean independence, namely, whether Britain betrayed former Rhodesia, whether Zimbabwe has opted to follow the line of communism and whether the economy and education have declined since April 1980. Some discussion on these points is merited at this juncture.

Dennis Hills (1978 : 68) who lived in Rhodesia for some time before spending a period in a Kampala prison, reports a conversation he had with a white woman as indicative of sentiments directed towards the British ever since UDI and sanctions: 'The British hate Rhodesians', said Miss Joliffie, 'because they're jealous of our good life'. In addition Hills (1981 : 175) also captured the comments of a farmer friend after independence: 'England will pay for this... The Russians will be here next year. First Churchill betrayed us and now Mrs. Thatcher'.

Long before independence, the British were often berated and Peck (1968 : 28 - 29), a supporter of the UDI government, wrote:

'Firstly, even in Britain 'Majority Rule' is a comparatively recent development... woman did not achieve universal adult suffrage until the Representation of the People Act of 1928',

and Young (1967 : 514) added,

'even the cool historian of fifty years hence might, it could be hoped, spare a tear for the departure of the loyalest of the Queen's subjects!'

Lovett (1977 : 21) also pointed a finger at Britain after Rhodesia had supplied 'more troops per head of population to the allied war effort than any other country in the empire' and Hickman (1970) even noted that Rhodesians had fought alongside the British during the Boer wars.

With regard to the second issue - communism; for many years, whites north of the Limpopo believed that they were fighting a war not only for the sake of their own defence but also on behalf of South Africa and indeed the whole Western world: 'the flames sweeping towards South Africa contain just as much menace for the West as a whole, as for anyone on this continent' (Van Eeeden, 1965 : 145). In fact numerous other authors - Barber (1980), Chesteron (1973), Good (1976), Hills (1978), Moorcraft (1980), O'Meara (1975) - have all also remarked that the Rhodesian Front pushed this point in order to enhance the war effort. Thus Zanu's election victory, for many whites, meant that the day of communism, the perceived cause they had been fighting against for years, had dawned.

There is, however, a form of antithetical viewpoint, namely, that present day Zimbabwe personified in the form of Mugabe, is seen in fact as in no way the communist bogeyman portrayed in pre-independence propaganda. This is the view of Cliffe and Munslow (1980), Grundy (1981), Mwarire (1981), Nyirenda (1981) and The Swiss Press Review and News Report (1981), and is probably typified by the writing of Yates (1980 : 68): 'ZANU (PF) has now embarked upon the socialist revolutionary phase. But when we look at the existing socio-economic system, we find that the means of production are privately owned to an extent where over ninety percent of production and trade in agriculture, manufacturing, construction, distribution, finance, mining, insurance and real estate is carried out by foreign individuals or multinational corporations (MNCs) operating through their South African headquarters. Zimbabweans, own and control a meagre ten percent of the productive capacity of the economy' and (1980 : 72):

'meanwhile it is our contention that ZANU (PF) has been tactically correct in not interfering with private property or expropriating businesses, estates and other economic enterprises'. The recent observations of several other authors and editors, most notably Baylies (1980), Biermann and Kossler (1980), Munslow (1980), Rudolph (1982), The Economist (1980) and the reports in Africascope (1981) and Africa Confidential (1980) would also seem to indicate that the politico-economic structure reflects pragmatism rather than thoroughbred Marxism or socialism. Though there has been some nationalisation of vacated white farmland and '100 North Koreans have arrived in Zimbabwe with the task of training a new brigade of about 5 000 men' (Swiss Press Review 1981b : 5), the commercial farming sector has largely been left alone and the West remains Zimbabwe's predominant trading partner.

The third contentious issue is whether the economy has deteriorated in Zimbabwe and indeed, if it has, was independence responsible? Nyirenda (1981) and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia (1979) observed that the Rhodesian economy had begun to decline in 1975 due to the initial effects of the world wide recession and of course the war, with the UDI government being 'forced to spend ever-increasing amounts on defence, depressing developmental sectors of funds that could have eased the state of economic depression' (van der Hoffen, 1978 : 269). Today, The Economist (1981 : 15) points out: 'Mr. Robert Mugabe is using all the bricks of war-torn Rhodesia to build Zimbabwe. White farmers, foreign investors, black professionals - all are being slotted into an economy that they feared would be reserved for the freedom-fighters and toiling masses of his earlier

rhetoric'. Moorcraft (1981) sums up the situation when he observes that Zimbabwe is trying desperately to rebuild and re-generate its economy with the first signs of success to be found in the improvement in the tourist industry.

Furthermore, Cross (1980) and the Zimbabwe Report in Africa Confidential (1980) had expressed economic optimism which Graham McKintosh, the Progressive Federal Party MP, on completing a recent visit to Zimbabwe, confirmed as justified. McKintosh (1982 : 28) reported that the economy was in actual fact not doing that badly at all and he blamed other sources for the bleak outlook: 'the whites who have left Zimbabwe have to justify their leaving and paint black pictures. The SABC does its best to show up Zimbabwe in the worst possible light and the other media follow close behind'. In any event, as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia (1979) wrote, the economy had been declining for some time before independence owing to the effects of the war.

Indeed, from personal observations of both pre-independent Rhodesia and independent Zimbabwe, there seems no doubt that tourism had improved dramatically shortly after independence. The photograph below, taken in December 1981, shows tourists at the Makasa Sun Hotel (formerly the Victoria Falls Casino Hotel).



On the other hand, it is possible since the abduction of six foreign tourists on the Bulawayo-Victoria Falls Road, that tourism has started to decline. Further, several contemporary authors, most notably Clay (1982), Cornwell (1980) and Pierce (1982) have observed some measure of decline, although the reasons they cite are the strikes (immediately after independence) and the recent severe drought in Zimbabwe.

The last issue raising some controversy is whether education has declined since April 1980 when white educational privileges were dismantled. According to Murphree (1979 : 121), education is considered paramount to Zimbabwean Whites:

'It is, therefore, hardly surprising that the respondents in our current survey of Whites in Zimbabwe Rhodesia place as a first priority among their concerns the education of their children. Interracial education does not generally worry them. What they are concerned about is the provision of education in a context they conceive to be conducive to the transmission of their cultural heritage'.

UDI authors, such as Lardner-Burke (1966), for example, had written that it was not normal for a whole population to expect high school education and that, in any event, trade schools were more useful to Africans and indeed, as Simson (1979 : 52) pointed out, the pre-independent educational structure reflected this line of thinking with 'the ratio of state expenditure per pupil approximately 12:1 in favour of the Europeans' in 1976.

Naturally this has changed for 'blacks were promised universal education' (Malan, 1980 : 26) prior to and after independence, and indeed as Mugabe (1981 : 43) has himself said: 'within a year of our assumption of power, we have made primary education free and provided room in secondary schools for all children who have completed their primary education'. Not only children of school going age have taken advantage of the opening up of educational facilities, but adults too have capitalised: 'denied education in his youth, the African adult is anxious to catch up. Every college of further education is crammed full; even at night on going past any of these newly mushroomed institutions, one sees heads bent over books in crowded classrooms' (Weiss, 1981a : 9).

Indeed, Ian Smith has expressed much bitterness at 'the new education legislation that dismantles white privileges' (Manning, 1981 : 21).

2. White emigration

Even before Carrington's historic announcement, whites, who had witnessed the dissolution of the Federation and/or experienced sanctions, the articulation of Black resistance, the failure of various peace initiatives and the failure of the Muzorewa government to achieve international recognition and maintain political power, had been leaving Rhodesia in some numbers. Wilkinson (1980 : 117) writes that 'after the resurgence of the guerilla war in 1973 the post-1966 trend of a positive flow of immigrants was reversed'. It is indeed possible, if the figures reported by various authors are accurate, to trace a period of steady immigration gain from the late 50's up until 1972 and thereafter steady losses in the white numbers.



Financial Mail November 3 1978

Brown (1982) saw a steep increase in white population from 80,500 in 1945 to 205,000 in 1958. However, Parker (1960) put the figure in January 1958 at 220,000 with most of them of British or South African stock originally.

Extrapolating from Barber (1967), Kay (1970) and Weinrich (1979), a table can be constructed supportive of Parker's latter assertion.

Table 1    Countries of origin of the white population

<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
Rhodesia	10,1	24,7	29,2	37,7	32,3	35,0	43,3
Republic of South Africa	27,3	34,6	32,6	30,5	28,6	26,2	23,1
United Kingdom	44,4	31,4	29,3	28,8	28,4	28,0	24,4

Stone (1973 : 26) has added that '...British immigrants will be favourably received by the white community as a whole...in so far as they are an addition to the "white laager" and thereby help to strengthen the power of the white minority against the black majority'. Though these observations refer to the South African community, they can arguably be equally applied to Rhodesia.

By 1963, the population had increased, for Gann (1965), to 223,000 and slightly further to 228,292 in 1969, for Murphree (1979). Judith Todd writing in 1972, believed that there were 255,000 whites in Rhodesia

and this figure had increased to about 280,000 in 1976 for Day (1978). However, at this time, emigration figures became more the order of the day than concern over total population figures and Crocker (1977) was quick to point to a nett white emigration of over 7 000 in 1976 and 9 000 in 1977. This increased to approximately 12 000, wrote the Financial Mail in 1978. More recently, Weiss (1980/1 : 17) has asserted that 'the peak of nearly 300 000 in the old 'Federation' days has dropped to below 200 000'.

Table 2 summarises the data presented by the above authors:

Table 2    White population figures for Zimbabwe

Year	Total population
1958	205 000 - 220 000
1961	221 000
1963	223 000
1969	228 292
1971	249 000
1972	255 000
1976	280 000
1979	238 383
Dec/Jan 1980/1981	below 200 000

It is true that not all white Zimbabweans have emigrated - Hodder-Williams calculated between four and five percent in 1982 although his figures are probably an underestimation when compared with Weiss' previous assertions. Furthermore, not all of the emigres have come to South Africa, although many have settled south of the Limpopo. As the Star (Johannesburg, 5th August, 1980) reported: 'according to the Department of Statistics South Africa had 2 365 immigrants in May this year and 1 090 emigrants... The biggest single factor in this year's increase in immigration figures, is the exodus of whites from Zimbabwe'.

### 3. South Africa

The new situational context in which the immigrants now find themselves displays an historical process of white rule and several socio-political structures which, in many places, resemble those of former Rhodesia. The discussion that follows is not meant to provide a detailed analysis of white South African history and the country's socio-political structures. Rather it aims to highlight some of the striking parallels (and relevant differences where these are pertinent) between the two situational contexts of the migrants.

"White" South African history is usually written as beginning in 1652 with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and his party at the Cape in order to establish a refreshment station at which ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company could obtain fresh meat and vegetables but it was not until 1820 that the first historical parallel occurred. In that year, five thousand Britains were selected from a pool of ninety

thousand applicants (Caffrey, 1973) to form part of an emigration scheme to South Africa. It will be recalled, at this juncture, how Rhodes, too, selected his two hundred applicants from a wider pool. British occupation of the Cape in 1795 and thereafter the 1820 settlers spreading their sphere of influence combined with the abolition of slavery and a posited lack of protection from lawless indigenous populations, are some of the cited reasons as to why the early trekkers departed from British rule at the Cape. But what is of greater importance for present purposes is that the trekkers encountered resistance from local Africans early on (as was to happen later to Rhodes' settlers who were faced with Shona and Matabele uprisings in the 1890's):

'The more the Trekkers moved toward the interior, the more frequently they clashed with the Bantu, and for a long time a series of so-called Kaffir wars resulted in a virtual deadlock with regard to the frontier in the Eastern Cape... After several hundred expanding settlers had been killed, Boer rifles finally defeated the Zulu power in 1838 in a major battle at "Blood River" (Adam, 1971 : 25).

With the early battles won, the trekkers were now able to continue what Brookes (1974 : 36) refers to as an 'unashamed acquisitiveness for land' with relatively less fear that events such as the murder of Piet Retief by Dingaan would be repeated too readily. Soon after the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, (in theory somewhat similar to the granting of Responsible government to Rhodesia shortly thereafter in 1923), when the two Boer republics (the Transvaal and the Orange Free State) together with the Cape and Natal were granted independence in the British Commonwealth, the relentless drive to deprive Africans of their land began in earnest. According

to Marquard (1969), in terms of the provisions of the Land Act of 1913, Africans were prohibited from acquiring land other than in specifically designated reserves which for Kane-Berman (1978) consisted of only about seven percent of the country. The provisions of the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 in Rhodesia were markedly similar to the Land Act as indeed were the subsequent updated versions in both countries. Kuper (1974 : 145) for example has observed:

'Settlement implies the expropriation or other acquisition of land from the indigenous population, or at any rate the enclosure of land by the settlers. One thinks immediately of the Southern Rhodesian Land Apportionment Act of 1931, which reserved less than half the colony's land for Africans and declared a roughly equal area open to European settlement; the reduction of African landholdings in South Africa to 12 per cent of the total area, or 13.7 per cent if the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 is fully implemented'.

Furthermore, as Meer and Mlaba (1983) and Hoagland (1972) have noted, in both countries the land that was designated "African" was not good fertile farmland, and relatively small compensation was paid out to those Africans whose land was expropriated and handed over to whites.

These are some of the earlier historical parallels, but of greater contemporary importance would seem to be the socio-political similarities between the two countries. The overarching structural concern in this regard, for Hirsh (1980 : 60), is white minority rule: 'the relevance to South Africa lies in its similar race-power relationship - the white minority in power pursuing political apartheid and resisting the growing non-white demand for full participation in a

common political system'. Slabbert and Welsh (1979) add that both countries have (in the case of South Africa) and had (in former Rhodesia) white minority control not only of the polity but also of the economy with an increasingly hostile black majority demanding to participate in both. This hostility is not limited to urban Africans in South Africa, as Schlemmer (1979) discovered in his survey, a finding of equal applicability to former Rhodesia. Thus, as guerilla operations intensified in Rhodesia from 1973, even though black nationalist movements had been banned, as had the ANC (founded in 1912) and the PAC (founded in 1960) been banned after Sharpeville, so too has guerilla activity increased recently in South Africa as Randall (1983 : 30) has shown:

'Professor M. Hough, director of the Institute of Strategic Studies noted that there were 55 cases of sabotage and assassination of people 'deemed to be traitors in 1981, 19 in 1980, and 12 in 1979. Thirteen suspected ANC members were killed in shoot-outs with police in 1982 compared with five in 1981, he said'.

This noticeable intensification would seem to confirm Tutu's (1978 : 325) warnings that blacks would 'soon reach a stage in South Africa when the victims of our ruthless and unjust laws will say 'to hell with everything - I don't mind what I do because it will be part of my contribution to the struggle for liberation'!

Not only can parallels be sketched between the two countries in terms of black hostility to white rule (manifested in increased guerilla operations) but the underlying philosophical basis of that

rule can be seen, in practice, to be the same. While it is true that the term "apartheid" is arguably esoteric to South Africa, as Hoagland (1972 : 225) contends, separate development was also practised by the Smith government:

'After reaching power in 1964, the settler government of Ian Smith staged a steady retreat from the paternalistic approach of the past and inclined the country towards apartheid. Separate development became an attractive phrase in the course of the 1970 parliamentary elections in Rhodesia'.

Both former Rhodesia and contemporary South Africa have shared what they consider to be the burden of world opinion, hostile to this particular philosophy, which manifested itself in several ways, most notably in the form of sanctions against Rhodesia and a United Nations arms embargo (voluntary from 1963 and mandatory from November 1977) against South Africa. As Streak (1974 : xiii) has said, 'this hostility towards the Afrikaners or, in the case of criticism from abroad, towards the white population as a whole, is nothing new'. Further, both former Rhodesia and South Africa have made extensive use of slogans and diversified propaganda techniques in an attempt to shore up white minority rule and the policy of separate development: 'in recent years SADF leadership has spearheaded articulation of the concept of a "total strategy" for South Africa to meet the twin perils of "Marxist onslaught" from outside and domestic turmoil within' and apropos Rhodesia, Hirsh (1980 : 69) has remarked that he often felt 'that Smith himself was a victim of his own propaganda: not only was he deluding the Rhodesian public, but he was deluding himself'. The anti-Marxist slogans were intensified, Adam (1979) and Slabbert and Welsh (1979) argue, when Mozambique obtained independence, an event which

was perceived to further threaten the security of whites in both countries. The auidial and visual media both south (the SABC) and north (the RBC) of the Limpopo have been exploited to great extent if not effect, and both governments have on occasion expelled "unsympathetic" foreign journalists but more will be said about this dimension in the concluding section of this dissertation. Last, it does seem as if South African whites have more recently been inclining to greater conservatism in the face of the increasing threat to their security. In Rhodesia, Whitehead's proposed constitution which implied that blacks could achieve a majority in the distant future if they increased their incomes and educational qualifications, led directly to the Rhodesian Front's election victory in 1962 on a white supremacist ticket. More recently, in this country, Brotz's (1977 : 4) prediction that '...the really crucial struggle between (to use South African terminology) verligte and verkrampte, is yet to come, that is, within the National Party itself' seems to be edging a little closer to the mark for, as Randall (1983 : 12) has noted:

'Two separate opinion polls undertaken by the Sunday Tribune and Rapport indicated that if a general election were held the CP would win more than 18% of the vote and become the official opposition. Dr. Herman Gilliomee, an academic from the University of Stellenbosch, said the CP's success was due to the fact that it...is mobilising lower-class whites by using the exclusive symbols and rhetoric of Afrikaner nationalism and both the anti-black and anti-capitalist slogans once so effectly utilized by the National Party'.

Obviously it would be both sociologically naïve and dangerous to predict that the Conservative Party, launched in March 1982 with a basic philosophy against the Nationalist Party's reformist policies

which members of the CP believe will lead to the demise of white rule, will attain political power. Nevertheless, whites turning away from reform towards white supremacist parties in both countries in the face of increasing threats to their security, appears to be a parallel development although, proportionately, far more whites followed this particular course in Rhodesia with the process complete by 1970 when the Republican Front won all the seats in the general election of that year.

There are, on the other hand, several differences between the two situational contexts. For example, as mentioned in passing earlier, the white roots in Rhodesia were much shorter as can be clearly seen if the figures for place of birth are compared - 35 percent of white Rhodesians in 1961 were Rhodesian born compared to 89,6 percent South Africans born in 1960 (Horrell, 1973). Thus, many whites emigrated to the United Kingdom or alternatively reassumed residence in their country of birth down south whereas South Africans cannot go to any other country in Africa nor do most of them have an overseas homeland to return to in the face of majority rule. While some English speaking South Africans have retained British citizenship and Jews would be welcome in Israel, the Afrikaner, who for the Barclays Bank report (1971) and Marquard (1969) forms the numerical white majority has no such option. Indeed, the "Afrikaner factor" hardly existed in equivalent form in former Rhodesia, thus arguably providing a greater comparative degree of allegiance to South Africa on the part of at least the Afrikaners, all of whom were born there. As Ferreira (1980 : 182) points out, 'the Afrikaner believes that South Africa

belongs to him. He fought for it in many wars and ultimately gained sovereign independence. It is now his right to rule in his own country the way he sees fit, and no one must interfere'. Notwithstanding his fear that his language might disappear (Gilliomee, 1979) and a considerable 'in-group feeling' (Randall, 1971 : 32) which leads to vigorous defence of his culture, the Afrikaner has been in this country for over three hundred years (far longer than the ninety years of effective white occupation in Rhodesia). Given these factors and a sense of nowhere else to go, the Afrikaner is unlikely readily to relinquish his control over the affairs of this country.

There are several other differences such as South Africa being a legal, sovereign state (the republic was formed on the 31st May 1961) whereas Rhodesia declared UDI in 1965, and a possibly freer press in South Africa as Adam (1971) has argued. The white-black numerical ratios are significantly different with blacks in Rhodesia outnumbering whites by twenty to one with the corresponding ratio for South Africa approximately five to one. Of critical importance, in this regard, moreover, is the state of economy. Adam (1971), Rex (1979) and Slabbert and Welsh (1979) have all commented on the advanced nature of the South African economy in comparison to Rhodesia. In fact, Solomon (1978 : 27) goes so far as to say that the South African economy eclipses the rest of Africa:

'The Republic of South Africa is very different to any other African state. It is a 'developed nation' in respect of its industry, communications, transport, financial and administrative institutions, health facilities, urban development and general infrastructure... The Republic generates and utilises within its own borders as much electric power as is generated and used by all the rest of the countries in the whole continent of Africa taken together'.

In addition, not only is South Africa self-sufficient economically in many respects but often equals and even betters the world in certain aspects, particularly in terms of mineral production as Table 3, reproduced from Chaliand (1982 : 84), demonstrates:

Table 3    South Africa's position in world mineral production  
As a % of Western and world production

Mineral product	West		World	
	Rank	% of production	Rank	% of production
Platinum group metals	1	85	1	47
Gold (metal content)	1	75	1	59
Vanadium (metal content)	1	56	1	47
Chrome ore	1	41	2	27
Manganese ore	1	39	2	22
Kyanite and related minerals	1	35	1	30
Vericulite (crude)	2	44	-	-
Antimony	2	25	3	16
Diamonds (gem and industrial)	2*	22	3*	17
Asbestos (fibre)	2	14	3	8
Uranium	3	14	-	-
Fluorspar	3	9	6	6
Phosphate rock	5	2	7	2
Coal (anthracite and bituminous)	6	4	8	2
Nickel (metal content)	7	4	9	3
Copper (metal content)	9	3	11	3
Iron ore	10	3	12	2
Tin (metal content)	10	2	12	1
Silver (metal primary)	13	1	16	1
Zinc (metal content)	14	3	20	1

\*South Africa is the largest producer of gem diamonds  
Source: Minerals Bureau, Department of Mines, 1977.

Taking this into account, not only would the rest of the world be harmed by sanctions (in particular those African countries that are heavily dependent upon South Africa), but the economic structure of South Africa would seem better equipped to cope than Rhodesia even if they were introduced.

In short, while there might be noticeable differences between the two situational contexts, in a sense these distinctions paradoxically serve to help realise the goal of white supremacy (the major similarity) desired by most whites in former Rhodesia. Arguably, the overall context remains the same and migrants have simply maintained their status by emigrating from one land where whites previously ruled to a second where they are presently in control (thus far...).

## CHAPTER TWO

### METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGY

#### 1. Multiple operationism

The overarching frame of reference for the methodological strategy employed by this study is provided by Denzin (1970 : 471) although his concept of triangulation has been extensively modified to suit the exigencies of this particular research project:

'Some years ago Martin Trow suggested that sociologists should be done with their arguments defending one method over another, "Comment on Participant Observation and Interviewing : A Comparison"... No single method is always superior. Each has its own special strengths and weaknesses. It is time for sociologists to recognize this fact and to move on to a position that permits them to approach their problems with all relevant and appropriate methods to the strategy of methodological triangulation'.

Usually triangulation, as a conceptual framework, is used to compare data collected by different research techniques such as questionnaire measuring instruments, interviewing strategies, participant observation. Thus, by way of example, data collected from questionnaires may be enriched by more qualitative techniques. As Silverman (1972 : 9) has asserted, questionnaire methods 'avoid the rich experience of the participants (talk, gesture, intonation), or as Turner (1974 : 197) puts it, 'a science of society that fails to treat speech as both topic and resource is doomed to failure. And

yet, although speech informs the daily world and is the sociologist's basic resource, its properties continue to go almost unexamined'. This does not, however, in my opinion, mean that measuring instruments in the form of questionnaires are totally devoid of value. Formal techniques remain useful in social research especially where problems of geographical dispersions present themselves or for gathering large scale demographic material as Babbie (1975 : 276) believes: '...surveys are particularly useful in describing the characteristics of a large population...a standardized questionnaire offers the possibility of making refined descriptive assertions about a student body, the city, a nation, or other large populations'. Thus questionnaires have esoteric merit but what is implied, on the other hand, is that such data, standing on its own, is insufficient depth-wise.

Questionnaires were administered in this study but, with their limitations noted, formed only a part of the investigation and, indeed, various other research techniques were used for gathering the data.

Thus, overall, multiple methods were utilized for data collection, conforming on one level, therefore, to Denzin's plea to sociologists to triangulate their techniques.

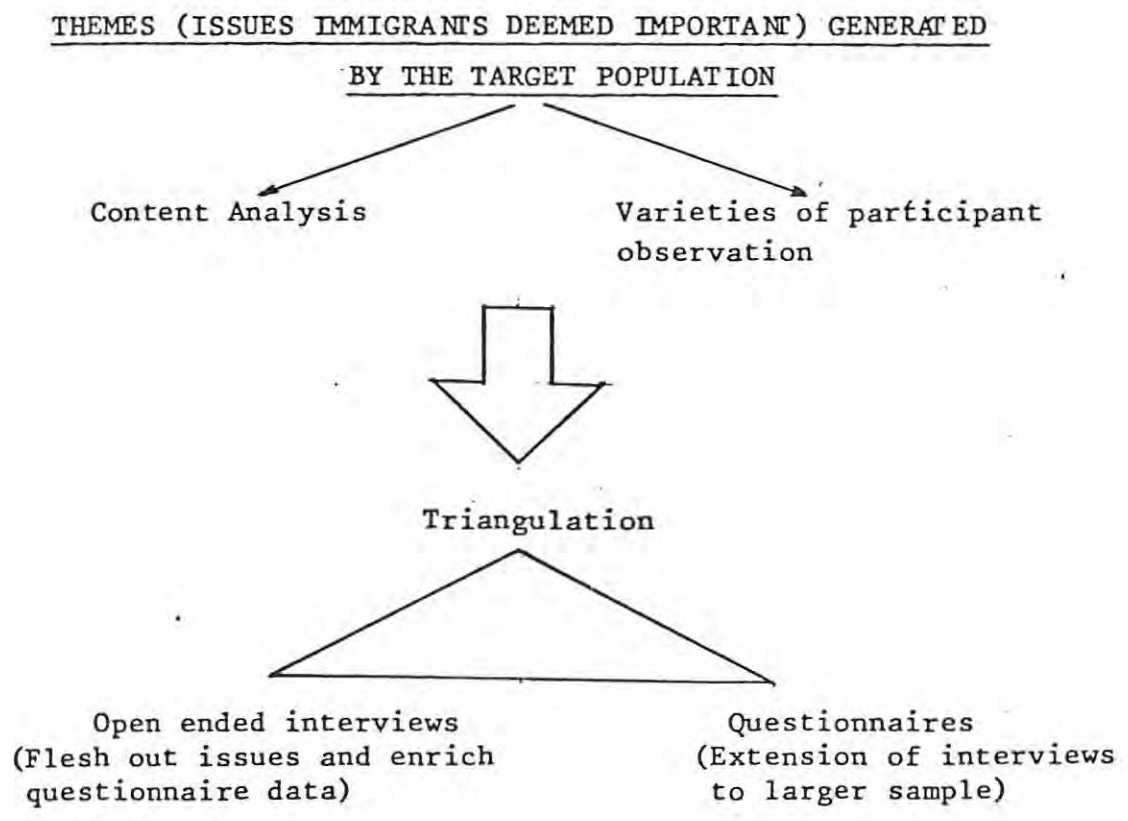
However, bearing in mind that this is a specific study, Denzin's notions were modified to some extent.

In this regard, respondents were allowed to generate the concepts for more formalised research purposes through the use of content analysis and varieties of participant observation (once more these strategies

were modified to suit the needs of this particular project as will be shown later). After these were generated, they were expanded through the use of informal interviews which, at the same time, served to enrich the questionnaire data, and last, questionnaires were administered to a larger body of ex-Zimbabwean whites now residing in South Africa.

While this method is similar to triangulation, the term multiple operationism could be substituted at this stage for in reality this strategy is, practically, quadrangulation, and, furthermore, it moves beyond merely comparing data across methods, which is what Denzin, for the most part, had in mind.

The methodological strategy for this research is summarised diagrammatically below:



Each of these strategies, in turn, merits some discussion.

2. Generating the issues that ex-Zimbabweans considered important

(i) Content analysis of readers' views

Content analysis may be defined as the systematic quantification of certain characteristics the investigator may be interested in, in terms of their frequency of occurrence within a selected context: 'Quantitative content analysis as we here define it is concerned with the frequency of occurrence of given characteristics...' (Pool, 1959 : 9).

Furthermore, for Crano and Brewer (1973 : 197), the content analyst '...is concerned with the particular content of a message, and the particular manner in which this content is expressed'.

In this connection, Pool (1959 : 27) adds: 'In order to interpret the precise meaning intended by the speaker in any individual instance he' (the content analyst) 'takes into account the purpose or objective which the specific communication is designed to achieve'. Further, the content analyst should consider 'the situational context of the communication...who is speaking, to whom, and under what circumstances' (Pool, 1959 : 27).

Finally, the analyst also takes into account the time and place of the communication and the relevant related events preceding or accompanying it.

What should be noted at once is that content analysis is a technique employed for *hypotheses generation* and not for testing: 'as was stated earlier, content analysis is a superb technique for the generation and enrichment of research hypotheses. The utility of this method in hypotheses - testing situations, conversely, is extremely limited' (Crano and Brewer, 1973 : 219).

In point of fact, for the purposes of this study, content analysis was used, together with varieties of participant observation, to *generate themes*, rather than hypotheses, for these were then later refined through the use of informal interviews and then constructed into formulated hypotheses, tested finally by means of administered questionnaires.

The last point to be considered concerning content analysis is the particular *uses* to which this research method can be put. Berelson (in Lindzey, 1959 : 490-503), says it may be used 'to describe trends in communication content...to trace the development of scholarship...to disclose international differences in communication content...to expose propaganda techniques...to get at the spirit of the age'.

Of these, it would seem that 'the spirit of the age' and 'trends in communication content' are, in the main, what content analysts hope to disclose. However, once again, these notions were modified to suit the needs of the present study. In this regard, the views of ex-Zimbabweans, as expressed in readers' views to all English and Afrikaans newspapers in South Africa since independence in April 1980 and for the succeeding year, were analysed, to determine frequency of occurrence of selected words or themes, but not to get at the spirit of the age.

Rather, these letters were subjected to content analysis for the purposes of ascertaining recurrent themes which were translatable into concepts and refined by formally interviewing a sample of immigrants.

To supplement this technique, that is, in terms of concept generation, a variety of participant observation techniques were employed. Some attention is directed to these below:

(ii) Participant observation strategies

Participant observation may be defined as a methodological research technique whereby the sociological investigator joins the group he wishes to study and shares in their day to day experiences and activities through genuine, face-to-face interaction.

Thus for Moser and Kalton (1973 : 245) 'the participant observer shares in the life and activities of the community'.

And for Crano and Brewer (1973 : 137), 'the term participant observation then, broadly describes the general research process in which an observer, accepted as a legitimate member of a group, uses this privileged status to gather information about the group'.

It should be noted at this stage that in the method of participant observation, guiding hypotheses are usually unavailable (although the problem selection and theoretical framework do serve as guidelines for the research) and that therefore this brand of research is often labelled as exploratory in that concepts emerge during the course of the study.

For Becker in Crano and Brewer (1973 : 142), 'Sociologists...assume that they do not know enough about the organization a priori to identify relevant problems and hypotheses and that they must discover these in the course of the research'.

Gold, in Denzin (1970 : 370) has observed that participant observation can also be internally triangulated by employing four possibilities:

'Buford Junker has suggested four theoretically possible roles for sociologists conducting field work. These range from the complete participant at one extreme to the complete observer at the other. Between these, but nearer the former, is the participant-as-observer; nearer the latter is the observer-as-participant'.

(a) Complete participation

Here, the sociologist's role as researcher is totally concealed from the group he or she wishes to study and therefore role-pretence is obviously necessary.

On this basis, various informal contacts were established with ex-Zimbabweans and their views qualitatively recorded. At no stage did the investigator direct the proceedings although perfunctory conversation openers were used.

(b) Participant-as-observer

This technique refers to instances where the social scientist makes use of selected informants from among the group being studied. Thus only the informant or informants are aware of the sociologist's role as researcher.

For this project the aid of a Zimbabwean student presently studying sociology at Wits University was enlisted, her task being to conduct some of this

type of research among those immigrants with whom she had close contact.

(c) Observer-as-participant

This is, in fact, merely a glorified term for interviewing and, as such, will be discussed in more detail later.

(d) Complete-observation

As opposed to complete participation, not only is the observer's purpose concealed but he (or she) remains hidden himself. Where more formalised organisations and/or corporations were openly 'Rhodesian', heraldic observations were recorded.

In a sense then, this investigation makes use of "internal triangulation" (also suggested by Denzin) in that it employed a within method variation.

3. The open-ended interviews and the questionnaires

*Ideally*, the interviews would have been conducted among, and the questionnaires administered to, a representative sample of immigrants selected randomly:

'How then is a sample properly chosen? What is necessary to ensure that it is truly representative of the larger population from which it is drawn? The essential condition that must be satisfied is that the individual items are selected in a random manner' (Connolly and Sluckin, 1971 : 91-92).

Initial attempts were made to obtain a complete frame of all immigrants living in South Africa from the Department of the Interior. A letter was forwarded to the Director-General on the 22nd February, 1982, (see Appendix B). However, after subsequent representation, including the assistance of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), no list had been obtained by July 1982 and it seemed unlikely that the Department would release it. Thus an alternative became necessary and a specific 'sociological frame of reference' (Rex 1961 : 27) was selected. It was anticipated that Zimbabwean students at the University of the Witwatersrand would hold views different from members of Rhodesian clubs and contact associations, and to add further variation, a geographically scattered "snowball" sample of respondents was also included in the investigation.

Hence interviews were conducted with, and questionnaires sent to, immigrants studying at Wits University, others who had enrolled as members of various Rhodesian clubs, and to a third group whose names and addresses were obtained in a snowballing manner. Snowball sampling, as Bailey (1978 : 83) has defined it, is conducted in stages: 'In the first stage

a few persons having the requisite characteristics are identified and interviewed. These persons are used as informants to identify others who qualify for inclusion in the sample. The second stage involves interviewing these persons, who in turn lead to still more persons who can be interviewed in the third stage, and so on. The term "snowball" stems from the analogy of a snowball, which begins small but becomes bigger and bigger as it rolls downhill'.

Fortuitously, a small fourth sample was also obtained from a list printed in a recent Government Gazette publication.

Denzin (1970) notes that three types of interviews (distinguished by the amount of structuring given to each) are available to the research investigator.

- (i) The first he refers to as the '*standardized schedule interview*'. In this type of highly structured interview, the same schedule, that is, with identical questions is administered to each and every respondent in the sample.
- (ii) The second is the '*non-standardized schedule interview*' which approximates closely the so-called "focussed interview" in that questions are rephrased and reconsidered for each respondent.

(iii) The third type is the '*non-standardized non-scheduled interview*' where 'no prespecified set of questions is employed nor are questions asked in a specified order' (Denzin, 1970 : 126). In fact there is no real question schedule employed in this case. The interviewer simply probes certain areas raising and testing specific concepts in the course of the interview. This is obviously the least structured of the three.

For the purposes of this study, a modified version of the non-standardized non-scheduled interview was deemed the most suitable for refining the concepts generated by the content analysis and participant observation strategies and enriching the more formalised questionnaire data. The interview consisted of a few closed-ended demographic questions at the beginning, followed by open ended questions relating to the generated themes (see Appendix C).

The questionnaire (see Appendix D) was *pre-tested* among a sample of Wits students from Zimbabwe as this was the only population for which a sampling frame (document from which a sample is drawn', Stacey (1969 : 90)) had been obtained during this stage of the research.

Systematic random sampling was the procedure employed for the pre-test sample.

The skip interval was calculated according to the formula:

$$\text{S.I.} = \frac{N}{S}$$

where S.I. = Skip interval

N = Number in total population (320)

S = desired sample size (50)

$$\text{So S.I.} = \frac{320}{50}$$

$$= 6,4$$

$$= 6 \text{ (rounded)}$$

The numbers 1 - 6 were then put into a box and number 3 drawn out as the starting point.

Questionnaires were then mailed, together with covering letters and reply-paid envelopes, to the 50 students whose names on the sampling frame corresponded to the numbers 3, 9, 15, 21, 27, 33 ...

The pre-test indicated that the format of the questionnaire appeared adequate and also that individual questions seemed free from ambiguity.

A response rate of approximately 50% could be anticipated, although it was observed that some students with residence addresses on the sampling frame stated that they would be returning to Zimbabwe on completion of their studies.

(a) The student sample

Obviously students are never ideal research subjects (subject to the exigencies of a specific research problem) although Crano and Brewer (1973 : 51) believe that 'consistent with the general orientation of Campbell and Stanley (1963), we would argue that the development of a psychology of the college sophomore (or any other esoteric group) is better than no psychology at all'.

The Data Processing Unit at Wits University readily provided the sampling frame, although the IBM 370 computer could not satisfactorily verify whether the 320 computer generated names were indeed immigrants or whether they would return to Zimbabwe on completion of their studies. Nonetheless, in keeping with the strategy of multiple operationism underpinning this research, it was decided to vary the sampling procedure at this point and so a random sample was drawn from this frame using Roscoe's (1969 : 286-287) table of random numbers (see Appendix E). To obtain the starting point, the numbers 1 - 50 (the total amount of rows in the table) were placed in a hat and the number 44 selected. This procedure was repeated for the numbers 1 - 32 (the number of columns) and the number 11 was chosen.

The intersection of 44 and 11 became the starting point coupled with the two succeeding columns making for three columns altogether, as there were 320 students in the frame. Moving down the columns, where numbers coincided to student names, these subjects were telephoned to ascertain if indeed they were at least fairly certain that they would settle permanently in South Africa, and if so, were subsequently interviewed on the themes generated by the informal procedures. If not, such names were simply discarded and the next selection made.

Fourteen students were interviewed<sup>(1)</sup> in this way. To add some variety and balance to these students' attitudes, a further seven members of the academic and administrative staff were interviewed but the strategy here was a snowballing non-random sample.

*Advanced notices* (see Appendix F) informing the one hundred and fifty eight potential respondents not staying in residences that questionnaires could be expected were mailed, followed three days later by the slightly revised (from the pre-test) *questionnaires* together with the stamped reply envelopes, for stamps on reply envelopes according to Moser and Kalton (1973 : 265)

- 
1. A few additional demographic questions were inserted in the beginning of the interview schedule after the first few subjects were interviewed.

are better than franked envelopes as the 'respondent may feel that the stamp represents money which he cannot easily throw away, yet it would be dishonest for him to steam it off and anyway it would not be worth the trouble; his way out of the quandry is to complete the questionnaire and send it back'.

A further three days after the mailing of the questionnaire, *universal reminders* (see Appendix G) were also posted, for as Babbie (1975 : 264) points out:

'The methodological literature on follow-up mailings strongly suggests this is an effective method for increasing return rates in mail surveys. In general the longer a potential respondent delays replying, the less likely he is to do so at all. Properly timed follow-up mailings, then, provide additional stimuli for responding'.

(b) Members of Rhodesian clubs and contact organisations

Two major problems were experienced concerning the "counterwise" sample, that is, members of the Rhodesian clubs. First, the nearby club at Halfway House had closed down some months prior to the period of field work, owing to financial difficulties and had subsequently been subsumed by Spangles Restaurant offering extras such as lunchtime 'cabarets' at least in its Johannesburg town branch - but which now extended its operations to the Halfway House premises. Second, although the owner of

Spangles had noted a list of two hundred and fifty paid up 'ex Rhodies' among the Spangles membership, he refused to allow access to these when approached. (This was despite the fact that my father was the original architect of the building and as such had obtained a recommendation from the overall property owner on my behalf). The reason the owner provided was that the confidentiality of the 'ex-Rhodies' would never be breached by him.

He did say, however, that I was welcome to interview any subjects present but that it was not his problem if I 'got a bop on the head from an ex-Rhodie'.

Indeed, he tried to induce some people to talk to me but none seemed to be interested and when I asked him whether he could explain the lack of interest on the part of the 'ex-Rhodies', he said: 'Already five or six people have come along trying to talk to Rhodesians - actually five came just after the Seychelles business and what the bloody hell do we know about that?'. He then said I was welcome to come back at anytime and try my luck.

A random sample was now out of the question but I was informed that a club member who was a personal contact, would be willing to grant an interview which subsequently took place and he provided a further five people who were telephoned and also interviewed.

A further attempt was made to visit Spangles and this time the management agreed to allow a young ex-Zimbabwean female student to interview some of the membership and she managed to obtain a further fifteen interviews in this way.

Therefore, twenty one members of the club were interviewed, but obviously not as randomly selected elements from a sample frame which had proved impossible to obtain.

Technically, this is a *non-probability sample*, its only "advantage" being an 'assurance that certain strata of the population will be included in the sample' (Williamson *et al.*, 1977 : 111).

With regard to the administration of questionnaires to members of clubs and contact organisations, after the report below appeared in the Sunday Times (Life Style section) on the 11th July, 1982, Mr. Johnny Costello was contacted and visited in Springs.

# Miss Rhodesia title up for grabs in S Africa

THE Miss Rhodesia contest is to be revived as part of a drive to raise funds for a refuge for war victims.

"I know a lot of beautiful girls who could give Miss South Africa a run for her money!" said Johnny Costello, East Rand spokesman for the Rhodesia Association of South Africa (RASA).

Funds are needed urgently to start work on a home for displaced children and the handicapped on a farm near Bloemfontein.

Former Rhodesians living in South Africa have joined forces with the SA Legion to establish the Rhodesia Memorial Farm on a 142ha site.

Eighteen months ago, an elderly Irishman, who settled in the Free State, donated the land to ex-Rhodesians.

The only stipulation he made was that the gift would remain anonymous.

The Rhodesia Memorial Farm project has just been registered as a charity and is ready to get off the ground — but too late for the donor to see the results. He died in April.

By CAS St LEGER

The original project was ambitious. R4,5-million would have been needed for a rehabilitation centre, a children's home and a Rhodesiana museum.

It was agreed that the project should be started in a more modest way, with about R100 000 sufficient for the early stages.

The Welkom branch (one of the 18 Rhodesia Clubs countrywide) has been put in charge of developing and running the R200 000 farm.

Welkom convener Danie Botha said that the SA Legion had agreed to act as trustees and main fund raiser. A letter had been sent to the surgeon general of the South African Defence Force, and the initial indication is that the Army will welcome and

support the farm.

There have also been numerous offers of help from the SA Legion, the Red Cross and the Moths.

Johnny Costello, who devotes every minute he can to getting the project launched, is now calling on ex-Rhodesians and South Africans to come forward and help.

● Johnny Costello can be contacted on 011-569203; Danie Botha on 017-22281.



Mr. Costello's flat (which is in actual fact the East Rand Rhodesian Club) contained all the usual paraphenalia of an 'ardent Rhodie', such as army uniforms, regimental badges, pistols and rifles (including an AK47) on the walls, as well as life size Republic of South Africa and UDI flags.



Fortunately, Mr. Costello agreed to provide me with his private notebook of sixty two names and addresses after perusing and completing a sample questionnaire which he said tackled all the important issues. He suggested further that the term "Zimbabwe" be deleted from the top of the questionnaire as 'you could only be Zimbabwean and living here if you were two years old'.

Further, when the article on the following page appeared in The Star in July, 1982, Mr. Mack was contacted and he also provided names and addresses of immigrants and, following the same administrative procedure described above, questionnaires were mailed to them.

## Help for former Rhodesians

Expatriate Rhodesians have started up a Rhodesian Aid Society to help out-of-work and penniless exiles to South Africa.

The chairman of the society, Mr D Mack, said he had found cases of Rhodesians coming to South Africa penniless because of the political situation in Zimbabwe.

The society would put up notices at the South Africa-Zimbabwe border to alert those who needed its services, Mr Mack said.

"We try to get people jobs, temporary accommodation and even furniture," he said.

He said the society had applied for a licence to operate as a charity.

Mr Mack can be contacted at 752-4915 (evenings only).

Of interest, Mr. Mack who lives in his own house in Krugersdorp, claimed to have been a Selous scout who had seen action in Botswana, as well as having been involved in several contacts in then Rhodesia, where a party of scouts had 'taken out a few terts including Robert Mugabe's cousin'. He also had numerous long knives displayed on his passage wall which he 'took away from the terts' and he said further that he had come under fire from Zimbabwean troops while crossing the no mans land over Beit Bridge, this was because

of the 'Botswana story', and hence he felt that he would most certainly no longer be welcome in Zimbabwe.

I also wrote to Mrs. D. Wright, Secretary of the "Rhodesian Contact Organisation" in Durban, and although she completed and returned the questionnaire, she did not provide any further names and addresses of members of that organisation. However, Mr. Danie Botha, head of the "Rhodesian Association of South Africa" in Welkom, who had suggested that Mrs. Wright be contacted, provided a list of members of his association.

Altogether, ninety two advance notices, green coloured questionnaires and reminders were mailed to "membership".

(c) The snowball sample

By employing a snowballing strategy, eight immigrants were interviewed in the Eastern Transvaal (Sabie, White River and Nelspruit) in order to provide some small rural variations to the "sample" and to provide some additional variety. Five immigrants now residing in Natal were interviewed in similar fashion at Durban.

Following the administrative procedure described earlier, two hundred and twelve people whose names and addresses were provided in snowballing fashion, received white coloured questionnaires.

(d) The Government Gazette sample

The *fourth and final sample* evolved when the following article appeared in the Sunday Times business section on Sunday, September 19, 1982.

## SA, here we come

By Elizabeth Rouse

IN ONE of the longest lists of South African citizenship granted to foreigners, Zimbabweans made up the overwhelming majority.

Government Gazette No 8381, dated September 10, consists of 12 full pages of certificates of naturalisation and certificates of resumption of South African citizenship granted during the period April 1 1982, to June 30 1982.

Using the latest Johannesburg, West Rand, East Rand, Cape Town, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Natal South Coast telephone directories, where surnames and two initials corresponded, one hundred and eleven potential respondents were obtained, but with no guarantee that these were indeed the "correct" subjects. A different advance letter (see Appendix H) was mailed followed by pink coloured questionnaires and reminders.

#### 4. Analysis of data

The early data obtained from the content analysis procedure and the various participant observation strategies were analysed qualitatively as were the responses to questions obtained in the interviews.

For the questionnaires, responses were assessed quantitatively. Simple frequency distributions were useful but where pertinent variables were selectively related, the Chi square test of independence was employed to measure the strengths of these relationships and factor analysis was used to analyse the Likert scales in Q.17.

*To summarize*, this study employed a methodological approach of multiple operationism whereby a number of research techniques were used to collect the data. This procedure cannot be termed conventional triangulation as, in this investigation, the research methods enabled the target population itself to generate the research issues, i.e. no categories were imposed upon the respondents from the outset, something that neither Trow nor Denzin put forward in their elaboration of the triangulation concept.

Firstly, the issues/themes that the immigrants deemed were important, were teased out by using two informal methods:

- (i) content analysis of all letters written by ex-Zimbabweans to all South African English and Afrikaans newspapers in the year succeeding Zimbabwe's independence.
  
- (ii) three participant observation strategies - modified complete participant observation, participant-as-observer, with the use of an informant, and complete observation of businesses which presented themselves in South Africa as "Rhodesian" and an SABC television programme about the immigrants in their new situational context.

Secondly, the issues that were repeated by respondents in their letters to the press and which emerged from the participant observation techniques were refined by depth interviews with fourteen students and seven staff at the University of the Witwatersrand; twenty one members of the Rhodesian Club near Halfway House; and eight in the Eastern Transvaal (Sabie, Nelspruit and White River) and a further five in Natal whose names and addresses were supplied in a snowballing manner. The interview schedule consisted of open-ended questions constructed around the themes that emerged from the content analysis and participant observation procedures as well as a final open-ended "safety valve" question at the end

designed to cope with any additional material and not covered in the generated issues. Besides literally providing material for the construction of the questionnaire, in terms of more conventional triangulation, the interviews also served to enrich the questionnaire data which was obtained from extended samples of forty three members of Rhodesian clubs and contact associations (in Springs, the West Rand, Welkom, Cape Town and Durban), one hundred and ten snowball subjects and seventy nine students. Thirteen naturalised citizens, whose names were published in a recent edition of the Government Gazette, also returned questionnaires mailed to them. The questionnaire had been pre-tested among a systematic random sample of student immigrants and the administrative procedure was to mail advance notices to the four groups of respondents informing them that they would shortly receive questionnaires in the post. These questionnaires were then followed by timely reminders.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### ISSUES THAT ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS GENERATED AS IMPORTANT

Two research techniques were used in order to allow the target population to state what they considered important with regard to their two situational contexts. First, by content analysing letters to the press written by immigrants, themes which repeatedly occurred in the letters, were noted for further research. Second, by sketching portraits of informants in the participant observation dimension of this study, themes for further research emerged from the portraits, and again these were selected on the basis of occurrence.

##### 1. Themes generated by the content analysis procedure

Letters written by immigrants, that were published in readers' views sections in South African English and Afrikaans newspapers were content analysed with a view to generating concepts for inclusion in the interview and questionnaire strategies. These letters were obtained from the Institute for Contemporary History, University of the Orange Free State.

The time period was from independence in April 1980 to April 1981, that is, for the year succeeding the formation of the state of Zimbabwe.

Editorial policy concerning these letters was spelled out by the journalists at The Star and The Rand Daily Mail, where most of the letters were published:

(i) Letters to the Editor - The Star

Readers' Views Editor at time of independence of Zimbabwe and thereafter - Mr. Geoff Clarke

Recent appointment as Readers' Views Editor - Mr. Jack Dewes

Mr. G. Clarke

'No editorial policy whatsoever was applied to ex-Rhodies' letters other than what we apply to any other letter, that is:

They had to be newsworthy, nothing offensive and libellous should be written and letters should generally conform to the bounds of good taste. There were only one or two that were not in good taste and we eliminated merely paragraphs from a further one or two letters that were very much against the Zimbabwean government'.

Mr. J. Dewes

'We have no particular policy other than that of decency and as with all letters we treat those from ex-Rhodies purely on merit. There have been very few of late and I would censor those that go too far, for example, racism and hatred of Afrikaners where such sentiments are expressed. Other than that we like to get across the views of these people'.

(ii) Letters to the Editor - Rand Daily Mail

Readers' Views Editor - Mr. Wessels

'We don't have any particular policy, except of course we don't publish libel and writers mustn't offend other race groups. Letters must be properly signed and addressed and if we have doubts we check on the authenticity.

I prune down - for example five page letters - to their salient points. I can't remember not publishing any letters by ex Rhodesians, except for one written by a bloke in Salisbury. Either this chap was very brave or else a bloody fool because he'd provided a name and address. We checked this out and it turned out to be false, that is, it wasn't a genuine letter.

A couple of letters that, for example, state 'the Kaffirs must rot in hell' - these are usually very short letters - but these we simply chucked out. Otherwise no restrictions are applied'.

In some cases it was impossible to distinguish whether letters expressing views on the situation, were written by ex-Zimbabweans or South African citizens. Here every effort was made to interpolate from letters where such authorship was in question, the actual status of the writer and, thus, in so far as was ascertainable, only those written by Zimbabwean whites now living in South Africa have been included in the discussion that follows. The strategy employed was to read through all the letters and delineate the themes that appeared to occur on a reasonably regular basis.

The most regular theme which readers seem to have written about is that *Zimbabwe is now in the hands of Communists/*

*Marxists* even after all that whites did there to uphold the values of Western democracy. This may be a consequence of a prevailing ideology at the time of white rule in then Rhodesia and many authors have stressed this point. For example, Chesterton, in 1973 believed that as the Communists now controlled Africa as far south as the Zambezi, it was necessary to initiate some sort of propaganda campaign against Marxism which would be directed at both citizens and tourists. O'Meara (1975 : 69) notes that in actual fact 'the RF believed that it was taking a necessary stand against world communism'.

Alternatively, black nationalists were never convinced by the argument believing that this was merely an ideological smokescreen to maintain white minority rule: 'Some white settler politicians here accuse us of being adherents of Communism, and so the Rhodesian Front Government can have the impunity to say that in fighting the African nationalists, they are fighting Communism. What hypocrisy! They cry Communism to uphold white supremacy' (Sithole, 1979 : 81). Or as Bomani (1976 : 351), the Tanzanian ambassador to the United States put it: 'We are not Communists; we are nationalists desiring freedom'.

Despite the conciliatory tones of Mugabe's post-election statements when he announced that the '...economic structure is based on capitalism and that whatever we have must build on that... We are not going to interfere with private property,

whether it be farms or whether it be the mining sector' (Brayton, 1980 : 11); and as To The Point (August 22, 1980) noted, despite the investments in Zimbabwe of many expatriate companies such as the British owned Rio-Tinto, immigrants now living in South Africa are not convinced. Even though Gregory (1980 : 187) believes that 'the white community was reassured by the conciliatory tone of Mugabe's broadcast on the evening of his party's victory', the numerous letters, content analysed, would seem to indicate that ex-Zimbabweans feel that the "communist bogeyman" is very much the order of the day in Zimbabwe.

A few examples should illustrate this point:

A. Harvey in a letter to 'The Star' (26 May, 1980)

wrote:

'One wonders what all the noise and flap is about over Afghanistan being taken over by the Russian communists when the same thing happened in Rhodesia with a communist, Mr. Mugabe, coming into power...

White Rhodesians were forced into a Marxist takeover'.

J. Helberg writing to 'The Citizen' on the 23rd July, 1980, said:

'I recently left that wonderful country Rhodesia, now called Zimbabwe, and am very happily settled in Harrismith. I wish to inform South Africans that the Whites of the former Rhodesia, or most of them, would rather have carried on with the war than to have handed our country over to the Marxists'.

'Part Time Servicemen' in a letter to 'The Argus' (16th April 1980):

'As were thousands of others, I was engaged actively over the past eight years fighting against the terrorists in Rhodesia... Considering the years Rhodesia has spent fighting communism behind the cloak of black nationalism, I have been amazed during my few days in South Africa to learn how little the average white in this country realises or understands the fullest implications of black majority rule'.

The second theme to invoke considerable attention from writers to the press was the idea that the *blame for whites no longer controlling power in Zimbabwe can be laid at Britain's door*. This notion prevailed long before independence as many authors have pointed out, with Britain seemingly the scapegoat or whipping horse both before and after independence:

'In a speech in Parliament in June, 1973, Mr. Smith conceded that Rhodesians had to find their own solutions to the constitutional problem, saying that Britain should get off our backs and let us get on with the job' (Chambati, 1974 : 9).

Just prior to independence, Barber (1980 : 81) observed that 'many South African whites share Smith's views - that communism has spread throughout Africa because colonial powers, like Britain, were not prepared to stand and fight

for Western interests against the revolutionaries'. And even more recently, Van der Wateren (1982) has written that Britain was quite happy to use her full military might in dealing with the Falklands Islands issue, but not so when it came to Rhodesia.

Thus, after Rhodesia became Zimbabwe, those whites who settled in South Africa seem to have continued thinking along the lines that betrayal by Britain led to the demise of white rule in Zimbabwe. Once again examples are provided to illustrate the point:

'Not Proud' remarked in 'The Citizen' on May 26, 1980:

'I suggest Britain and America are to blame for the present state of the world... Today I am ashamed of my heritage, my grandparents having come from Britain. My disgust is such that I would rather walk than fly British Airways - and I might drink Scotch again if Scotland should ever gain its independence from England'.

'Hold Steadfast' (Natal Mercury, 2 October, 1980) wrote:

'As Bishop Paul Burrough of Mashonaland pointed out in a letter to The Times of London, the Rhodesian blacks had decided like the British election organisers, to obtain 'peace at any price'. 'In effect', he wrote, 'the country was handed to those trying to take it by force, who had made it abundantly clear that murder and destruction would continue unless this was done'.

'Rhodesian Rebel' (The Star, 24 April, 1980):

'I noted with great interest the picture of Prince Charles (The Star, April 17), seeming very upset after receiving a book of condolences from the pupils of the Louis Mountbatten School. He and the British nation were extremely upset by the cold-blooded murder of Lord Mountbatten. Yet he handed over Rhodesia, through the power vested by the British (democratic) Government, to a cold-blooded terrorist leader responsible for the death of untold thousands'.

More muted was a related concept to the above, namely, that *South Africa was to blame for the end of white supremacy.*

This kind of remark was often heard on personal travels in then Rhodesia, but immigrants are often hesitant to voice this opinion in South Africa. Nevertheless such ideas have been expressed in readers' columns and probably also relate to the belief prior to independence, that South Africa would support Smith's government to the bitter end: 'In the meantime, that remarkable air of unreality seems still to pervade Salisbury based on the apparent confidence that at the end of the day, South Africa and even Britain and the United States will not permit the bastion of Christian western civilization to be overrun' (Good, 1976 : 37).

Furthermore, in spite of South Africa's physical assistance of the Rhodesian security forces by deploying police units along the Zambian border at one stage, and although South Africa helped the country survive under sanctions, there

seemed to be some under-current of thinking that South Africa turned the screws on white rule. Obviously, these ideas are kept more concealed than attacks on Britain and hence would probably make for an interesting test variable.

Nonetheless, some writers did express themselves in letters to the press.

J.R.A. Milligan - 'The Star' (26 September, 1980):

'True South Africa (and I am talking of the government) gave us assistance in the form of petrol, weapons, etc., but only when it suited them and let me remind him, we paid for it... these things were withheld every time it suited them to force us to negotiate. They forced us into the majority rule that they are not prepared to accept. Rhodesians owe the South Africans nothing. They paid for it!'

Lawreen Dix, also in a letter to 'The Star' (February 11th, 1981) remarked:

'I refer to the letter "The attitude of 'refugee' students" (The Star, February 3) and ask what proof has the writer "South Africans First" that South African taxpayers subsidised Rhodesia in its latter days? Did he consult the Department of Taxes, I wonder? It sounds crazy to me. We all know South Africa assisted Rhodesia, but most people are unaware of the fact that Rhodesia paid for everything. Nothing was granted freely. The Nationalist Government does not believe in handouts'.

Perhaps these two themes that Britain and South Africa are to blame could be combined into one concept, namely 'betrayal

by foreign powers' for purposes of investigation in the interviews.

The third recurrent theme emerging from the letters is to do with *finance* and also has two perspectives. The first is that the *economic situation is now deteriorating in independent Zimbabwe* and the second is that *whites now living in South Africa are experiencing financial difficulty*.

With regard to the second perspective, the finance concept, Curtin and Murray writing in 1967 observed that Rhodesian whites on average earned about twenty five percent more than their South African counterparts. In 1973, Good observed that 'white Rhodesians enjoy one of the highest living standards in the world, higher even than white South Africans' (1973 : 24). Since a family emigrating to South Africa was allowed only 1 000 R\$ in 1978 and even less today, there is little wonder that immigrants are suffering financially. Certainly their living standards, for the most part, will have dropped substantially, at least when compared to times prior to emigration. A number of ex-Zimbabwean whites have commented on this and the example below is from 'The Natal Mercury' (19 June, 1980):

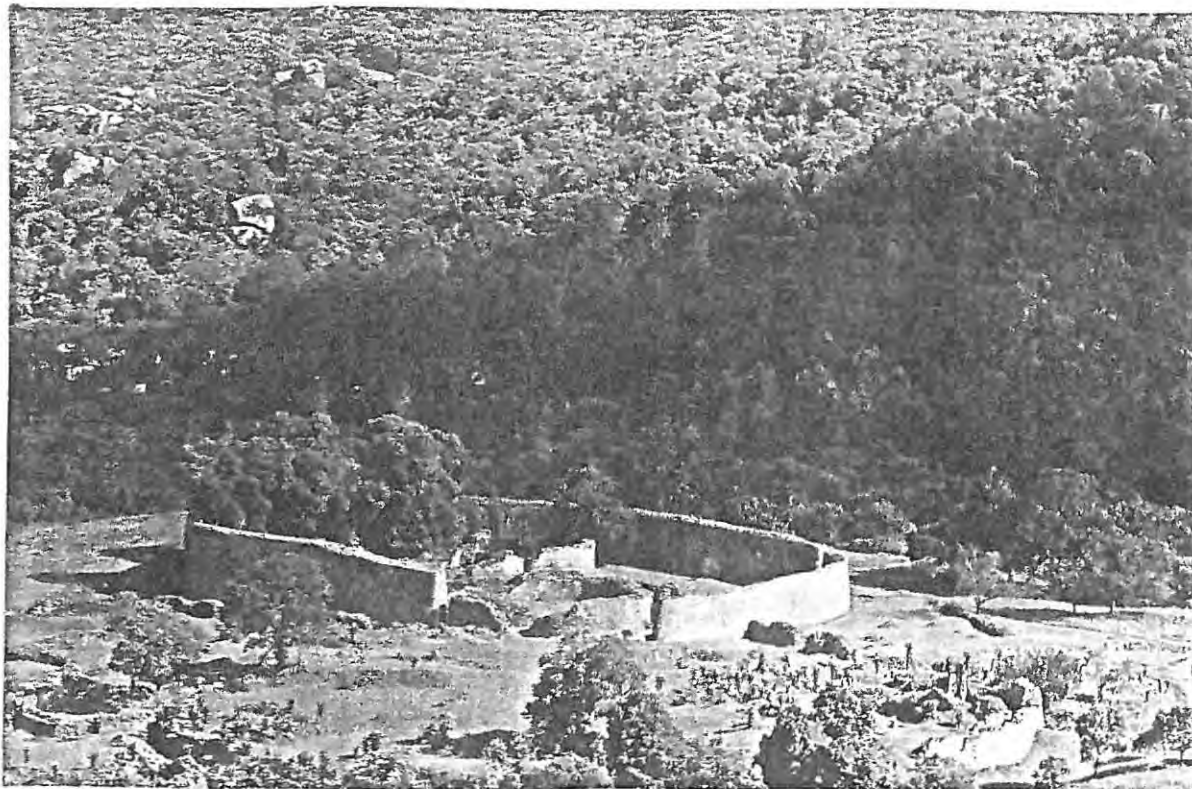
Former Rhodesian:

'It is a well known fact that all investments and capital funds are frozen when emigrants leave Zimbabwe. This has created a real hardship to both young and old families now settling in South Africa and overseas. Imagine a family of four undertaking a long costly journey and trying to establish a new life in a new country on a derisory allowance of 1 000 Rhodesian dollars'

Concerning the second aspect of this concept, a number of immigrants have engaged in correspondence with the press including B.M. Trylus to 'The Rand Daily Mail' (10 September, 1980):

'Possibly Rhodesia could have been as prosperous under Garfield Todd as under Ian Smith. I doubt it. Mr. Todd never had the strength or the inclination to break away from Britain. This action, on the part of Mr. Smith, was what led to Rhodesia's economic boom. The situation made a diverse economy a necessity, and the country responded marvellously. It is a great pity that the economy appears to be suffering only now, a few months after the end of the war. There is a current slogan doing the rounds:

'We made Rhodesia great - They made Zimbabwe ruins!'



Beyond the above major themes, other notions of lesser importance, emerged from readers' letters. The arrest of a cabinet minister - Edgar Tekere - for the murder of a white farmer and subsequent acquittal in December 1981 under an anti-terrorist law promulgated by the Smith government, led to people expressing their views, mostly in 'The Rand Daily Mail'.

A few writers to Natal and Cape newspapers, ironically, felt that the *press* in independent Zimbabwe was heavily influenced by the state.

Two readers commented on the decision of the government to *remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes* from Jameson Avenue to the outskirts of Salisbury and two others felt that *priests, agitators and liberals were to blame* for Zimbabwe coming under black rule. There were also a few letters, mostly from tourists to Zimbabwe and white residents who did not emigrate, which said that the country is fine and well and operating efficiently under the new government.

Lastly, two writers commented that the problems experienced elsewhere in Africa would soon emerge in Zimbabwe. This was something pre-independence authors, particularly apologists for the Smith regime were always mentioning, especially the number of coup d'états and violence directed against the whites elsewhere in Africa. (See for example Berlyn (1966), Breytenbach (1978), Hirsch (1964), Peck (1968) and Spurling (1966).

The themes that emerged from the content analysis procedure are summarised in Table 3 on page 80.

The major themes extrapolated from the content analysis therefore are:

TABLE 4 SUMMARY OF THEMES FROM CONTENT ANALYSIS OF READERS' LETTERS TO SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS

Theme/ Concept	NAME OF NEWSPAPER											TOTAL
	The Star	Rand Daily Mail	The Citizen	Sunday Times	Sunday Tribune	Natal Mercury	Natal Witness	Daily Dispatch	The Argus	Cape Times	Afrikaans Newspapers	
1. Communists/ Marxists now control Zimbabwe	17/3/80 10/4/80 12/4/80 24/4/80 26/5/80 9/7/80 16/7/80 4/8/80	9/9/80	25/6/80 23/7/80 8/8/80	2/11/80	15/6/80	19/6/80 2/10/80			16/4/80		Die Burger 23/4/81)	18
2. Blame Britain for Whites no longer control- ling Zimbabwe	27/3/80 10/4/80 23/4/80 24/4/80 7/8/80		26/5/80 28/4/80			2/10/80						8
* 3. Blame South Africa for loss of White rule	26/9/80 11/2/81 16/2/81				15/6/80							4
4. Economic situation now deteriorating in Zimbabwe	8/5/80 21/6/80 2/10/80 17/3/81	10/9/80	6/8/80									6
** 5. Immigrants experiencing financial difficulty in South Africa	26/9/80		25/6/80	2/10/80	15/6/80	19/6/80					Die Afrikaaner 15/7/81	6
6. Freeing of Tokere shows disregard for law and order	11/2/81	17/12/80 21/1/81 x 3										5
7. Press under state control in Zimbabwe							20/11/80		9/8/80			2
8. Priests, agit- ators and liberals to blame			17/7/80			20/10/80						2
9. Removal of Rhodes' statue			18/8/80	2/11/80								2
10. Problems else- where in Africa will apply in Zimbabwe		26/2/80	28/4/80									2
11. Zimbabwe is as super as Rhodesia was	8/11/80	21/8/80						27/4/81		14/4/81		4

\* Betrayal by foreign powers

\*\* Economic theme

- (i) Zimbabwe is now in communist hands.
- (ii) Betrayal by foreign powers (especially Britain and South Africa) resulted in the loss of white rule.
- (iii) The economic situation in Zimbabwe is rapidly deteriorating and immigrants find themselves at a financial disadvantage in South Africa.

It should be noted at once that these concepts emerged from content analysis of views of ex-Zimbabwean whites now living in South Africa. These were topics that *immigrants* held sufficiently important to comment on repeatedly in newspapers: a method in keeping with the overall strategy of this research - namely, to allow concepts to be generated by respondents themselves and not by the sociologist. These were the topics which were discussed in detail with the interviewees.

2. Themes generated from the various participant observation strategies

A number of portraits of immigrants have been sketched based upon the data obtained from the three participant observation strategies. From the portraits, which are presented in the rest of this chapter, six themes emerged that will be discussed at the end of this section.

(a) Complete participation

The demographic and attitudinal data provided by those subjects who can be classified under the heading of modified complete participation, provided the material for the portraits which follow. None of these respondents were informed that the information they provided during the "informal talks" would be used for research purposes.

'Dave',<sup>(2)</sup> is a 27 year old draftsman who came to South Africa shortly before Zimbabwe became independent. He was born just outside Salisbury and his main topic of conversation concerned the war in "Rhodesia"- he never referred to the country as Zimbabwe. He liked being in the military and although he came to live in South Africa for a few years, he went back to join the army and 'be a hero', spending four years 'in the bush, six weeks on and six weeks off', mainly around the Fort Victoria area and was engaged in several contacts. However, he did see a tragic side to the war believing that his mother died a few years ago from ulcers which she got from worrying about him 'out there'. Also at a braai at the Victoria Falls municipal camp, he saw a Canadian tourist hit in the thigh by shrapnel from a mortar attack. He hates the 'Kaffirs',<sup>(3)</sup> for taking over

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2. All names in this section have been changed out of a sense of ethical responsibility since, as mentioned previously, none of these subjects were informed that a research project was in progress.
  3. These terms are in no way meant to be offensive. They are presented as point of fact and to demonstrate the racist terminology of immigrant whites.

power in Rhodesia and expressed a wish to 'take a truck up there and drive over the wogs in the road'. He added that Zimbabwe is socialist moving towards communism, with education going down the drain and blamed Britain for the demise of white Rhodesian rule. Referring to his new life in South Africa, he complained that he has to work overtime because his wife is pregnant and had stopped working and he felt that he would never be able to afford to buy a house, although he subsequently was able to buy one two years later. Politically, he said that 'there's a lot he doesn't agree with about this government and they'd better jack themselves up with the wogs otherwise things will be the same as Rhodesia'. Most of his friends have gone to Natal, he believed, because it is English speaking and they feel at home with people they know. Only those who are money orientated have settled in the Transvaal. He would prefer to live in a coastal village, not this big town, and was even prepared to take a drop in salary in exchange for a quieter lifestyle.

'Betty' was born in South Africa thirty five years ago and holds a South African passport although she lived most of her life in former Rhodesia. However her children have Zimbabwean passports so that they 'can go anywhere if they were to emigrate' but she doesn't 'really want a munt passport'. She returned to South Africa shortly before independence and is presently employed as a secretary in an advertising agency in Johannesburg. 'Betty' had a great deal to say about the war:

'When I left Rhodesia to come to South Africa it was because my first husband was transferred to Durban. I hated South Africa then because I had left all my friends and family behind and a country in which I'd been happy. Rhodesia was then at war but at that stage I thought it would never be taken over by the terrorists. I would never have left if not for the transfer. Looking back now it's just as well we left when we did because I would have had to get out. I would never have stayed with things the way they are. My ex-husband obviously feels the same way because he's changed jobs and he's still in Durban and has no intention of ever going back. He saw a lot of his friends killed and is pretty bitter about the terrorists.

I remember when Stan (my ex-husband) was in the army. We had three little girls then and he was 6 weeks in the army and 6 weeks at home. It was terrible. I sometimes felt that it would have been better if he had just stayed for a year and then came out. I couldn't handle having to say goodbye each time. All of the girls were in the same boat and we used to go to the local club, about ten of us, for a chat and a piss-up. There wasn't much else to do and we still had to go on living. Even then I didn't think of leaving, because I thought we would win the war and things would settle down to what they used to be'.

She was extremely upset by majority rule in Zimbabwe and made the following remarks:

'I was horrified, I knew then that there was no chance of going back ever. The munts would never leave us in peace. I had my children to think about and there was no way I would have sent them to black schools because I had heard (a) the standard of education was going to the dogs - the schools were overcrowded, and (b) the black kids were wild. They were uncouth and would give the white children a hard time. There were much older boys in the class who would look at the young girls and maybe even try to rape them.

The terrs won't settle down, there will be continual killings here and there which the Government couldn't control even if they wanted to. The country would never be the same - South Africa was the only alternative. My friends and family complained that

the servants that had previously been okay were now giving uphill because their kind were in power and they could do what they wanted and demand higher wages and you weren't in a position to fire them.

My sister has a six year old daughter and when out at work one day the Kaffir boy tried to molest her. God, thinking about it I felt sick. I've begged them to come and live here, I mean that child could grow up with permanent scars'.

Referring to life in South Africa, she said that she has a good family life and job and is happy here. However, she is worried about what the future holds:

'The munts here are impossible. They are so bloody cheeky. They get away with murder. In the old days in Rhodesia our munts were much more pleasant, they weren't so aggressive. If these guys ever got into power I hate to think what would happen. There would be a blood bath second to none. I agree they don't have enough education and so forth, that's why I voted for the Progs - my husband said I should because they would give them a chance at a better education and the Prog Party he says, won't give them power straight off anyway'.

'Charles' returned to South Africa in 1979 after living in former Rhodesia for twenty years. He is an architect employed by the Johannesburg City Council and had a copy of 'The Citizen' newspaper on his desk when I talked to him. Charles did not see anything tragic about the Rhodesian war and in fact, never saw 'terrs in all the years I was in Rhodesia, but if I had I would've killed them. However, the SAS, like your parabats here, would go into Mozambique and kill forty of them in one day and here you talk about eighteen up in South West Africa every now and then. It was probably

the SAS who had sent up the fireworks in Salisbury the other day, although, of course, it could've been a munt lighting a cigarette'. He added that 'We never lost the war in Rhodesia, it was the treachery of the home country - Britain - who betrayed us. God rot their souls! I hope the bloody Russians drop a bomb on them'. Besides saying that the 'kaffirs have made a right regular cock-up of the economy' since independence he added that the content of 'education won't mean anything soon because if the munts want to learn about Bible Studies and the British constitution, then that's what they'll get'. In South Africa, he complained that he has some financial problems because he managed to get very little money, and not all his personal effects, out of the country. However, he has managed, with the assistance of his parents-in-law, to purchase a house in Randburg (north of Johannesburg). He sees trouble coming to this country and said that if he was younger (his age is in the region of 60), he would have preferred to have gone to Australia because, 'even though you've got a better chance here, this is Africa you know'.

'Susan' (an unmarried honours student) left Rhodesia in 1972 to study in Johannesburg but returns to Zimbabwe for a few months every year to visit her parents. Like most of the respondents in this study, she spoke mainly of the war years when referring to her previous situational context:

'It was a real war - make no mistake about it - really bloody. There was 14 years of bloodshed that led to the inevitable. All so stupid and worthless when all the time there could only have been one outcome. And its caused so much more antagonism between blacks and whites. Smith was the worst fucking leader that could ever have happened to Rhodesia. He was such a weak (but typical) product of the socializing propaganda machine. He just couldn't make a decision on his own - his wife was running Rhodesia. He always had to come home and discuss things with her and the cabinet - couldn't handle negotiations on his own - and by the time he'd deliberated he'd blown things again. A settlement could have been reached a lot sooner if it hadn't been for him and his willy-nilly, nib picking indecisionism'.

Since independence, she too believes that education, and in particular, the economy have deteriorated:

'Now look what a mess the place is in. They're worse off then before. There has been and I think will continue to be chronic economic deterioration. Products (like maize) that used to be exported are now being imported - on a large scale - like meat too. So many whites have left - and as things are - again I'm not saying its the blacks fault for not being educated - but as things are its the whites who have the know how who constitute the human resources of the country. And things are made very difficult for them - with the result that there are far fewer whites there now - particularly since independence. And it's telling on the country's economy it's in such a mess. Just look at the cut in the holiday allowances. Those kinds of things aren't done for nothing'.

She works at night in order to pay for her studies and she feels that South Africa will soon be faced with serious problems:

'The war in Rhodesia was bad enough - but things are going to be a million times worse in South Africa. Rhodesia was more like Kenya. In South Africa the blacks are treated much worse - and they're more militant and politicized - it's more like Tanzania and the Congo. It's because of its colonialist history. There's a much stronger black consciousness here, there's going to be such slitting of white throats - a real bloodbath. And the ones who've tried to bring about the revolution are going to go along with the rest'.

'Keith' (aged 30) was born in Bulawayo and worked for the Rhodesian Tourist Board before coming to South Africa in February, 1980. Although he did his initial stint in the army, his main reason for emigrating was to escape from his outstanding service. He related the following story concerning the tragedy of the Rhodesian war:

'Last Christmas, a group of us living in Irene all took off on a camp on our scramblers. No wives were allowed so we did exactly what we wanted to. Most of us had been in the army in Rhodesia, and we all had lost friends or family. One guy's brother was killed. We all felt very heavy on Christmas Day and as we carry guns, we shot a bit'.

He feels that 'England did a typically spineless thing in leaving white Rhodesians up the creek' and since independence, he believes that Zimbabwe is ruled by a 'bloody Marxist' and both the economy and education have declined saying that already 'there are shortages of some things which you could even get during sanctions' and 'the schools used to be very good until Mugabe stuffed them up'. He only managed to get a little of his savings out when he emigrated and hence,

claims he is finding things difficult in South Africa. Further, regarding South Africa, he said that 'the whites here can't hold out forever against the rest of the world and also the munts outnumber the whites by 5 to 1. I don't trust the Indians although the coons don't like them either. The problem is that when things really start hotting up and the terrs become a real problem, at the moment they are nothing, and people start getting killed every day, many whites will start pulling out of South Africa, and things will go downhill fast'.

'John' is 33 years old and married with one child. He works as a fitter and turner in an engineering works and was born in South Africa, but lived in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe for 'quite a long time'. He believes that 'the place has gone commie' and that the economy has declined citing a specific example 'I could organise spares for my old Ford Falcon from Argentina during sanctions time but do you think I could do this when the gooks took over?' He feels his financial situation is improving slightly since he first arrived in South Africa four months ago in January, 1981 but is still unable to afford a motor vehicle. Although he would never return to Zimbabwe, he meets his 'Rhodesian buddies for a pissup every couple of weeks'.

'Bob' is a 25 year old unmarried game ranger who presently works for a private game reserve in the Eastern Transvaal. Born in Wankie, he left Zimbabwe in December, 1980 because

'the munts know nothing about conservation, if they see an animal, they just see it as food; and the game reserves there are chaotic'. Communism, he feels, has taken over in Zimbabwe so the 'bloody shitty war was all for nothing. Britain just didn't care if the whites lost in any case'. Blacks, he believes would have been better off under Smith and this can be gauged from the economy 'which is in a complete mess'. Regarding South Africa, he believes that things will be different for a while because 'the army is bigger and you have more money. But in the end the result will be the same, the munts will take over'.

'William' is a 30 year old engineer, married with a child on the way. He emigrated from Zimbabwe in May 1980 having made plans to leave if Mugabe ('a total Marxist') came to power. He believes that since 'the economy has been left to the coons it is in a chaotic state'. In South Africa, he asserts that he is doing quite well and at the time of the interview was building a brand new house in Bromhof, north west of Johannesburg. He sees guerilla operations intensifying in this country as 'the training camp in Zimbabwe, where Korean instructors are present, is actually an ANC base'.

To complete this section, I also spoke briefly to 'Mike' in a Hillbrow bar and he mentioned that the economy is deteriorating since independence and concerning the war he claimed to have seen atrocities committed by both sides, in particular the

shooting down of the two Viscount aircraft which he felt represented the turning point and caused many whites to give up hope.

(b) Participant-as-observer strategy

In his classic study - Street Corner Society, - William Foote Whyte (1956) enlisted the assistance of one of the more important members of an Italian community - 'Doc' - in order to obtain entry into certain closed activities within the subculture, for example, the local gambling house: 'Doc introduced me as 'my friend Bill' to Chichi who ran the place and to Chichi's friends and customers' (1956 : 298).

For the purposes of this study, however, the usual strategy was slightly varied in that a Zimbabwean presently studying at Wits university was asked to talk to some of the immigrants whom she sometimes comes across in South Africa. Obviously, as these conversations took place spontaneously, she could not introduce the author to the three couples and one single lady whose views and beliefs she recorded herself.

The first couple comprised 'Jack' (33) and 'Francis' (31) who were both born in Kenya and moved to Rhodesia in 1968 before emigrating to South Africa immediately after independence in 1980. Trained technicians, he an aircraft maintenance engineer and she a radiographer, they felt that not only do

they have better job opportunities in South Africa but they also feel more secure without the danger of landmines, Although 'Francis' and 'Jack' agree that 'education standards have dropped due to overcrowding in schools and this was the major reason for emigrating', as they did not want to send their two daughters out of the country to boarding schools, he said he would be tempted to return to Zimbabwe if offered the 'right position and salary' while she had 'absolutely no regrets about leaving'. She added that many of her close friends had moved to South Africa and 'it's good to have them nearby'. 'Jack' complained about the higher cost of living in South Africa but noted that wages are higher here and was satisfied with his family's standard of living.

'Mark' (35) and 'Shelley' (30) were married in 1970, divorced in 1975 and remarried in 1978. They have two daughters, one ten years old and the other, eighteen months. He was born in South Africa and lived in Rhodesia from 1965 - 1977 while England was her country of birth, but she resided in Zambia between 1955 and 1968 and Rhodesia from 1968 - 1978. Both agree that life in Rhodesia before the 'war proper' was wonderful. They were 'very happy, the pace of life was relaxed and socially there was a lot to do to be kept busy'. However, they hated the war, claiming that it disrupted their lives and 'Shelley' felt that the war was to blame for causing their divorce because 'apart from his call-ups all the time, he became an alcoholic because he spent too much time with the

boys and of course it wasn't manly if you didn't drink a lot'. 'Shocked that the houthies came to power', they agreed that this would stop them returning to Zimbabwe although they have been back on several visits to the family and still call Rhodesia 'home'. Having emigrated, they believe that their children will receive a better education in South Africa as they claim that educational standards have already dropped in Zimbabwe. In South Africa, although 'Mark' has a good job, 'Shelley' complained about the increasing cost of living in this country, especially the rent they have to pay. They both hope to move on to Australia as they are not prepared to live through another war which they feel will come to South Africa eventually.

'Raymond', in his early fifties, and 'Julie', late forties, have three daughters and they emigrated in mid-1980 after living in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe for twenty years. Both had spent periods in South Africa and Kenya before settling in Rhodesia. This couple were most happy in Rhodesia 'because of the life-style and because that's where all our friends and a lot of our family are'. 'Raymond' had a job with RBC TV as a newsman and in 1972, while reporting in Zambia, was jailed 'for a while because they thought I was a Rhodesian spy'. They were unhappy with the desegregation of education after independence and 'Julie', a school teacher by profession, said she 'couldn't teach hundreds of those little nignogs - there are more of them in the classes than the white children. The syllabus is also

ridiculous, we're expected to start changing the history books and to teach that the white man has been exploiting the houthies for the last hundred years'. She would not want to continue teaching 'under those sort of circumstances' and added that 'in any event, my younger daughter is still at school and needs to get a proper education'. Their lives have not changed much in South Africa as he now works for SABC TV and she teaches in a private school and, having settled down, they feel 'quite comfortable'. They have no plans for leaving although if they did go anywhere 'it would have to be America - we couldn't go to Britain, not after what they did - those bloody Brits sold us right down the drain - I wouldn't trust a Brit as far as I could throw him', 'Raymond' remarked.

The last immigrant that the Zimbabwean student spoke to was 'Martha', a twenty one year old single lady with a four year old illegitimate son. A commercial artist, she was born in Zambia and took up residence in Rhodesia in 1965 before settling in South Africa a few months after independence. Describing Rhodesia before the war intensified, she said:

'Well it was really moosh - Salisbury was so small and friendly, I had so many friends. I enjoyed the atmosphere and slow-moving life - life was really just fun, nothing was really serious'.

However once military operations increased she said that:

'The war was really shit - especially looking back - when you think that all those people died for nothing - it makes me sick. So many families were split up and I lost track of so many of my friends. The people I feel sorry for are the young guys who had to do it - they wasted so much of their lives that you can't really blame them for being bitter. At the time I was all for it and I didn't think that we would ever lose. Actually we didn't really lose, it was a sell-out'.

She believes that 'the economy is getting so bad up north now that the whole place is turning into a dump', and she also commented on what she believes the state of education to be in Zimbabwe: 'that's why I left - I mean imagine the kind of schooling my son would have got. He would have been stuck in a class of mainly houthies and of course the standards can't stay the same as they were'. She claims she enjoys life in South Africa and is happy in her work although 'sometimes I don't like things here, like the Afrikaners, but what can you do?, I can get along with them if I have to'. Although she feels that there is more of a future here and she is getting married soon, she does believe that trouble will eventually occur in South Africa, 'but at least you don't have to worry about the kaffirs now - not yet anyway'.

(c) Observer-as-participant

The interviews are discussed in the next chapter.

(d) Complete observation

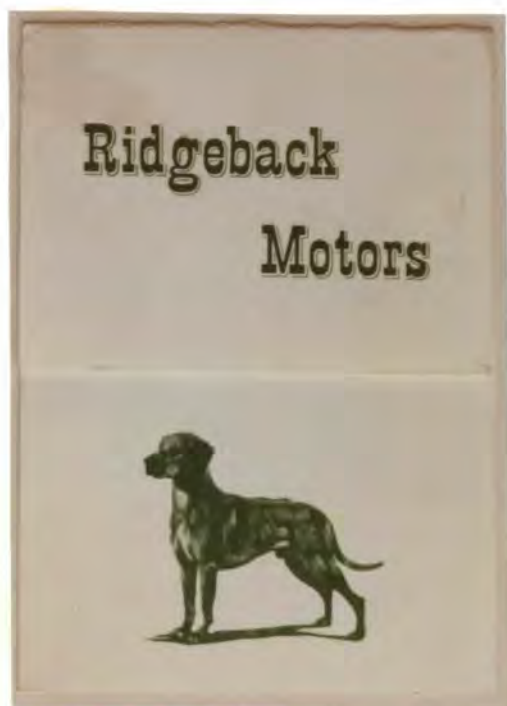
Two business ventures, namely 'The Treasure Chest', a shop in Pretoria Street, Hillbrow, which sells various military insignia as well as other memorabilia from UDI days and 'Ridgeback Motors', a second hand motor car dealer at the corner of Kruis and Anderson Streets, Johannesburg, were visited. Both of these businesses are owned by immigrants to South Africa and their respective displays of reminders of pre-independence times make interesting reading and visual impact.

The Treasure Chest is actually a shop in a flea market and contains military badges, berets and caps and badges of rank worn by different units of former Rhodesian security forces. T-shirts can be bought with such slogans as 'Settlement my arse, lets go slot floppies' and 'A message to terrorists' with the words 'Go fuck yourself' inscribed upside down, displayed on the fronts. There are beer mugs with phrases pertaining to the "old days" imprinted and even a clock in the shape of a map of Zimbabwe, but with the word "Rhodesia" in the centre. Numerous other items, memorabilia of past times, are on display and an ex-Selous scout actually bought a complete Scout army uniform to wear to his 21st birthday party. What is also of interest on display is one of the pamphlets signed by Muzorewa that were dropped from aircraft in Mozambique and Zambia, prior to the "internal" elections held in April 1979, urging guerillas to come home,

under amnesty, where they would be properly housed and fed. At the entrance to the shop, in the window, is a newspaper review of a recent book on the Selous Scouts, as well as what appears to be a sheepskin car seat cover with the regimental badge of the scouts imprinted inside.



Ridgeback Motors also has some astonishing displays of mementoes from the days of UDI and in fact the decor is painted in the UDI colours of green and white. The major sign is similar to the flag of the Smith regime except that there is a green Ridgeback dog in the centre. One of the proprietors went to some length to explain that a ridgeback is a pure 'Rhodesian thoroughbred' and is not a mongrel.



On the Anderson Street side there is lettering on the shop front which says 'Ex-Rhodesians get your Ex-Rhodie bumper sticker here' and on the Kruis Street window the words 'Finance for Rhodesians by Rhodesians' are painted.

Inside there is a bronze plaque proclaiming 'Official Rhodesian Embassy' as well as the Rhodesian UDI flag, life size and in correct colours, prominently hung from the centre of the roof. There are car seat covers inscribed with the regimental colours of 'The Rhodesian Light Infantry', 'The Rhodesian African Rifles', 'The Selous Scouts' and 'Support Unit' for sale. On the south wall there is a pin board with various regimental badges and like the Treasure Chest there is also a newspaper cutting reviewing the most recent book on the Selous Scouts.



Engaging Denzin's (1970) concept of 'within method triangulation' the proprietors of these businesses were engaged in conversation which can probably be termed "within-within method" multiple operationism.

Informing 'Eddie', one of the owners of Ridgeback Motors, that a fishing trip to Zimbabwe was planned for the near future, and asking what were the prospects, elicited the following response:

'They'll treat you fine - it's absolutely no sweat speaking from the tourist aspect - they need your currency. There's no sweat with security, your only hassle is the rains and the rivers might be up which will make for shit fishing'.

As for living in Zimbabwe rather than merely touring,  
he added:

'I wouldn't want to live there but let me tell you that my mates and relatives who are still there are having no problems'.

The conversation was then rapidly terminated, probably because the author did not seem to be a prospective purchaser of a vehicle, by 'Eddie' walking to the door with a final comment - 'Careful that fucking kaffir doesn't run you over'. The reference was to one of the employees who was reversing a car out of the showroom.

The proprietor of the Treasure Chest, 'Jock', also had a great deal to say. He came to South Africa in April but his wife and son arrived a year earlier to 'scout around'. Some of his comments follow:

'I had the business to see to - a big second-hand dealership in Salisbury. We used to sell things like this there also but it was more of a side-line then. You can't buy or even display these sorts of things anymore you know - can't even wear a Rhodesian T shirt. They're all banned now. It's terrible.

Things would've been alright if Muzorewa had got in - he's okay. Whites would've stayed then. But this man! - he's a total communist. And it was Britain's fault. I really think South Africa did all she could to get the Bishop in power. They were sending thousands up for his campaign. At election time he had this huge stadium - giving out free beer and food and everything. But he still lost. Mugabe had all that sway with the tribal thrusts. He might not even be that bad himself - but he has to stick with the party line - and they're

communists. And it isn't working you know, they'll starve like in other places. The economy is crumbling - it's had it. You should see it - the whole of Second Street - all those businesses have been frozen 'cos they freeze everything as soon as you make a move to leave the country. I go up every few months - try and get a bit of money out. But they've cut the holiday allowances so much. That's proof of what's happening to the economy. What most of us do is buy things up there and then bring them out to South Africa. Things are so expensive there - we lost a lot of money that way - but at least it's a way of getting some of it out.

The Blacks that have got power now are so corrupt. I see it every time I go up. They're driving around in huge black limousines with all their girlfriends - so many girlfriends - never mind how many wives and children they've got at home. You can take an African out of the bush but you can't take the bush out of an African'.

Speaking about the war years and future prospects in South Africa, he added:

'It was terrible there - the way the family was being broken up. Husbands, fathers, sons...all fighting to protect us. And it was all for nothing, that's what's the worst to take - we lost. You look at your son and he can't walk or he's lost his sight, you think, what for? If we'd won it might be easier, but we didn't. There's this lodge, a home full of handicapped boys, young, nineteen or twenty, without legs, arms - it's so terrible. It's all been for nothing. And the older men did their bit too. I did two years. In the white suburbs, where men had gone away to fight and the women and children were left alone, the older men in the army - the 'wombles' they were called, patrolled the streets to keep them safe.

As regards South Africa, I think it will be safe. There'll be no really big problems here like we had there. There's a good strong army here even stronger, and bigger than we had. That's why so many of our friends come down - things will be safe for the children. Maybe a few isolated incidents, but it will never flair up into anything big'.

The last strand of research that can be classified under this section was the observation of the screening of an SABC TV 'Midweek' programme on Wednesday 2nd October, 1981, which dealt with the topic under study. The programme began with an old hit song by the folk duo, Ian and Ritchie, stressing the ties of friendship between South Africa and Rhodesia. There was also some footage of the Rhodesian Club at Halfway House (no longer operational) with most members wearing T-shirts and talking about the 'good old days'. On the other hand one of the presenters of 'Radio Today' on the English service felt it was time to stop looking back while Lieutenant Colonel Reid-Daly, former chief of the Selous Scouts, and John Edmund, a musical composer, wanted to 'remember Rhodesia as it was'. One interviewee spoke about the tragedies of war including the death of his brother and a few mentioned that they were having financial troubles in South Africa.

Following the content analysis procedure, themes which seemed to recur on a regular basis, were identified for further investigation. These themes were:

- (i) **Trouble is coming to South Africa.**
- (ii) Finance (a) 'battling to some extent in this country'
  - (b) the economy in Zimbabwe is deteriorating.
- (iii) The tragedy of war.

- (iv) Zimbabwe is now in communist hands.
- (v) Education in Zimbabwe is going down the drain.
- (vi) Britain is to blame for the end of the white era,

These have been summarized as a matrix of informants' responses in Table 5 on the next page.

Three of the above themes ((ii) - finance; (iv) - communism; and (vi) - blame Britain) emerged as noteworthy from the content analysis procedure too, and although (iv) and (vi) were not issues raised by a vast majority of informants, they were nonetheless included, as they emerged from the data obtained from both research strategies.

It will be noted that most of the informants used derogatory terms which they applied to blacks. For Moorcraft (1980 : 260), 'The Afrikaans word houtie, from the Afrikaans expression meaning 'wooden head', became the most common-term of abuse for blacks in Rhodesia'. But this is not the only term, as West (1965 : 74) points out: 'Coon, kaffir, munt and nigger are the words commonly used by white Southern Rhodesians about their black fellow citizens'. However, the abrasive terms relating to Africans were not followed up as this is more of a topic pertaining to sociolinguistics which falls outside the scope of this study. In any event, derogatory expressions for blacks are also often used by some whites in South Africa and hence not only are expressions of this kind common,

Table 5 Themes generated from the participant observation strategies

Names of contacts	1. Abrasive terms for blacks	2. Trouble coming to South Africa	3. Finance		4. Tragedies of the war years	5. Zimbabwe now in the hands of Communists	6. Education in Zimbabwe down the drain	7. Britain to blame for demise of white rule
			(a) Battling	(b) Economy				
Dave	'kafirs' 'wogs'	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	Socialist/ Communist	Yes	Yes
Betty	'munts' 'kaffirs'	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	Yes	-
Keith	'munts' 'kaffirs'	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Charles	'kaffirs'	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
John	'gooks'	-	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-
Susan	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	-
Bob	'munts'	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
Mike	No	-	-	Yes	Yes	-	-	-
Raymond and Julie	'nignogs' 'houties'	-	No	.	.	.	Yes	Yes
Jack and Francis	-	-	No	.	Yes	-	Yes	-
Mark and Shelley	'houties'	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	Yes	-
Martha	'houties' 'kaffirs'	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	Yes
Eddie	'kaffirs'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jack	'munts'	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
William	'coons'	Yes	No	Yes	-	Yes	-	-
Interviewees on SABC programme	-	-	Yes	.	Yes	.	.	-

but it is also likely that ex-Zimbabwean whites have brought their terms across the border because they feel these fit in with the local genre.

To sum up, it would seem, that from the information generated by both the informal techniques, two overall perspectives subsuming the generated themes have emerged:

1. Perceptions of Rhodesian/Zimbabwean situation.
  - (a) The tragedy of war
  - (b) Betrayal by foreign powers - Britain and South Africa
  - (c) Zimbabwe now under communist rule
  - (d) The economic situation in independent Zimbabwe
  - (e) Education since independence.
  
2. Views on the new South African context
  - (a) Financial considerations in this country
  - (b) Rhodesia's problems will be experienced in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOURINTRODUCTION TO THE SURVEY - INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND QUESTIONNAIRECONTENTS AND (DEMOGRAPHIC) PROFILES OF THE FOUR SAMPLES1. The contents of the interview schedule and the questionnaire

A few closed ended demographic questions were inserted at the beginning of the interview schedule in order to provide information about the respondents' earnings, occupations and extent of property ownership in South Africa.

These were then followed by seven open ended questions, in the language of the informants whose portraits have been painted in the previous chapter. Each question referencing the themes concerning the two contexts is summarised on page 105. Lastly, a "safety valve" question was included asking interviewees whether there was anything else they might wish to add. It was placed at the end of the schedule in case not all of the issues that immigrants consider important with regard to their previous and second contexts had been generated from the two informal procedures. This question elicited an extremely varied range of responses that were hardly possible to classify. However, two themes seem to have been repeated on a number of occasions and were included in the questionnaire survey part of this research, namely:

- (i) It's time to stop talking about the bitter past in Rhodesia and start new lives in South Africa.
- (ii) We will never have the same life in South Africa as we had in Rhodesia and we will never go back there.

The contents of the questionnaire were derived from responses made by the 55 interviewees to the questions in the interview schedule. Refinements added to each theme by the interviewees are summarised below:

(a) The tragedy of war

Some of the interviewees became visibly upset when this topic was broached and it was therefore not fully elaborated in the interview situations. However, for those who did have something to say about the war years, the major comment was that *the war was a complete waste of money, time and lives*. This is not surprising in the light of casualty figures reproduced from the Financial Mail (1978 : 402) in Table 6.<sup>(4)</sup>

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4. The source for these statistics was the Rhodesian government.

Table 6    Deaths in Rhodesia's War

	<u>21.12.82. - 31.7.78</u>	<u>1978 only</u>
Security forces killed	546	134
Security forces killed off duty	106	26
White civilians killed	207	86

Giliomee (1980), in fact, has argued that the bitter heritage of the war may have been a major reason for white emigration.

(b) Betrayal by foreign powers - England and South Africa

In fleshing out this particular theme, the only point of real significance was that *Britain was simply trying to get rid of a problem and so betrayed the whites by informing them that Muzorewa would win the 1980 elections when in fact they knew all along that Mugabe would come to power.* This sort of remark is consistent with the view of pre-independence writers that Britain was far too critical of Rhodesian whites. (See for example Chambati (1974), Good (1976), and Peck (1968) . Kinloch's (1970 : 124) content analysis of the Rhodesian Herald, The Bulawayo Chronicle and the Umtali Post indicated 'criticism of Britain regarding her lack of appreciation and knowledge of Rhodesia's unique situation'. Thus, purported electoral deception, for the interviewees, confirmed their earlier feelings. In relation to South Africa

several interviewees said that she was under *world pressure forcing her to withdraw police units from, and cut arms supplies to, former Rhodesia.*

(c) Zimbabwe now communist ruled

Many interviewees claimed that *Mugabe is too friendly with the communist countries, indeed he is an avowed Marxist and the media, since independence, are full of communist propaganda.*

(d) Deterioration of Zimbabwe's economy

Although Matatu (1980c) and Meldrum (1981) do not believe that the expected mass departure of white skills materialised to any great extent, the Economic Intelligence Unit Special Report No. 111 (1981 : 6250) noted that 'more than 50 000 skilled workers, most of them white, have emigrated over the past five years...' and this observation is consistent with the assertions of Avirgan (1979), Ratisai (1980) and the Africa Confidential Report on Zimbabwe (1980). As Rothchild (1973) has reasoned, a newly independent African state (in his case - Kenya) initially has to suffer losses of skilled manpower. Respondents interviewed did indeed cite a *shortage of white skills* as one reason for their perceived decline of the economy and added that the *shortage of basic commodities, in particular food*, is indicative.

(e) Decline of education

The major point of contention was that the present system of *integrated education meant a lowering of standards*, that is, that black students, some of whom are *older* than their white counterparts, are responsible for this deteriorating situation. Furthermore, they believed that standards were lowered by the *departure of a number of white teachers*. Obviously 'every developing country wants to educate its young people quickly and effectively. In Zimbabwe, in the wake of a bitter war, the pace is especially hot' (Weiss, 1980/1 : 16). It was not only overcrowding in schools and purported lowering of standards to which subjects objected. Also considered anathema were the *learning of agriculture in school hours* and the *change in history textbooks* to reflect a more African point of view. These comments reflect a perceived radical departure from previous perspectives which, for Lessing (1972 : xiv), were usually along the following lines: 'The white people in Rhodesia teach their children...that the Mashona people were helpless victims of Ndebele aggression, and that therefore the white people were in the right to take Rhodesia'. As Knight (1975 : 2) put it: 'The Mashonas, I found, were everywhere acting up to their faith in our power and will to protect them for the future against all marauders, whether Kaffir or Portuguese'. (5)

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5. Knight was writing in 1895. The 1975 edition was a reprint produced in Bulawayo.

Themes (a) to (e) above represent comments on the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean context, while (f) and (g) below concerned the South African situation.

(f) Financial considerations in South Africa

Most immigrants interviewed said they were experiencing financial hardship to some extent in South Africa although this is probably relative to life styles in pre-independent Zimbabwe. (See for example Curtin and Murray (1967) and Good (1973). What many seemed concerned about is *difficulty in obtaining their own houses, in terms of costs and bonds, particularly since a large number of them owned their own houses or farms prior to emigration*. Most immigrants were seriously concerned about property and capital that had been left behind. In this regard, Finance Minister, Enos Nkala, in his budget speech in 1980 said that: 'those who emigrate must accept that the first priority has to go to those who live permanently in the country. For some time to come, therefore, it must be expected that as hitherto a major portion of emigrants capital will be block initially' (To The Point 1980 : 14). A further major complaint was the *higher cost of living in South Africa*.

(g) Rhodesia's problems will be experienced in South Africa

The Financial Mail (1978 : 407) asserted that 'many white Rhodesians believe that Rhodesia's problems today will be

experienced in South Africa tomorrow'. Probes to this question in the interview schedule produced a variety of responses, most notably that *South Africa is sufficiently wealthy and militarily powerful to contain the conflict reasonably easily*. Another idea, of slightly lesser significance, was that problems will take the form of *urban rather than rural warfare*.

Using the results represented by the italicised material above, and the two themes generated by the "safety valve", questions were constructed, once more in the language of the interviewees, and inserted into the questionnaire. The interviews, therefore, fleshed out the issues generated from the content analysis and participant observation procedures, thereby providing the categories for the questionnaire survey. They also enriched the data obtained from the questionnaire responses.

## 2. Profiles of the four groups

Samples of immigrants who were registered at the University of the Witwatersrand, members of Rhodesian Clubs and associations and subjects in a snowball sample were interviewed in depth. Questionnaires were also sent to larger samples of these groups as well as to a smaller list of names published in a recent edition of the Government Gazette.

(a) The Witwatersrand University sample

Twenty one interviews were conducted with student (fourteen) and staff (seven) members of the University of the Witwatersrand. The sex ratio for students was one to one, while there were six male staff members and one female. All the students interviewed were single, most aged between seventeen and twenty one. Most of the staff were married, two were divorced, and most fell into the forty one - forty nine age category. Seventy nine questionnaires were returned from the one hundred and fifty eight posted to students, making for a response rate of exactly fifty percent, which is Babbie's (1975) minimum criterion figure for analysis and reporting.

Fifty three of the students who returned questionnaires were males and twenty six were females, but sex as a variable was not related to any of the variables contained in the questionnaire. Age categories spread between seventeen and forty five, bimodally at nineteen and twenty three.

Most students (seventy six percent) were single while twenty three percent were married and one student was divorced. Virtually all the seventy nine students were born in Zimbabwe, mostly in Salisbury and Bulawayo. The reason for this is that the Wits computer was only able to provide a list of respondents according to place of birth in Rhodesia. In fact, as will be shown, this group of

respondents differs somewhat from the other samples in which a significant proportion of respondents were born in South Africa and Britain.

Regarding permanent settlement in this country, twenty six percent came to South Africa before 1978, fifteen percent in 1978, seven percent in 1979, fourteen percent in 1980 prior to independence and thirty eight percent after April 1980.

Analysis of occupational and educational levels was not meaningful for this group. Being Wits students they live in the Transvaal, although two provided Natal, and one, the Orange Free State, as their home provinces.

A further twenty one interviews were conducted with members of the Rhodesian Club in Halfway House. Seventeen were males, four females, with most (fifteen) in the twenty two - thirty three age group. Thirty eight percent were married, fourteen percent divorced and forty eight percent single.

Forty three of the ninety two questionnaires were returned providing a forty seven percent response rate for members of clubs and contact groups. There were thirty four males and nine female respondents but no significance on the chi square ( $\chi^2$ ) test of independence was obtained in relating sex to all the other variables in the study, some of which can, to some extent, be extrapolated as indicators of prejudice against the African takeover of power in independent Zimbabwe. This

finding is in contradiction to Niewoudt and Nel's (1975) study at Stellenbosch University where female students were significantly more prejudiced than their male counterparts and Frank's (1960 : 236) survey in Salisbury and Lusaka: '...it was possible to discover that women do tend towards a more conservative attitude in matters of race'. On the other hand, Lever (1966), MacCrone (1957), and Simon (1979) in their respective research investigations ascertained no difference in prejudice between men and women, a result that is more in line with the findings of this survey.

Members' ages ranged from twenty five to seventy five (mode = 42) and in terms of marital status, two were single, thirty six married, two divorced and three widowed. Most were born in South Africa (forty percent) followed by Rhodesia (thirty percent) and the United Kingdom (twenty one percent) while the rest were born in Asia, Europe and other African countries.

Seventeen respondents settled in South Africa after independence in April 1980, five in 1980 before independence, five in 1979, seven in 1978 and nine before 1978.

With regard to occupation, the mode was obtained at the managerial level with the rest spread among the other occupational categories.

Responses were obtained from all four South African provinces and even one from the Transkei where these people were living

in various towns and cities at the time of the survey.

With regard to education, more than half had completed "O" to "A" levels or had obtained a technical diploma, while only three were university graduates and five had attended university without completing their degrees.

(c) The snowball respondents

Eight immigrants were interviewed in the Eastern Transvaal (in Sabie, Nelspruit and White River) and a further five in Durban, their names and addresses were supplied in snowballing fashion. Their age groups ranged from eighteen to seventy five, all in Natal were married, while in the Eastern Transvaal, two were divorced and one single, the remainder married.

One hundred and ten snowball questionnaires were received from the two hundred and eleven mailed, providing a response rate of fifty two percent. There were seventy eight male and thirty female subjects in this subgroup. (Two did not fill in this category). Their ages were spread between the range of seventeen and seventy five and twenty six were single, seventy four married, seven divorced and three widowed. Most of these respondents were born in Zimbabwe (thirty three percent) followed by the United Kingdom (twenty eight percent) South Africa (twenty one percent) other African countries (five percent) and other European

countries (three percent).

As with the previous sample thirty eight percent settled here after independence, twenty six percent before 1978, fifteen percent in 1979, twelve percent in 1978 and ten percent in 1980 prior to the April independence celebrations.

Again, the mode for occupation lay at the managerial level (thirty five percent) although there were quite a large number of professionals (thirty two percent).

Snowball responses were obtained from all the provinces with the majority (fifty six) living in Johannesburg at the time of the research.

With regard to education, once again more than half had completed "O" to "A" levels or had obtained a diploma at technical college. Twenty seven were graduates or postgraduates.

(d) Government Gazette list

Only thirteen people responded from among the group obtained from the Government Gazette, nine from Natal, two from the Transvaal and two from the Cape Province. It must be pointed out that after perusal of several directories and chancing the coincidence of surnames and a minimum of two initials, it **appears** that there was a minimal success in this regard.

This would seem to be the case when considering that response rates in the other groups were all in the region of fifty percent. Nevertheless, these thirteen subjects are arguably representative as their names were obtained from a list of all citizens naturalised in 1982.

An attempt was made to assess the validity and reliability of the data obtained from the samples. Subscribing to Smith's (1975 : 61) definition of validity as 'the degree to which the researcher has measured what he set out to measure', besides the fact that the target population itself produced the material that was measured, each interviewee was asked whether the questions in the schedule referenced the issues that they did in fact consider important "as ex-Rhodies", and virtually every one replied in the affirmative. Smith's (1975 : 58) definition of reliability - 'Will the same methods used by different researchers and/or at different times produce the same results?' could only be applied to this research data at the participant observation level where two researchers did produce similar findings. Test-retest reliability could not be measured nor was the questionnaire format conducive to an application of the split-half technique.

Thus, it was rather the background to the questionnaire that was shown to be "valid and reliable" although the questionnaire was inextricably linked to the other methods of data collection and further, the places of birth (Rhodesian,

British and South Africa mix) of the snowball respondents and club members compared with other statistical data in this connection (see page 29). Of major importance in this regard are the response rates which were mostly in the region of 50%. Further, given that these samples were not randomly selected, except arguably the Government Gazette list, any conclusions about the validity and reliability of this study are tenuous by purely scientific standards.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMMIGRANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE RHODESIAN/ZIMBABWEAN SITUATION

As the four samples, theoretically, were structurally different in terms of socio-analysis, the data has not been aggregated. Views on the generated themes have been analysed separately for each group. However, since the aim of this research was to assess how a group of Zimbabwean immigrants view their process of migration, similarities and differences between the different categories where relevant, will be identified.

1.       The tragedy of war

Fifty eight percent of *club members* who returned questionnaires agreed with the statement that 'the war there was a waste of lives' (Q.17i), while seven percent were undecided and thirty five percent disagreed. The kind of comment made by interviewees was typified by a member of the Midrand Rhodesian Club halfway between Johannesburg and Pretoria:

'The war was an absolute waste of time, money and beautiful people. The whites fought that war. We had to earn a living and fight but the kaffirs never went to the bush'.

For the *snowball sample*, sixty six percent agreed that the war was a waste of lives with eight percent undecided and twenty six percent disagreeing. One of the subjects interviewed in the Eastern Transvaal

said flatly, 'It's better to forget about the war now'. Sixteen *students* (twenty one percent) disagreed with the statement, fifty seven (seventy four percent) agreed and four (five percent) were unsure. Of the respondents from the *gazette list*, all except one agreed that the war wasted lives. What is of importance here are the numbers in each sample who disagreed with the statement. It can only be surmised that some members in these specific groups felt that they were fighting for a cause which justified the loss of life. This is potentially explosive information and is discussed more fully in the concluding chapter.

In addition, this issue proved problematic when the Likert scales, that were used in the construction of Question 17 in the questionnaire, were factor analysed. Although all the variables in this question, as the factor analysis procedure demonstrated, could reduce to one, the last variable - 'tragedy of war' - had to be omitted.<sup>(6)</sup>

No significant difference on the  $\chi^2$  test basis was ascertained between the four groups with regard to responses on whether the war was a waste of lives. Table 7 shows the similarity of the responses of the four categories:

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6. For an explanation of the factor analysis technique, the findings, and the derivation of the argument, see Appendix I.

Table 7    The war was a waste of time, money and lives

<u>Samples</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u> (N)
Wits students	57	4	16
Club members	25	3	15
Snowball	71	8	28
Gazette list	10	0	1

2.    Betrayal by foreign powers - Britain and South Africa

(a)    The student sample

Sixty one percent of the students who returned questionnaires believed that Britain 'sold Rhodesia down the river'<sup>(7)</sup>, but thirty eight percent disagreed with the proposal that Britain had deceived them into believing that Muzorewa would win the 1980 elections when they knew all along that Mugabe would come to power, twenty seven percent agreed and thirty five percent were undecided. The remarks of one student interviewed illustrate this point: 'Britain didn't really know what was going on - they got a completely cock-eyed, one-sided view. We thought the Bishop was going to be number one - it came as a real surprise when Mugabe got in'. However this statement was a little unusual as, generally, the students and staff interviewed at Wits did not, on the whole, believe that Britain betrayed Rhodesia. Eight believed in the proposition, ten did not and three

7.    A few students commented on the exact usage of this 'when we' terminology. 'When we' is the expression used by ex-Zimbabweans to refer to immigrants who can't stop talking about 'when we were in Rhodesia'.

were not certain. Several staff claimed that Ian Smith had betrayed Rhodesia by not commencing negotiations earlier. These findings represent one of the few instances where interview data differed from the wider responses obtained from the questionnaire survey, the reason being that those who were interviewed appeared to be generally less conservative.

Although eleven students did not answer the question inserted in the questionnaire pertaining to South Africa, seventy one percent did not feel that South Africa betrayed Rhodesia. However, seventy four percent did agree that South Africa had been subjected to world pressure to withdraw her arms and police support.

(b) Members of clubs and associations

In contrast to the Wits sample, fifteen members interviewed in the above sample (seventy one percent) said that Britain 'sold Rhodesia down the river'. The remarks of one interviewee in this category, are a reasonable reflection of the others:

'I think Britain took us for a ride. As far as Rhodesia is concerned, for the Brits we're evil. They told us what we wanted to hear - that Muzorewa would win the elections'

The questionnaire responses for this group were similar to the interviews as eighty eight percent answered 'yes' to the

question 'Do you believe that Britain sold Rhodesia down the river?' Further, in this connection, forty two percent agreed with the statement 'Britain made us believe that Muzorewa would win when they knew that Mugabe would get in', while thirty three percent disagreed and twenty six percent were undecided.

Twenty three (fifty eight percent) of the subjects in this particular subgroup answered 'yes' to the question 'Do you believe that South Africa sold Rhodesia down the river?'. Three did not provide any answer and seventeen (forty percent) answered 'no'. One member interviewed at Halfway House said that 'South Africa did all she could but they were tied up. They were being pressurised by the rest of the world and that's why she stopped supplying Rhodesia'. This was a fairly general observation. Thirty five (eighty one percent) also agreed with the statement that 'South Africa was under world pressure to withdraw assistance (police and arms)'. .

(c) Snowball respondents

All the immigrants interviewed in the Eastern Transvaal and Natal, except for one who was undecided, felt that Britain had betrayed Rhodesia, particularly with regard to electoral expectations.

Seventy eight percent of the snowball subjects who returned questionnaires said that Britain had 'sold Rhodesia down the

river' but forty three percent disagreed with the statement 'Britain made us believe that Muzorewa would win when they knew that Mugabe would get in', with eighteen percent undecided and thirty nine percent agreeing.

Those who had completed a university degree or degrees, were comparatively less inclined to believe that Rhodesia was 'sold down the river' by Britain ( $\chi^2 = 5,67$  with 1 degree of freedom (d.f.),  $p < 0.02$ ), and comparatively more disagreed with the idea that Britain betrayed Rhodesia by making them believe that Muzorewa would get in when they knew all along that Mugabe would win ( $\chi^2 = 6,474$  with 2 d.f.,  $p < 0.04$ ).

Proportionately more of the interviewees in the snowball group than respondents in the first two samples claimed that South Africa had let Rhodesia down - although not the majority. However, of the snowball questionnaire respondents, only one third claimed that South Africa had also betrayed Rhodesia. It should be noted that fifteen did not complete this question. If these missing observations are presumed to have related to respondents who would have also answered affirmative in this regard, (but were merely scared to) then this figure would rise to forty two percent. (Omitting to complete this question was fairly consistent across all the groups canvassed). However, seventy seven percent did feel that South Africa came under world pressure to withdraw police and arms, fifteen percent were undecided and eight percent did not feel this was true.

(d) Government Gazette sample

Comparatively more in this category, eleven out of thirteen, stated that Britain had betrayed Rhodesia but conversely very few (two) said the same of South Africa. However, on the whole they believed that Britain lulled them into believing that Muzorewa would win when they knew all along that Mugabe would get in (which is a finding more intrinsic to this particular group), and that South Africa was under world pressure to withdraw police units and cut arms supplies.

In sum, club members and the gazette respondents were comparatively more inclined than the snowball sample and students to say that Britain betrayed Rhodesia. Rhodesian club members were the only group where the numeric majority believed that South Africa betrayed Rhodesia. Table 8 summarises these findings:

Table 8 Contended British and South African Betrayal

Group	Britain		South Africa	
	Yes	No (N)	Yes	No (N)
Students	44	28	20	48
Club members	36	5	23	17
Snowballs	79	22	32	63
Gazette	9	1	1	7
$\chi^2 = 12,75$ with 3 d.f. $p < 0.006$			$\chi^2 = 11,44$ with 3 d.f. $p < 0,01$	

3. Zimbabwe now under communist rule

(a) Immigrants at Wits

Members of staff interviewed were the subgroup least convinced that Zimbabwe follows the communist line and students who returned questionnaires were rather mixed in their attitude towards Zimbabwe's socio-political structure with some terming it African Nationalist and others calling it socialist. Approximately half the students thought that Mugabe is an avowed Marxist, the majority felt that the media in independent Zimbabwe are full of communist propaganda while forty five percent agreed that Mugabe is too friendly with the communist countries, thirty six percent were undecided and nineteen percent disagreed.

(b) Members of clubs and contact associations

In spite of interviews with a few white business proprietors in the Victoria Falls area who informed the author , in December 1981, that the government actively promotes their tourist oriented industries, several club members felt that Zimbabwe is under communist rule. As one remarked, 'It's a pity, it's definitely going that way. All the propaganda on the radio and everything just points to the communist influence - I mean Comrade this and Comrade that' and another said, 'It's definitely communist - Chinese and Russian communists - Mugabe is Chinese and Nkomo is Russian'.

Nearly one half of club members believed that Zimbabwe is communist although several checked the 'Socialist' and 'African Nationalist' categories on their questionnaires. The vast majority (eighty eight percent) felt that Mugabe is an avowed Marxist, that the media are full of communist propaganda (ninety five percent) and seventy one percent agreed that the Prime Minister is too friendly with Eastern bloc countries.

(c) Snowball subjects

One lady interviewed in Nelspruit said, 'it's obvious, Mugabe is a Chinese communist' and another in Sabie called him 'an avowed Marxist'. An interviewee in Durban said he was 'a blasted commie' and another remarked that 'he's a figurehead pushed by the radicals - Russia and China'. Snowball subjects who returned questionnaires were also mixed in their view as to whether Zimbabwe is communist, socialist or African Nationalist, or a mixture of these. They were, on the whole, convinced that Mugabe is an avowed Marxist (sixty seven percent) and many (fifty nine percent) agreed that Mugabe is too friendly with the communist countries. Females were comparatively more inclined to say that the media in Zimbabwe are full of communist propaganda ( $\chi^2 = 5,56$  with 1 d.f.,  $p < 0.02$ ). This finding is more in line with the previously described studies of Niewoudt and Nel (1975) and Frank (1960) which asserted that females are generally more conservative than males.

(d) Government Gazette respondents

Members of this group were convinced that Mugabe is an avowed Marxist (eight - yes; three - no; two - missing) and that the media in independent Zimbabwe are full of communist propaganda (nine - yes; two - no; two - missing). The majority also believed that Zimbabwe is now a communist state. Table 9 summarises the responses of the four groups:

Table 9 Zimbabwe and communism

Samples	Communist	Socialist	Capitalist	African Nationalist	Mixed	(N)	Mugabe is an avowed Marxist		Mugabe is too friendly with the communist countries			The media are full of communist propaganda	
							Yes	No	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Yes	No
(i) Wits	7	22	4	26	14								
(ii) Clubs	20	9	0	10	4								
(iii) Snowball	22	29	1	30	22								
(iv) Gazette	7	2	0	2	0								
	$\chi^2 = 16,2$ with 3 d.f. $p < 0,001$		$\chi^2 = 15,4$ with 6 d.f. $p < 0,02$			$\chi^2 = 15,5$ with 3 d.f. $p < 0,002$							

The obvious reason for the significances on the tests is that Rhodesian club members, with government gazette respondents not far behind, were more convinced about the issues. Wits students were comparatively less sure, with the snowball group between the students and the club members.

4. Immigrants views on the economy in contemporary Zimbabwe

(a) The student sample

The vast majority (eighty one percent) who returned questionnaires believed that the economy in independent Zimbabwe has deteriorated. One of the reasons offered was the shortage of white skills (ninety percent). An indicator for the decline in the economy was food shortages (sixty eight percent agreed, twelve percent were undecided and twenty percent disagreed).

Typically, one student interviewed remarked:

'I reckon the economy is going down the drain. Things could've been better and should've been. Building materials are difficult to get now - even under sanctions they were still coming in. Also petrol controls. Municipalities for example are being run badly now that the whites have left. I've got no respect for their sheer incompetence'.

And another said:

'My feelings are very negative. It's gone vrot! They're pushing too many blacks into too many high positions. Even those whites who have stayed behind with degrees don't get listened to'.

(b) Members of Rhodesian clubs and contact associations

In response to the question inserted in the questionnaire - 'Do you feel that the economy in independent Zimbabwe has gone to the dogs?', eighty eight percent answered in the affirmative. Most (eighty eight percent) felt that one of the reasons for the decline of the economy was the present shortage of white skills. One interviewee illustrated this opinion when he said that 'the kaffirs there need supervision all the time - they can't work without the whites who are leaving'. For the most part, members also felt that 'the shortages of food shows that the economy in Zimbabwe had gone down'. Sixteen percent disagreed with this statement. Another interviewee remarked: 'you can't buy things like butter, milk has been rationed and it's just a losing battle'.

(c) The snowball sample

The vast majority in the snowball questionnaire sample (eighty eight percent) felt that the economy in Zimbabwe has declined since independence. Ninety two percent believed that one of the reasons for this was the shortage of white skills and seventy eight percent agreed that the shortages of food also shows

that the economic situation has deteriorated. The remarks of two people interviewed in Sabie illustrate the questionnaire responses: 'So many skilled people are moving out. I left in March '81 and just before I left, I saw a factory standing idle for two weeks waiting for an electrician to come from Salisbury', and 'the petrol problems are shocking nowadays'.

(d) The Government Gazette sample

Ten of the thirteen respondents in this category felt that the economy in independent Zimbabwe has 'gone to the dogs'. There were two missing responses to this question. Ten (three missing cases) claimed that one of the reasons for this was the shortage of white skills and eleven (two missing) agreed that the shortages of food indicated that the economy had slipped.

Table 10 illustrates that there were no significant differences between the four categories and their attitudes towards aspects of the Zimbabwean economy:

Table 10    The relationship between the four groups and Zimbabwe's economy

Group	(i) Economy deteriorated		(ii) Shortage of white skills as a reason		(iii) Shortages of food indicative		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No (N)</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No (N)</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Unde- cided</u>	<u>Dis- agree (t</u>
Students	60	14	56	6	53	9	16
Club members	38	4	38	2	36	0	7
Snowballs	91	12	87	8	83	12	11
Gazette list	8	1	8	0	9	0	0

$\chi^2$  not significant for all three

5.        Perceptions of education since independence

Table 11 summarises the responses of the four samples to the scales that were concerned with education in Zimbabwe. (See overleaf).

(a)        The immigrants at Wits

Although most of the staff interviewed did not feel that education has declined in Zimbabwe, eighty one percent of the student questionnaire sample claimed that education has deteriorated since April 1980.

On the whole, as table 11 (overleaf) indicates, Wits university students felt that mixed schooling lowers educational standards and also that black school children are too old for their white fellows.

Table 11 Attitudes towards education in independent Zimbabwe

		<u>Wits students</u>	<u>Rhodesian Club members</u>	<u>Snowball subjects</u>	<u>Government list</u>	
<u>SCALES (N)</u>						
Education in independent Zimbabwe has gone down the drain	<u>Yes</u>	60	36	92	9	$\chi^2 = 9,6$ with 3 d.F., $p < 0,03$
	<u>No</u>	14	4	5	0	
The emigration of many white teachers means a lowering of the education standards there	Agree (A)	58	39	93	9	$p < 0,05$
	Undecided (U)	8	2	9	0	
	Disagree (D)	12	2	4	0	
Mixed schooling in Zimbabwe means the standards are lowered	A	43	37	74	8	$p < 0,02$
	U	15	2	16	1	
	D	20	4	16	0	
Black schoolchildren are too old for their white fellows in Zimbabwe	A	38	34	62	8	$p < 0,008$
	U	24	7	31	1	
	D	16	1	13	0	
School history textbooks in independent Zimbabwe are full of anti-white sentiments	A	26	20	42	2	Not significant
	U	41	19	52	5	
	D	7	2	8	1	
Learning agriculture during school hours is not for whites	A	26	19	41	1	Not significant
	U	20	12	24	6	
	D	32	11	40	2	

One student interviewed made these remarks about education:

'It's going down the drain as far as the whites are concerned. Education is being geared more and more towards the blacks - for example the choice of subjects - agriculture and gardening even replacing sport. The white cultural heritage is being sold out completely. History and other subjects are being Africanised - you're getting readily biased views. No credit is given to the white settlers'

Students were generally less categorical than the other groups in their condemnation of changes in Zimbabwe's education institution.

(b) Club membership

In response to the questionnaires sent to members of clubs and associations, the majority (eighty four percent) answered yes to the question; 'Would you say that education in independent Zimbabwe is also going down the drain?' Typical remarks made were: 'the standard of teachers has dropped, classes are overcrowded; my sister has two kids at school and they're the only white kids in the school'; 'two hours compulsory agriculture - they're turning school grounds into mielie fields'; and 'the history books now say that Rhodesian whites murdered blacks'. This category appeared to be somewhat more negative about Zimbabwean education than the other groups.

(c) Snowball subjects

Remarks in interview situations were similar to those in the other groups, for example: 'One of my reasons for leaving is that my children are about to go to school. All the history books have been altered and kids growing up see things like Rhodes' statue pulled down', and 'schools are being taken over by blacks so the standards are lower - also white teachers are leaving'.

The majority (ninety two) answered 'yes' to the following question inserted in the questionnaire, namely, 'Would you say that education in independent Zimbabwe is also going down the drain?', and agreement was generally expressed with regard to the other questions concerned with education. However, snowballs who had completed a university degree or degrees were less convinced that 'school history textbooks in independent Zimbabwe are full of anti-white sentiments' ( $\chi^2 = 8,2$  with 2 d.f.,  $p < 0,02$ ).

(d) Respondents from the Gazette list

All the naturalised respondents, except for the two missing cases, claimed that education has declined, with most stating that the emigration of white teachers, mixed schooling lowering standards and black schoolchildren being too old for their white fellows were responsible. However, they were largely undecided about the history books being full of anti-white sentiments and whether learning agriculture during school

hours was not for whites.

It does seem, therefore, that a general qualification is required, namely, that respondents did not seem totally against learning agriculture during school hours and some immigrants were also a little reluctant to comment on the content of school history books, probably because they have not perused any since emigrating. Immigrants at Wits, in particular the members of staff who were interviewed, seemed less negative about post-independence education than the other groups.

CHAPTER SIXEX-ZIMBABWEANS' VIEWS ON THEIR NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Two issues affecting immigrants in South Africa that were generated from the less formal research techniques, namely, (i) financial considerations and (ii) that Rhodesia's problems of yesteryear will be experienced in South Africa, were explored further in the interview and questionnaire procedures. The results obtained from the four groups are presented and discussed in this chapter. The findings pertaining to the two issues generated by the "safety valve" question in the interview schedule, (i) it is time to start new lives in South Africa and stop thinking about the bitter past in Rhodesia and (ii) immigrants will never have the same lifestyle in South Africa are discussed below:

1. Financial considerations in South Africa

(a) Students and staff

Regarding income, most students who replied to the questionnaire survey stated that the total monthly income coming into their households exceeded R1 000 with the mode at the R2 001 - R3 000 level. However, fifteen students put the figure at less than R1 000 per month and fourteen did not complete the question. Thus this data regarding financial considerations in South Africa is complicated by the nature of this specific sample as is property ownership, but fifty

seven percent of the members of staff interviewed did own their own homes. More than half of the students (fifty two percent) felt that they, or their families, were average with regard to how they are progressing in South Africa. Thirty three percent stated they were doing well and fifteen percent poorly. Thirty six percent felt they were fairing worse since immigrating, thirty three percent the same and thirty one percent better, but the fact that these respondents were students needs to be taken into account.

They observed that the cost of living was much higher (fifty six percent), higher (thirty nine percent), and only four students put it at about the same. As one said: 'things are one helluva lot more expensive in South Africa than Rhodesia, not only today, but even five years ago'.

(b) Membership

Twenty seven (sixty three percent) of the members of Rhodesian clubs and contact organisations who returned questionnaires perceived that they were fairing about average in South Africa, two very well, eleven well and three poorly. This is surprising in view of the fact that only five had a total household income of less than R1 000 per month. Sixteen felt they were doing better compared to when they lived in Zimbabwe, eleven the same and sixteen worse.

Most (eighty eight percent) did not own a plot where they would build a house in the future, none owned a flat under shareblock or sectional title but roughly half (twenty two) did own their own houses, for the most part in typically middle class South African suburbs. This does not quite compare with the claim on the part of thirty two (seventy four percent) that they owned their own house in Zimbabwe. One further respondent owned a flat and another a farmhouse in Zimbabwe. Nor does it compare with Dellatola's (1980 : 38) assertion that 'practically every Czechoslovakian immigrant in South Africa now owns a house or flat...' although what should be noted at once is that many Czechoslovakians emigrated to South Africa after the Russian invasion of that country in August, 1968. Thus, given time, it seems reasonable to assume that most Zimbabwean immigrants will eventually come to own their own domiciles in South Africa. There was no significant relationship on the chi square test between whether respondents had owned houses in both countries. The remaining twenty one respondents who did not own their own houses in South Africa were either renting flats or houses or residing in provided or subsidised units.

Lastly, twenty six of these respondents felt that the cost of living in South Africa, compared with when they lived in Rhodesia or Zimbabwe was much higher, fifteen said that it was higher and two said that it was about the same.

(c) Snowball sample

Most of the subjects in the snowball questionnaire sample felt that they were faring averagely since immigrating (fifty seven percent), thirty five percent said that were doing well and seven percent poorly. This was claimed in spite of the mode for income falling between R2 001 to R3 000 for total monthly income. Only nineteen earned less than R1 000 a month.

Income was not related to any of the variables in the questionnaire and thirty five percent claimed to be financially the same since emigrating, thirty five percent worse off, and thirty percent better off.

Six snowball respondents owned a vacant plot in South Africa, a further six a flat under sectional title or shareblock, and forty one owned their own houses, also mostly in middle class suburbs. Thirteen owned property in the more wealthy suburbs of South African cities.

The remaining fifty seven non-property owners were, for the most part renting flats or houses or sharing accommodation. The remarks of one lady interviewed in Nelspruit serve to illustrate this point:

'I've left all my livelihood up there. We owned a farm and now I'm supporting two children on my own and have no savings, nothing to fall back on. All I'm doing is renting a grotty cottage in White River. You know I even divorced my husband - a divorce of convenience - in Rhodesia so that separately we can each get out more. He's coming here in January with his truck which he'll sell and then we'll get remarried'.

Sixty two (fifty six percent) claimed that they had owned a house in Zimbabwe, four had owned farmhouses, one a townhouse, one a flat and six had owned several properties. Those who had not owned houses in Zimbabwe had rented flats or houses or been provided with military accommodation. For the snowball sample too, there was no significant relationship between whether respondents owned a house in Zimbabwe or after settling in South Africa.

Comparing the cost of living since migrating, fifty seven percent said it was much higher in South Africa, thirty three percent felt it was higher, and nine percent claimed it was the same.

(d) Government Gazette sample

Only five of the thirteen in this group owned their own homes and their income level seemed comparatively lower (mean =  $\pm$  R1 100 per month). Most had owned houses in Zimbabwe and said that they had a reasonable lifestyle in South Africa. Four felt they were worse off since leaving Zimbabwe, one much worse, three the same, and a further three, better. Eleven respondents were unhappy with the cost of living in South Africa

saying it was either higher or much higher.

Table 12 summarises the findings for the four groups:

Table 12 Financial considerations in South Africa

<u>Group</u>	<u>Doing financially in South Africa</u>					<u>Own own home</u>	
	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Very poor</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
(i) Students	5	20	40	9	3	(+ 50% of staff interviewed)	
(ii) Club members	2	11	27	3	0	22	21
(iii) Snowball	4	35	63	7	1	53	57
(iv) Gazette	1	3	7	0	0	5	8
	<u>Comparison to Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe</u>			<u>Income mode</u>	<u>Cost of living comparison</u>		
	<u>Better</u>	<u>same</u>	<u>worse</u>		<u>Much higher</u>	<u>Higher</u>	<u>Same</u>
(i)	21	23	25	R2 - 3000	43	30	4
(ii)	16	11	16	Scattered (lower)	26	15	2
(iii)	31	36	36	R2 - 3000	62	36	10
(iv)	3	3	4	Scattered (lower)	7	3	1

This table indicates a similar pattern of responses for the four samples. The only point of distinction is the slightly lower income level for the gazette group and the club members.

2. Rhodesia's problem of yesteryear will be experienced in South Africa

(a) Students

Eighty eight percent who returned their questionnaires said that Rhodesia's problems will occur in South Africa soon - in urban areas (sixty one percent), rural (nineteen percent) and both urban and rural (twenty two percent). South Africa's army is insufficient (fifty percent) to contain these problems. Twenty one percent were undecided while twenty nine percent felt that the army 'is strong enough'. In response to the contention that 'South Africa is stronger economically and therefore should also easily be able to handle these problems', forty percent agreed, twenty percent were undecided and forty percent disagreed.

(b) Members of clubs and contact groups

Ninety one percent of the club members who sent back questionnaires believe that 'Rhodesia's problems of yesteryear will be experienced in South Africa soon' and these will occur mostly in urban centres (sixty six percent), to a lesser extent in rural areas (thirteen percent) or in both urban and rural areas (twenty one percent).

It was generally felt that South Africa does not have a strong enough army to readily contain any of the problems that Rhodesia

experienced. Fifty one percent felt this way, thirty percent did not while nineteen percent were undecided. On the other hand, nineteen members (forty four percent) agreed with the argument that 'South Africa is stronger economically and therefore should also easily be able to handle these problems'. Thirty five percent disagreed and twentyone percent were undecided. The remarks of a Midrand club member sums up the general feeling:

'There will be trouble here in the towns 'cos the munts hate the whites more than in Rhodesia. But South Africa is much stronger economically and also defence wise, and can sustain without worrying about sanctions. The big difference is that South Africa is the last bastion and is a lot stronger'.

(c) Snowball subjects

Four fifths of the snowball respondents feel that 'Rhodesia's' problems of yesteryear will be experienced in South Africa soon' with seventy percent seeing these problems occurring in urban areas, eight percent in rural areas and twenty two percent in both.

Although one interviewee from Durban said that 'America's got the message now - the rest of the world see us in an imperative position to keep up - they won't let what happened in Rhodesia happen here; also you've got a much stronger army', respondents were mixed in their feelings as to whether South Africa has a strong defence force which can easily cope.

with these problems. Thirty two percent felt it was strong enough, twenty eight percent were undecided and forty percent said it was not. However, they were more certain about the economy as forty nine percent agreed with the contention that 'South Africa is stronger economically and therefore should also easily be able to handle these problems'. Thirty two percent disagreed and nineteen percent were undecided.

Relating age to the variable whether Rhodesia's problems of yesteryear will be experienced in South Africa soon, snowball respondents over the age of fifty were comparatively less inclined to see these problems arising than their younger counterparts ( $\chi^2 = 12,2$  with 2 d.f.,  $p < 0,003$ ). An explanation might be that youth are inclined to perceive unrest to be a more serious issue as Simon (1979) discovered in his research on student attitudes towards emigration.

(d) Government Gazette respondents

Seventy percent (slightly less than the other groups) see problems arising, mostly in the urban areas in South Africa. They were undecided about South Africa's capability in terms of military strength, but much more positive about the state of the economy with respect to withstanding any problems that might arise.

Table 13 indicates that there were no significant differences between the four categories and the variables concerning the replication of Rhodesia's problems in South Africa ( $p > 0,1$  for each case).

Table 13 Rhodesia's problems repeated in South Africa

	<u>Group</u>	<u>Will be repeated</u>		<u>Where?</u>		
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Both</u>
(i)	Students	65	9	12	39	13
(ii)	Club members	39	4	5	25	8
(iii)	Snowball	85	21	7	58	18
(iv)	Gazette	7	3	3	3	0

	<u>S.A. army strong enough to handle problems</u>			<u>S.A. economy sufficient</u>		
	<u>Agree (A)</u>	<u>Undecided(U)</u>	<u>Disagree(D)</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>D</u>
(i)	22	16	37	29	15	29
(ii)	13	8	22	19	9	15
(iii)	34	30	43	51	20	34
(iv)	3	6	2	5	4	2

3. Time to start new lives in South Africa and stop thinking about the bitter past in Rhodesia

One club member commenting on the two contexts said:

'We're gonna make the most of it. Twenty seven years down the drain, I'll cut my losses. We're making the most of it in South Africa although they just give us hassles like they don't give us permanent residence permits too easy'.

Table 14 (below) shows that the majority of respondents in each category subscribed to the notion that it was time to start new lives in their new situational context.

Table 14 Time to start new lives in South Africa and forget about the bitter past in Rhodesia

<u>Sample</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>%</u>
Wits	61	(84)	12	(16)
Rhodesian Clubs	38	(88)	5	(12)
Snowball	98	(92)	9	( 8)
Government Gazette	11	(100)	0	( 0)

The figures for all the groups are similar and therefore this study is different to Smedley's (1977 : 70) survey of Czechoslovakian refugees in Pretoria where 'thirty eight comma seven percent of the female respondents agreed with the statement that "Czechoslovakian immigrants are prepared to give up their own identity and to become like South Africans": only 1,6 percent of the men and 4,9 percent of the women disagreed with it, the majority of respondents being uncertain about it (45,0% and 53,1% respectively)'.

One probable reason for all the members in the Government Gazette sample believing that it was time to start new lives in South Africa and stop

thinking about the bitter past in Rhodesia is that this group had recently obtained naturalisation papers.

4. Will never have the same life as in Rhodesia

Table 15, for which the  $\chi^2$  test also demonstrated no relationship between the two variables, produces the data obtained from the four samples:

Table 15 Will be unable to repeat the Rhodesian lifestyle in South Africa

<u>Category</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Agree</u>
Students	17	6	50
Clubs	10	2	31
Snowball	36	6	67
Gazette	3	1	7

For the students, sixty nine percent agreed, eight percent were undecided and twenty three percent disagreed. Most club members (seventy two percent) expressed agreement, twenty three percent did not and two members were undecided.

These figures were similar for the snowball group where sixty two percent agreed, thirty three percent disagreed and six percent were undecided.

As one Sabie resident said when interviewed:

'Afrikaans people only speak Afrikaans to us even when they know I'm a Rhodesian. We don't talk about the things that we left behind like other Rhodies. Alright it's not the same here but we've become South Africans now and we'll get on with it. If necessary we will fight another war against the communists here. Rhodesia's not there anymore - we left Zimbabwe, not Rhodesia'.

Snowball females were a little more undecided or disagreed less with the notion that as immigrants, ex-Zimbabweans will never have the same life here in South Africa ( $\chi^2 = 6,887$  with 2 d.f.,  $p < 0,04$ ). Nearly sixty percent of the naturalised citizens believed that they will not experience the same life in South Africa as they had in former Rhodesia.

CHAPTER SEVENSUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS1. Summary

Some time before Carrington announced Zimbabwe's independence, whites had begun leaving Rhodesia in numbers, particularly after the intensification of the war in 1973 when the post 1966 trend of a positive nett immigration index was first reversed. White numbers decreased dramatically after 1976 (population 280,000) and by 1979 the figure stood at roughly 238,000 with many having opted by that stage for the 'chicken run' or 'gap', as those Rhodesians who had chosen to stay and fight referred to emigrants. In May 1980, according to the Department of Statistics, South Africa gained 2,365 immigrants, mostly from Zimbabwe and by the end of that year the number of whites still residing in Zimbabwe was estimated to be 200,000.

While it is true that not all whites emigrated from Rhodesia and modern Zimbabwe and not all the emigrants have come to South Africa, a large contingent established itself here: witness the numerous letters to the press on the part of immigrants, and the many businesses advertising themselves as "Rhodesian" or offering assistance to "ex-Rhodies". With the exception of South West Africa, this immigrant community is probably the last to find refuge in an African country still ruled by whites. For this reason the major aim of this research was to ascertain the views of a community now living in a new country with a socio-

political structure similar to that in their previous land of residence. Their thoughts and feelings about their country of origin, about the independence of Zimbabwe and about beginning new lives in a new country, have wide sociological implications for contemporary South Africa.

The immigrants whose views were investigated in this research, have departed from a previous situational context ruled by a white minority to a new land where a minority presently rules. In both countries, white rule encountered early opposition from local Africans - in the 1890's in Rhodesia and in the 1830's in South Africa - and this intensified later, manifesting itself in the form of increased guerilla operations in spite of the banning of African nationalist movements south and north of the Limpopo. Whites in Rhodesia and South Africa had been granted "responsible government" in the first quarter of this century and for all practical intents and purposes thereafter pursued a policy of separate development, a salient example being the acquisition of most of the land solely by members of the minority.

Both former Rhodesia and contemporary South Africa have been subjected to hostile world opinion operationalised in the implementation of sanctions directed against UDI and a less severe arms embargo against South Africa since November 1977. In addition, Rhodesian whites used, and South Africans use, slogans and various propaganda mechanisms in an attempt to prop up minority rule. The anti-Marxist slogans increased after Mozambique's independence in 1975 and the mass media was exploited by the UDI government and continues to propagate the kind of material

that the Nationalist South African government believes insecure whites should see and hear. This perceived threat to their security provides one further parallel across the two situational contexts. In Rhodesia, Whitehead's proposed constitution which implied that blacks could eventually achieve a majority, led directly to the Rhodesian Front coming to power based upon its stated philosophy of white supremacy. More recently, in South Africa, many whites have begun to turn to the Conservative Party although this process is far from complete and it would be dangerous to make concrete predictions at this point in time. There are, on the other hand, several differences between the two contexts, such as South Africa being a legal sovereign state, the black-white numerical ratios (20:1 in Rhodesia and 5:1 in South Africa), deeper white roots in South Africa coupled with the "Afrikaner factor" as well as the more advanced and self-sufficient state of the South African economy which is better equipped to cope with sanctions in the unlikely event, for the present, of these being introduced. Paradoxically therefore, these distinctions, in a sense, serve to enhance white domination (the major similarity), which is the goal that most whites in Rhodesia desired. Hence the overall context remains the same - immigrants have simply exchanged one country where whites formerly ruled for another where they presently exercise political and economic control. There is, however, a distinction of direct relevance to the attitudes of the immigrants canvassed in this study and that is the cessation of white rule north of the Limpopo. Since the independence of Zimbabwe on April 18, 1980 four controversial issues have emerged which have impinged upon the views of immigrants; namely, (i) the overwhelming election victory of Mugabe's Zanu (PF) party, (ii) whether Zimbabwe politically subscribes to communist doctrines and whether or not (iii) the economy and (iv) education have

declined since independence.

In order to allow the ex-Zimbabwean informants and respondents in this study to generate the issues that they, as immigrants, held as important, no categories were imposed upon them from the outset and in this regard a methodological approach of multiple operationism was the procedure employed.

The issues that they deemed important were teased out by:

- (a) Content analysing all letters written by ex-Zimbabweans to all South African English and Afrikaans (of which there were few) newspapers from April 1980 to April 1981, that is, for the year succeeding the formation of the state of Zimbabwe.
- (b) By employing various participant observation strategies:
  - "Complete participant observation" modified to "informal talks" with several single immigrants or families.
  - "Participant - as-observer" where a Zimbabwean student talked to several immigrants and subsequently recorded their views.
  - "Complete observation" of television programmes and business concerns which presented themselves as openly "Rhodesian".

At no stage were any conceptual categories imposed and only perfunctory conversation openers were used.

From the content analysis and the modified participant observation strategies, the following were the themes that emerged on a regular basis:

- (i) Britain and South Africa betrayed former Rhodesia.
- (ii) The war years proved to be tragic.
- (iii) Zimbabwe is now ruled by a communist government.
- (iv) The economy is declining in Zimbabwe.
- (v) Education is declining in Zimbabwe.
- (vi) Immigrants are experiencing financial difficulties in South Africa.
- (vii) Trouble will occur in South Africa.

These themes were more fully refined by interviewing twenty one students (fourteen) and staff (seven) at the University of the Witwatersrand, twenty one members of the Rhodesian club near Halfway House and eight in the Eastern Transvaal (Sabie, Nelspruit and White River) and a further five in Natal whose names and addresses were supplied in a snowballing manner. The interview schedule consisted of open-ended questions constructed around the seven themes, mentioned previously, that emerged from the content analysis and modified participant observation procedures as well as a final open-ended "safety valve" question at the end designed to cope with any additional material not covered in the seven generated issues. These were:

- (a) It is time to forget about Rhodesia and start new lives in South Africa.
- (b) Immigrants will never have the same life in South Africa as they had in Rhodesia.

Besides elaborating upon the generated issues, in terms of more conventional triangulation, the interviews also served to enrich the questionnaire data which was obtained from extended samples of forty three members of Rhodesian Clubs and contact associations in Springs, the West Rand, Welkom, Cape Town and Durban; one hundred and ten snowball subjects; and seventy nine students. Thirteen naturalised citizens, whose names were published in a recent edition of the Government Gazette, also returned questionnaires mailed to them.

(i) Immigrants' perceptions of the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean situation

(a) The tragedy of war

This variable was the only item which did not load significantly on Factor 1 (negativism towards the socio-political issues of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and the changed structures since Zimbabwean independence) for all the groups. This was because sixteen students disagreed that the war was a waste of lives, thirty

five percent of club and association members and twenty six percent of the snowballs. Conversely, only one of the 'new citizens' disagreed that the war was a waste of lives. It is possible that several immigrants believed they were fighting for a cause which justified loss of life.

(b) Betrayal by Britain and South Africa

Sixty one percent of the student questionnaire sample did feel that Britain had betrayed them, and were mixed in response to the interviewees' idea that Britain had led them into believing that Muzorewa would win the April 1980 elections when they knew all along that Mugabe would come to power. Most (seventy four percent) of the students agreed that South Africa had been subjected to world pressure to withdraw arms and police support. Several students did not complete the question concerning South African betrayal.

In contrast, members of the Halfway House Rhodesian Club did say in their interviews, that Britain had very definitely betrayed Rhodesia as did the other club members on their questionnaires (eighty eight percent). This is slightly up on the figure for students but they were also mixed in their feelings about whether Britain had misled them with regard to electoral expectations.

Proportionately more also believed that South Africa had "sold Rhodesia down the river" and eighty one percent agreed that South Africa had been under world pressure to cut arms supplies and withdraw police units.

All the snowball immigrants interviewed, except one, claimed that Britain had betrayed Rhodesia, as did the respondents to the snowball questionnaires (seventy eight percent) but once again, feelings were mixed with regard to whether the direction of this betrayal was to be ascertained in Muzorewa's election chances. Those, who were university graduates, were less inclined to believe that Rhodesia was "sold down the river" by Britain.

Comparatively more than in the previous two samples felt that South Africa was to blame (although not the majority) and several did not complete the question in this connection. Seventy seven percent did note world pressure to which they thought South Africa was subjected.

Britain, very definitely betrayed Rhodesia for the Gazette list but conversely South Africa did not, although she had been subjected to pressure. In a measured departure from the other groups, this category did feel that Britain had misled Rhodesia concerning Mugabe's election potential.

(c) Zimbabwe now communist

Students were less convinced than any of the others that Zimbabwe is ruled by communists, most believing that it was socialist or African nationalist. They were not sure whether Mugabe was too friendly with the communist countries although about one half felt that he is an avowed Marxist and sixty eight percent said that the media in independent Zimbabwe are full of communist propaganda.

Members of clubs were more sure that the present day socio-political structure reflects communism and they also thought, for the most part, that Mugabe is an avowed Marxist, too friendly with Russia and China and that the media propagate communist ideology (ninety five percent).

The snowball subjects were mixed between communism, socialism, and African Nationalism. The other questions reflected similar answers to those of club members, (for example - the media are full of communist propaganda (eighty six percent)).

The naturalised citizens were the respondents most convinced about communism and its consequences in independent Zimbabwe.

(d) Economy declining in Zimbabwe

Sixty eight percent of those students who returned their questionnaires pointed to food shortages as an indicator of economic deterioration and ninety percent noted one reason as being the shortage of skilled whites.

Club members also generally felt that the shortages of food and white skills implied economic problems in independent Zimbabwe. Snowball respondents, too, were convinced that the economy has declined with ninety two percent believing that one of the reasons for this is a shortage of white skills and seventy eight percent agreed that the shortages of food also shows that the economic situation has deteriorated.

Virtually all the naturalised citizens thought along these lines.

(e) Education since independence

Wits students, but not staff, generally felt that education standards have declined but many were undecided about whether the history textbooks are full of anti-white sentiments and a significant number did not feel that learning agriculture at school was such a bad idea. However, significant numbers thought that the emigration of many white teachers (seventy four percent) and mixed schooling (fifty five percent) lowered educational standards and forty nine percent agreed that black school children are too old for their white counterparts in classes.

Members of Rhodesian clubs and contact associations who returned questionnaires, believed that education has "gone down the drain" (eighty four percent). Like the Wits student immigrants, several were undecided about whether the history textbooks are full of anti-white sentiments, although more agreed with this statement. Somewhat more also pointed to the emigration of many white teachers (ninety one percent), mixed schooling (eighty six percent) and black school children being too old (eighty one percent).

The vast majority of snowball immigrants canvassed expressed a belief that the education system in Zimbabwe has suffered (eighty four percent) due to the emigration of white teachers (eighty eight percent), mixed schooling (seventy percent) and black scholars being older (fifty nine percent). Several, particularly university graduates, were unconvinced that school history textbooks are full of anti-white propaganda. Roughly the same amount agreed as disagreed with the notion that learning agriculture during school hours is not for whites.

The Government Gazette sample was extremely negative about education since independence, although most were undecided about the content of textbooks and learning agriculture in schools.

(ii) Ex-Zimbabweans' views on their new South African context

(a) Financial matters

Immigrants at Wits, mostly claimed that they were faring about average in South Africa and roughly the same amount claimed they were doing better, the same or worse in comparison to when they lived in Rhodesia or Zimbabwe. The major complaint was about the high cost of living in South Africa.

Members of clubs seemed to be faring less well than students (and obviously their families), with more complaining about the high cost of living. They also reported a lower extent of home ownership but the majority claimed to have owned houses in Zimbabwe. These results were consistent with respondents from the snowball sample and the Government Gazette list although the mean income of the latter was comparatively lower.

(b) Rhodesia's problems of yesteryear will be experinced in South Africa

Virtually all the immigrants at Wits see South Africa facing similar problems in the future, mostly in urban areas. Fifty percent believed that the military is insufficient to contain these problems but they were mixed in their responses as to whether the economy was strong enough.

These findings were remarkably similar to members of clubs and contact organisations and the respondents from the snowball sample although the latter were happier with the country's economic ability as were the naturalised immigrants. The Government Gazette sample was fractionally less sure of problems arising although the majority indeed did see these occurring in time.

(c) Time to start new lives in South Africa and stop thinking about the bitter past in Rhodesia

The majority of respondents in all four categories agreed that it was time to stop thinking about the bitter past in Rhodesia and better to start making new lives for themselves in South Africa.

(d) Will not have the same life in South Africa

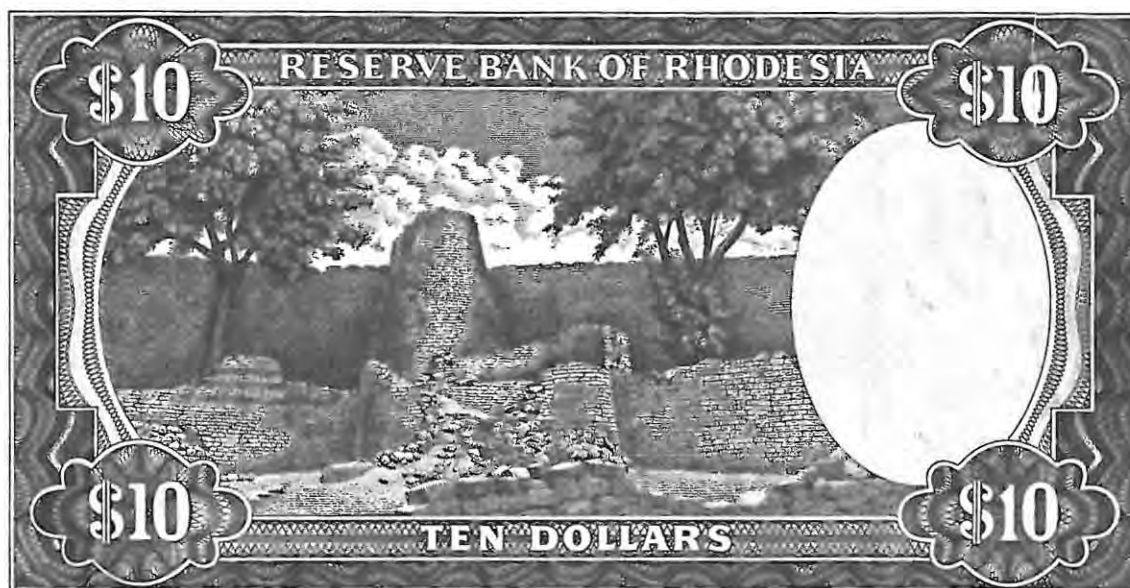
The numeric majority in all groups expressed this belief.

Limitations of the research

A great deal of this research can be categorised as qualitative although there is some quantitative information in the preceding two chapters.

Attempts were made, on the qualitative level, to try and cover a broad spectrum of immigrants from students to members of Rhodesian clubs, "men and women in the street", in more rural areas and across the South

African provinces. Most of the interviewees agreed that the issues raised by authors of letters to the press and by the initial subjects who had been engaged in unfocussed conversations, were the ones that they held to be important and regularly discuss with their peers. In addition, several of the earlier informants, as opposed to the later respondents in the questionnaire dimension, displayed on the walls of their places of abode, memorabilia of Rhodesia, which they termed 'Rhodesiana', such as weapons confiscated from captured guerillas during the war, UDI flags, regimental badges and Rhodesian currency.



However, while such data is inherently colourful, it is often the aim, when studying larger communities (as opposed to specific case studies) to generalise to a wider body. Given time, cost and manpower constraints, depth interviews cannot readily be conducted among a large sample. Hence, a mailed questionnaire, which is most suitable for a

geographically dispersed population, was opted for at the last phase of this research and ran immediately into a typical South African problem (where sensitive issues are investigated), that of gate-keeping in terms of providing an adequate sampling frame. The Department of Internal Affairs did not reply to a letter requesting a list of the names and addresses of ex-Zimbabweans now resident in South Africa and follow up phone calls were passed around bureaucratically without concrete results.

Hence, in the end, even though questionnaires were administered to a wide spectrum of potential respondents and the response rate of fifty percent was reasonably high by South African sociological research standards, two things became apparent from this study:

- (i) First, it would be presumptuous to say that the findings contained here are representative of the whole immigrant body and generalizations are no more than tentative. However, it can be suggested that because of the results from the Government Gazette sample, the conclusions are an *understatement* of the scenario which is a greater indictment of rightwing and racist attitudes, arguably ideologically generated from above, than these findings demonstrate.
- (ii) Second, it seems that research in South Africa is continually plagued by legal exigencies and gatekeeping problems and thus qualitative research should become the running paradigm, or alternatively, where formal procedures of

data collection are employed without random samples (but where they are useful for geographical extension), the findings should be regarded as tentative and not generalizable. In other words, where sampling frames cannot be obtained, data collected by means of the more formal measuring instruments should be regarded in the same vein as advocates of qualitative procedures have always contended, namely, that data are not empirically generalizable or externally valid.

If students and scholars do wish to employ the questionnaire as a data gathering tool to canvass views more widely, it is suggested that they partially circumvent gatekeeping problems by reading local newspaper reports and by employing snowballing techniques.

## 2. Concluding notes

Generally it seems that the immigrants who offered their views in this investigation are at best extremely negative about desegregation and African advancement and very bitter about the loss of white power and its consequences. The small number of respondents in the gazette category were negative about all the socio-political issues.<sup>(8)</sup>

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8. For a summary of the government gazette sample's responses, see Appendix J.

Intuitively (and possibly empirically) they appeared to be as negative as members of Rhodesian clubs and contact organisations and were certainly more negative than both the snowball category and the University of the Witwatersrand sample. Thus, in respect of this research investigation, the negativism of ex-Zimbabweans living in South Africa may have been slightly understated.

What is of greater concern is that the expressed opinions *generally* appear to range from bitterness and conservatism about Rhodesia's transformation to Zimbabwe to *extreme* bitterness and conservatism. The question that needs to be answered, is how four samples, though theoretically different structurally, could, *on the whole*, provide a set of responses that reflect a similar current of thought on these matters. In order to attempt to provide the beginnings of a plausible answer to this question, Hodder-Williams (1983) argument is worthy of explication and consideration. In his research in Zimbabwe, Hodder-Williams (1983 : 6) concluded that there were two categories of whites whom he called 'Rhodesians' and 'Zimbabweans':

'It became clear to me the longer I was in the district that there were, broadly speaking, two types of stayers - what I shall call 'Zimbabweans' and 'Rhodesians' respectively. They soon became easily recognisable in terms of their attitudes, perception of 'reality' and language'.

He adds (pp.7-8) that whereas 'Zimbabweans' were reasonably accepting and positive about the new socio-political order, 'Rhodesians',

'called most of the ZANU leadership communists,... have little embarrassment about the past and retain an undented pride in what whites have done for the country,...look to the south, to South Africa, where they believe the thrust of African Nationalism can be checked...and continue to refer to 'munts' 'terrs' or 'gooks', and the K factor (the burden all employers are supposed to bear because of 'Kaffir' unreliability) and to talk, loudly and on purpose, about Rhodesia'.

On this basis, it seems that it has been "Rhodesians" who have emigrated to South Africa. Few "Zimbabweans" have elected to settle here.

Since the immigrants who have come to South Africa are, for the most part, "Rhodesians", it comes as no surprise that they are extremely bitter about the cessation of white minority rule and concomitant privileges contained in the structure of former Rhodesia. Their slating of independent Zimbabwe and their expressed views on the new South African context, can, in this light, be seen to reflect what Murphree (1983 : 17) refers to as a 'rationalization of privilege' - "See what's happening up north since I left, I don't want this to happen to us whites again". In addition, their views on their perceived financial difficulties can also be seen to relate to a loss of economic privilege that went hand in hand with white rule. Whites in Rhodesia were known to enjoy an extremely high standard of living even by South African standards and 1980 was the year when housing prices began to rise sharply in their new situational context. Further, many whites

in former Rhodesia either believed, or were led to believe, that they were fighting a battle not only for themselves but also to assist South Africa in what they saw as her struggle against a communist threat. After all this, they complain, they have not been greeted by the helping hand they expected but rather by a higher cost of living.

In short, most of these immigrants are "Rhodesians", unable to countenance the loss of white rule in Zimbabwe and so have come to South Africa where they rationalise privilege by deprecating independent Zimbabwe. This view is conditioned by the fact that they have not found all things to their liking in their new context in spite of obvious similarities between South Africa and former Rhodesia. This account, however, still does not fully answer the question why four different samples, admittedly with a few exceptions, produced what can only be termed "Rhodesian" views and attitudes. Thus the second question that needs to be posed is whether the subjects in this study, whose letters to the press were content analysed, who were interviewed and who returned their questionnaires, are intrinsically and inherently right wing racists. Is there in fact some broader sociological explanation for their socio-political attitudes, attitudes that are extremely conservative even by South African standards? In addressing this question, it does seem as if the dominant ideology in former Rhodesia provides a plausible account.

### Ideology

While the viewpoint of the Christian Institute (1974 : 7) is that South Africa has traditionally 'played a role as a haven for whites who have

been unable to accept black rule in other African states...many such whites are racist and embittered and have undoubtedly had an effect in hardening the racial prejudices of native white South Africans' and more specifically, Bull (1967 : 149) has said that 'in Rhodesia (as in South Africa) the entrenched privilege of Europeans is a natural seedbed of fascist attitudes', it does seem that the Rhodesian white populace was faced with a barrage of propagandist ideology that may have been responsible for their current socio-political perspective.

To begin with, apologists of the Smith era and earlier periods such as Berlyn (1966), Boggie (1940), Bullock (1950), Chesterton (1973), Edwards (1966), Gibbs (1961) and Handford (1976) wrote several books with themes focussing on 'the mess in African countries to the north with regular coups', 'Africans being inherently backward and unworthy of advancement', 'the communist tide sweeping down Africa' and even debated which mysterious ancient culture built the Zimbabwe ruins. Their beauty and sophisticated architectural construction implied for these authors that they could not have been erected by an indigenous African population when it is generally accepted that they must have been the handiwork of the local Shona.

However, of more contemporary relevance was the appeal that went up from these writers that the Rhodesian press support the white endeavour by submitting to *censorship*:

'As a journalist, I can hold no brief for an action which curtails the freedom of the press. At the same time I was a Rhodesian long before I was ever a journalist, and I reluctantly accept that there is a case to be made for certain aspects of press censorship. The first of these is the exclusion of the names of African Nationalists from the news. The press was largely responsible for building the Nationalist leaders into personalities'  
(Berlyn, 1966 : 98)

Indeed, the UDI government succeeded in censoring the press (even to the extent of not allowing the publication of blank spaces in newspapers resulting from censorship), as Carver (1981), Frederickse (1981), Loney (1975) and Todd (1966) have confirmed. As Windrich (1979 : 523) has succinctly put it: 'censorship, in one form or another, has prevailed since the Rhodesian Front came to power in 1963...As a result, white Rhodesians read in their local newspapers only what the press is allowed to reveal'.

The battle was also extended to the foreign press. As Davis (1976 : 215) noted: 'In April 1973, a Sunday Mail reporter discussed the Annual Congress of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists and the address by the Guild's president, in which he had mentioned that during the last ten years, at least fifty eight journalists had been declared prohibited immigrants by the government'. The case of Pieter Niese wand, a South African, who was detained in 1972 and then put on a TAP flight to Lisbon and London, has been well documented and in his 'autobiography' of these events he wrote that 'there is no substitute for the truth' (1973 : 209). This statement won wide acclaim.

Beyond censoring what they didn't want local whites to know, Frederickse (1981) points out that the Republican Front government also broadcast a barrage of propaganda which they wanted their electorate to hear, see and believe. The Rhodesian Ministry of Information produced film documentaries which they also showed to rural blacks, and Harvey Ward, the one-time Director-General of the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) was one of the better known ideologues who made sure that Rhodesian radio and television services broadcast exactly the sort of material that the UDI government had in mind. Records glorifying Rhodesia (one entitled 'Rhodesians never die' by Andy Dillon and Clem Tholet as an example) were produced, and T-shirts elevating Rhodesian soldiers to lofty heights were sold widely. Propaganda leaflets, directed at both whites and their perceived enemies, were distributed on a large scale as were very cheap "FM-only" radios. These were distributed to chiefs and headmen throughout rural areas.

Some of the prevailing thoughts in regard to ideologising were aptly summarised by Chesterton (1973 : 194):

'a great deal of thought should be given to ensuring that any propaganda programme on radio or TV has impact. Next, a standard propaganda booklet giving Rhodesia's case (a publication updated every three months) should be given to every citizen and tourist'.

For Mlambo (1974) whites probably wanted 'to believe these stories' but again as Frederickse (1982) has noted, there was a considerable amount of propagandising from the opposition which obviously the strict laws of censorship would have kept hidden from white eyes.

There may even be a moral in this story for independent Zimbabwe, if the remarks of Hills (1981) are true. Reading between the lines of Matatu (1980a) and the African Confidential Report on Zimbabwe (1980a) and the appeals of Mzamane (1980), it seems that the press may still be subject to impositions from government sources.

Fed on ever increasing amounts of propaganda from all kinds of sources, it is not surprising that Rhodesian whites believed that they could hinder African advancement socially and politically. Furthermore, as Mantzaris (1980) has pointed out, whites believed that Africans could be left to play one economic role, that of cheap labour.

It is also no surprise that they were stunned when Mugabe won the 1980 election, as indeed were white South Africans whose views were understated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, R.F. Botha, in a post election television interview when he said: 'Let me say it, I do not think that anyone expected Mr. Mugabe to win by such a wide margin, that is true'. Mugabe had always been portrayed as the personification of the communist menace and in spite of his reconciliatory statements on coming to power and later in independence anniversary speeches, the immigrants canvassed in this research firmly believed that Zimbabwe will no longer accommodate whites. One explanation could be the successful ideologising of these immigrants during the UDI era and this may also explain why a significant number did not feel that the war there was a waste of lives. There has to be a lesson in this for present day South Africa which is discussed below.

### Lessons for South Africa

Some time ago, Clegg (1960 : 260) predicted that:

'because of the very nature of the conflict in this stark Sophoclean tragedy, the white communities, hemmed ever more tightly into the toe of the continent, will one day stand and fight to defend the countries they have fashioned, to defend their way of life, the existence of a European society on the African continent'.

That fight has been lost north of the Limpopo and is beginning to move inexorably towards top gear in South Africa.

But that is only one parallel. The structural attempts to maintain white supremacy, as discussed previously, are very similar to those of pre-independent Zimbabwe. Partridge (1972 : 1) wrote in then Rhodesia, that 'one group of people lives comfortably, eats well, has fairly interesting jobs, fills their leisure time with expensive amusements; none of this is true of the other group...' and as far back as 1962, Rogers and Frantz observed that the motivation for social change is extremely weak among whites while Van Onselen (1976 : 244) added: '...as Arthur Brode, the Rhodesian correspondent of the Aborigine's Protection Society in Bulawayo put it, "Africans look at the white man in the first instance as being on the make at their expense"'.

South Africa, with its non-enfranchisement of the black population, its apartheid structures, and at times naked racism and concomitant black opposition, has all the racist features of former Rhodesia and arguably even more.

Here, too, the Press labours under severe restrictions for long gone are the days of the free press under British rule that Green and Wood (1980) desired. Television and radio too, transmit propaganda very similar to the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation, particularly under Harvey Ward's direction. News Focus, Editorial Comment and several other programmes, either subtly or blatantly, are designed to serve government ideological purposes as was the case in former Rhodesia. The government, too, likes to distribute leaflets espousing South Africa's "cause". As Beckett (1983 : 33) recently wrote:

'Frederickse's book shows up too the tragedy of the ordinary people, both white and black, who were subjected to a plethora of conflicting propaganda all of which had just one thing in common - that it was untrue. It wasn't even meant to be true. It was meant to cultivate separate sectional perspectives of one man's meat being the other man's poison'.

There would seem to be a parallel with the Rhodesian saga and no doubt the government will increase its ideological output as the war intensifies.

There is, however, one important difference. As hostility from within and abroad towards the UDI government increased, Rhodesia did have its southern neighbour to turn to in the face of sanctions. Obviously, the forays into Zimbabwe by ex-Rhodesian soldiers which Meldrum (1982) and Mugabe (1982) have strongly protested about, provide an issue which will not be relevant to the South African case. South Africa has no white neighbour and except for armaments has yet to bear the brunt of sanctions.

Given that South Africa today, in many respects, resembles Rhodesia of yesteryear, and given a much larger black population in opposition to its policies within, it may be argued that many of her white population, having been subjected to a barrage of propaganda from so many different sources, will be left embittered, and opposed to the type of government that eventually takes over power. Not only did the press censorship and propagandising of the UDI government fail to shore up white supremacy, it also left a wake of bitterness, racism and confusion in its trail. By employing similar tactics, the South African government could well produce a similar white population with nowhere to run. It appears therefore that the time and costs wasted on propagandising would be better spent on preparing South African whites for change.

It seems clear from this research that the interests of white South Africans would be best served in the long run if the government immediately begins a comprehensive programme of educating whites to prepare themselves for living in a properly integrated society. This can be implemented through the presently misused means of mass communication and would surely be a great deal better than fighting a protracted war that, in the end, will leave a confused and scarred white population to adapt to a new government vilified by its predecessor. This is the lesson for South African whites.

1. The Party affirms its loyalty to the person of the Queen, but rejects the principle of subordination to any external government. English will remain the official language of the country.
2. The Party believes in the right of each community in Southern Rhodesia to preserve its own identity, traditions and customs, but requires that members of each community shall give undivided loyalty to the country.
3. The Party will ensure that the Government of Southern Rhodesia will remain in responsible hands.
4. The Party believes that, to ensure the maintenance of proper standards, advancement must be on merit and that all men have the right to the opportunity to develop their individual ability.
5. The Party will uphold the principle of the Land Apportionment Act.
6. Recognizing the different customs and modes of living of the various communities in Southern Rhodesia, the Party opposes compulsory integration and recognises the right of government at all levels to provide separate facilities and amenities for the various groups to enable them to preserve their customs and ways of life.
7. The Party will ensure that law and order are enforced.
8. Realising that the Federation cannot continue in its present form, the Party seeks the co-operation of the constituents to preserve those aspects of an association of the territories which are of mutual benefit.
9. The Party will promote the full economic development of Rhodesia and to this end will seek the co-operation of all our peoples.
10. The Party will encourage private enterprise, subject to the right of the State to intervene when necessary in the interests of the country.
11. The Party will ensure the permanent establishment of the European in Southern Rhodesia.
12. The Party will build a strong and prosperous State based upon the fundamental principles which effect a sound society, including:
  - (i) the recognition of the family as the basis of society;

- (ii) Take steps to secure the pensions payable to public servants including members of the B.S.A. Police.
15. The Party will protect the standards of skilled workers against the exploitation of cheap labour.

\* Reproduced from Patel, H. 1979 'White Power in Rhodesia: The Rise and Fall of the Rhodesian Front', in F.M. Orkin and S.E. Welz (Eds.), *Society in Southern Africa 1975-78*. Johannesburg: ASSA.

APPENDIX B

82/16

22 February 1982

Die Direkteur-Generaal  
Departement van Binnelandse, Aangeleenthede  
Privaatsak X114  
PRETORIA  
0001

Geagte Heer

TOEGANG TOT INLICHTING BETREFFENDE IMMIGRANTE

Mnr Allan Simon is 'n doktorsle student in die sosiologie. Hy is ingeskryf by Universiteit Rhodes en ek tree op as sy promotor. Hy is terselfdertyd 'n lektor in die sosiologie verbonde aan die Universiteit van die Witwatersrand.

Sy navorsing wat finansiële ondersteuning word deur die R.G.N., dra die titel: 'A Study of the Socio-political Attitudes of Zimbabwean emigrants in South Africa'. Dit is dus noodsaaklik dat hy in staat gestel word om 'n verteenwoordigende monster van sulke immigrante te trek. Hiermee versoek ek u om hom toegang te gee tot die name en adresse van immigrante wat van Rhodesië afkomstig is, vanaf 1976 tot die hede. Dit is duidelik dat sodanige inligting as vertroulik behandel sal word, en dat die resultate alleenlik vir bona fide navorsingsdoeleindes gebruik sal word.

Dr P. Smit van die R.G.N. dra kennis van hierdie projek, en het my aangeraai om aan u te skryf.

By voorbaat dank,

die uwe

Simon Bekker  
Professor van Ontwikkelingstudies

APPENDIX C



Date of interview \_\_\_\_\_

Place of interview \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PART A

Just to get some background information, would it trouble you to provide the following:-

- 1. Sex      Male      ---  
             Female     ---
- 2. Your age (if this doesn't offend you)      -----
- 3. Marital status      -----
- 4. a) Chief breadwinner's occupation      -----  
    b) Secondary breadwinner's occupation (if applicable)      -----
- 5. a) Highest education level of chief breadwinner      -----  
    b) Highest education level of secondary breadwinner      -----
- 6. a) If this doesn't offend you - Income level of chief breadwinner      -----  
    b) And income level of secondary breadwinner      -----
- 7. Ask whether respondent owns any of the following:-  
    a) Undeveloped land, where a house (not for speculation purposes) will be erected      Yes/No  
        i) If yes, where this stand is situated      -----  
        ii) If yes, the size of the stand (approximately)      -----  
    b) Flat under sectional titles      Yes/No  
        If yes, number of bedrooms      -----  
    c) Own home (house)      Yes/No  
        If yes, number of bedrooms      -----  
        If neither a, b, nor c above, request the present form of  
        interviewee's accommodation (e.g. renting, sharing, etc.)      -----
- 8. When did you emigrate to South Africa?      -----

PART B

Now that we have finished with the background information, could you please talk to me about the next seven questions.

- 1. How would you say you are doing financially in South Africa?  
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Probe: (Compared to when you lived in Rhodesia) -----  
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2) I've often heard it said that the economy in Zimbabwe has been "going to the dogs" since independence. What are your feelings?

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3) Similarly I've heard that education in Zimbabwe is going down the drain. Any comments?

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4) Do you think that Britain and South Africa sold Rhodesia down the river? (Interviewer to probe)

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5) What are your feelings about the idea that Rhodesia's problems will be experienced in South Africa.

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6) Have you anything to say about the war in Rhodesia?

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7) Quite a few "ex-Rhodies" have told me that Rhodesia has now fallen to the communists. What are your views?

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Interviewer to probe on the meaning of communism

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8) Anything else you'd like to say?

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Thank you for your help



QUESTIONNAIRE: A STUDY OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF RHODESIAN/ZIMBABWEAN EMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

This study is being conducted by a student of Rhodes University as part of the requirements for my doctoral thesis. This survey has been prompted by much attention in the news media since April 1980 and the main purpose is to find out how immigrants have adapted to South African conditions, as well as canvass your views on specific issues which a number of your fellows (when recently interviewed) felt to be important.

Please assist me by completing the questionnaire, folding it and placing it in the included postage paid envelope and return by post as soon as possible.

Please answer the following questions honestly. Your responses will remain strictly confidential. Do not answer questions that offend you. This survey is anonymous, please do NOT sign your name.

Just to get some background information, would it trouble you to provide the following:-

1. Sex

Male	
Female	

2. Your age (if this doesn't offend you) .....

3. Your marital status .....

4. Could you please tell me in which country and also the city/town you were born?

Country ..... City/Town .....

5. When did you permanently settle in South Africa? before 1978....., 1978....., 1979....., Before 18th April 1980....., After 18th April 1980.....

6a) What kind of occupation does the chief breadwinner of your family have? (Please tick one)

- Professional
- Managerial
- Clerical
- Sales
- Mines & Quarries
- Transport
- Skilled Worker
- Semi or Unskilled Worker
- Service

\_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify)

b) Where do you now live? City/Town ..... Province .....

- 2 -

7. What level of education has your family's chief breadwinner reached?

Schooling but did not complete \_\_\_\_\_ Attended some university \_\_\_\_\_  
as far as O levels

Completed O levels \_\_\_\_\_ Graduate from university \_\_\_\_\_

Completed A levels \_\_\_\_\_ Post graduate education \_\_\_\_\_

Technical diploma \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

8. If this question doesn't offend you, could you please tick the category that comes closest to describing the total gross income (i.e., of all the breadwinners) that comes into your household each month?

R0-R250 \_\_\_\_\_ R1251-R1500 \_\_\_\_\_  
R251-R500 \_\_\_\_\_ R1501-R1750 \_\_\_\_\_  
R501-R750 \_\_\_\_\_ R1751-R2000 \_\_\_\_\_  
R751-R1000 \_\_\_\_\_ R2001-R3000 \_\_\_\_\_  
R1001-R1250 \_\_\_\_\_ R3001-R4000 \_\_\_\_\_

9. How would you say you are doing financially in South Africa?

Very well	Well	Average	Poorly	Very Poorly
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10. In comparison to before you emigrated, how would you say you are doing financially in this country?

Much Better	Better	The Same	Worse	Much Worse
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11. Do you own any of the following in South Africa?

a) A vacant stand/plot where you will build your own house?

Yes  No

If yes, where is this stand situated? \_\_\_\_\_ (suburb) \_\_\_\_\_ (town/city)

b) A flat under share block or sectional title?

Yes  No

If yes, where is this flat situated? \_\_\_\_\_ (suburb) \_\_\_\_\_ (town/city)

c) Your own house/townhouse?

Yes  No

If yes, where is this dwelling situated? \_\_\_\_\_ (suburb) \_\_\_\_\_ (town/city)

12. If you answered No to a, b and c above, what sort of accommodation do you presently have?

renting a flat \_\_\_\_\_, renting a house \_\_\_\_\_, sharing accommodation \_\_\_\_\_,  
other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

13. Did you own your own home (i.e., house, farmhouse, townhouse or flat) before coming to South Africa? If yes, please fill in what type of home it was below (If more than one, please tick all applicable).

	Yes	No
House	---	---
Farmhouse	---	---
Townhouse	---	---
Flat	---	---

Any other property (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

If you did not own your own home before coming to South Africa, what sort of accommodation did you have up north? \_\_\_\_\_

/3....

14. Do you feel that the economy in independent Zimbabwe has gone to the dogs?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

a) If yes, do you think that one of the reasons for this is the shortage of white skills?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

15. Would you say that education in independent Zimbabwe is also going down the drain?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

16. Do you believe that Britain and South Africa "sold Rhodesia down the river"?

Britain Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_  
 South Africa Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

17. Would you please tick the category that best describes your responses to each statement below:-

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a) The shortages of food shows that the economy in Zimbabwe has gone down					
b) The emigration of many white teachers means a lowering of the education standards there					
c) School history books in independent Zimbabwe are full of anti-White sentiments					
d) Learning agriculture during school hours is not for whites					
e) Mixed schooling in Zimbabwe means the standards are lowered					
f) Black schoolchildren in Zimbabwe are too old for their white fellows					
g) Britain made us believe that Muzorewa would win when they knew that Mugabe would get in					
h) South Africa was under world pressure to withdraw assistance (police & arms)					
i) The war there was a waste of lives					

18. The cost of living in South Africa compared to when I lived in Rhodesia is:-

Much higher	Higher	About the Same	Lower	Much Lower
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19. Independent Zimbabwe is:-

Communist \_\_\_\_\_  
 Socialist \_\_\_\_\_  
 Capitalist \_\_\_\_\_  
 African Nationalist \_\_\_\_\_

20. Do you think that Mugabe is an avowed Marxist? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

21. The media in Zimbabwe (i.e., T.V., radio and newspapers) are full of Communist propaganda  
 Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

22. Mugabe is too friendly with the communist countries Agree \_\_\_\_ Undecided \_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_

23. a) Do you think that "Rhodesia's problems" of yesteryear will be experienced in South Africa soon? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

b) If yes, do you see this as taking place mainly in rural areas \_\_\_\_, urban areas \_\_\_\_.

c) South Africa has a strong enough army to easily contain "any of the problems that Rhodesia experienced"

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	-----------	----------	-------------------

- d) South Africa is stronger economically and therefore should also easily be able to handle these problems

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	-----------	----------	-------------------

24. Perhaps it is time to stop thinking about the past in Rhodesia and concentrate on a new life in South Africa.

Do you agree \_\_\_ or disagree \_\_\_ with this statement?

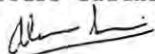
25. As immigrants, we will never have the same sort of life in South Africa as we had back there.

Disagree \_\_\_ Undecided \_\_\_ Agree \_\_\_

THANK YOU for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Please place it in the postage free envelope and return it.

Yours faithfully,



RHODES UNIVERSITY

APPENDIX E

ROSCOE'S TABLE OF RANDOM NUMBERS\*

Row	Column number																																Row		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32			
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\* This table is reprinted from J. G. Peatman's and R. Schafer's "A Table of Random Numbers from Selective Service Numbers," copyright 1942 by *Jour. Psychol.*, 14, 296-297, and used by permission of the authors and editor.

APPENDIX F

Dear Sir/Madam,

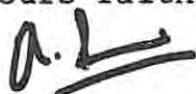
I am a Rhodes University student presently studying immigrants who have moved down to South Africa from the north.

For the purpose of this research, your name has been randomly drawn and a questionnaire will be sent to you shortly, together with a postage free reply envelope.

It would be greatly appreciated if you could please complete the questionnaire when it arrives, fold it and place it in the envelope and return it to me as soon as possible. Complete confidentiality will naturally be ensured.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'A. Simon', with a horizontal line underneath.

Alan Simon  
(Rhodes University)

REMINDER

Dear Sir/Madam,

This reminder has been mailed to all people who recently received the questionnaire - "A study of the socio-political attitudes of Rhodesian/Zimbabwean emigrants in South Africa.

Have you returned this questionnaire yet?

If you have, please disregard this reminder and thank you very much for your assistance. If you have not, please could you send it back as soon as possible as your help is very much needed for the purposes of this study.

REMEMBER - ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY ARE GUARANTEED.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,



Alan Simon  
(Rhodes University)

P.S. If you require a copy of this questionnaire in Afrikaans, please drop a note in the postage free envelope already sent to you. An Afrikaans questionnaire will then be forwarded to you.

APPENDIX H

6th October, 1982.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am presently conducting research into ex-Rhodesians now living in South Africa.

Recently the Government Gazette published the names of ex-Rhodesians and using this list, together with several phone books, where surnames and two initials correspond, I have taken a chance and hope that you fit this category.

If you are not an "ex-Rhodie", please throw out the questionnaire that will be sent to you shortly and I apologise for having troubled you.

If, however, you have lived up north, please would you complete this anonymous questionnaire and post it back to me in the postage free envelope.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,



Alan Simon.

APPENDIX ITHE FACTOR ANALYSIS PROCEDURE FOR QUESTION 17

Factor analysis for Kim (1975 : 469) has three possible uses:

1. 'Exploratory uses - the exploration and detection of patterning of variables with a view to the discovery of new concepts and a possible reduction of data.
2. Confirmatory uses - the testing of hypotheses about the structuring of variables in terms of the expected number of significant factors and factor loadings.
3. Uses as a measuring device - the construction of indices to be used as new variables in later analysis' and Kim and Mueller (1978 : 9) add that 'factor analysis refers to a variety of statistical techniques whose common objective is to represent a set of variables in terms of a smaller number of hypothetical variables'. Thus, the third possible use is to serve 'the course of scientific parsimony. It reduces the multiplicity of tests and measures to greater simplicity. It tells us, in effect, what tests or measures belong together...'

Kim's second and third possibilities were applied and it was hypothesized that one factor - something along the lines of a negative attitude on the part of ex-Zimbabweans towards the socio-political issues and changed structures of Zimbabwean independence - would emerge from the Likert scales in Question 17. It was also hypothesized that all these variables would reduce to one in terms of the

factor loadings.

Table 16 displays the findings for three of the groups.<sup>(9)</sup> (see next page).

The first hypothesis, for members of clubs, was sustained with one factor emerging and explaining seventy seven percent of the variance. The second hypothesis was also sustained in that all the variables could reduce to one. However, one qualification appropos the last variable - 'war' has to be made and 'war' would be omitted from the factor. This is because (as pointed out in Chapter Five), thirty five percent had disagreed with the statement that the war was a waste of lives (fifty eight percent agreed, with seven percent undecided).

For the snowball sample, one factor, explaining 87,2% of the variance, emerged as hypothesized and all variables in this question (except for whether the war was a waste of lives) could be reduced to one (the second hypothesis).

As was the case in the two samples above, for the student immigrants, both hypotheses - that variables would load on a single factor and that all the variables in question (with the exception of 'war') could be collapsed - were sustained.

---

9. The responses from the Government Gazette list were not factor analysed owing to the small number of cases.

Table 16 Factor analysis of responses to Likert Scales (Q.17)

	Members of clubs and contact associations	Snowball respondents	Wits students
	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>
(a) The shortages of food shows that the economy in Zimbabwe has gone down	0,70691	0,74257	0,57415
(b) The emigration of many white teachers means a lowering of the education standards there	0,68473	0,67751	0,74370
(c) School history books in independent Zimbabwe are full of anti-white sentiments	0,50042	0,66683	0,69538
(d) Learning agriculture during school hours is not for whites	0,66671	0,57958	0,74027
(e) Mixed schooling in Zimbabwe means the standards are lowered	0,78610	0,70460	0,65406
(f) Black schoolchildren are too old for their white fellows	0,60633	0,81571	0,81203
(g) Britain made us believe that Muzorewa would win when they knew Mugabe would get in	0,688018	0,69715	0,62068
(h) South Africa was under world pressure to withdraw assistance (police and arms)	0,38593	0,56875	0,40220
(i) The war there was a waste of lives	-0,03952	-0,08163	0,11540
	Eigenvalue = 3,29206 pct. of var. = 77	Eigenvalue = 2,76900 pct. of var. = 87,2	Eigenvalue = 3,56179 pct. of var. = 87,6

APPENDIX JSUMMARY OF GOVERNMENT GAZETTE RESPONDENTSSOCIO - POLITICAL ATTITUDES

<u>Selection of questions</u>	<u>Responses (N)</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Missing</u>
Economy in independent Zimbabwe has gone to the dogs	10	1	2
One of the reasons for this is the shortage of white skills	10	0	3
Education in independent Zimbabwe is also going down the drain	11	0	2
Britain sold Rhodesia down the river	11	1	1
South Africa sold Rhodesia down the river	2	8	3
Mugabe is an avowed Marxist	8	3	2
The media in independent Zimbabwe are full of communist propaganda	9	2	2

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	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Missing</u>
The shortages of food shows that the economy in Zimbabwe has gone down	11	0	0	2
The emigration of many white teachers means a lowering of the education standards there	11	0	0	2
School history books in independent Zimbabwe are full of anti-white sentiments	4	5	1	3
Learning of agriculture during school hours is not for whites	2	7	2	2
Mixed schooling in Zimbabwe means the standards are lowered	10	1	0	2

(cont/...)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Missing</u>
Black children in Zimbabwe are too old for their white fellows	10	1	0	2
Britain made us believe that Muzorewa would win when they knew that Mugabe would get in	8	3	2	0
South Africa was under world pressure to withdraw assistance (police and arms)	9	1	3	0
The war was a waste of lives	12	0	1	0

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