

THROUGH A COLOURED LENS: POST-APARTHEID IDENTITY FORMATION
AMONGST COLOURED IN KZN

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To my grandfather, “Pa” “Mahlombe” Nolan Frank Strydom (1924-2014) whose presence was always an inspiration to aim higher, shine brighter, and work harder. RIP

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Through a Coloured Lens: Post-Apartheid Identity Formation amongst Coloureds in KZN

Although the term creolization is widely applied in the Caribbean and Latin America, I find the concept useful in describing the ethnogenesis of Coloureds as a new group of people in South Africa. To call Coloured people “creole” deviates from the prescribed racialized and informal definition of them as “mixed-race” thereby also circumventing the idea of racial “purity.” Recognizing that creolized societies, communities, and peoples merge two or more “formerly distinct” ethnic or cultural entities in new spaces to create unique social orders in heterogeneous styles, structures and contents eliminates essentialized definitions of people as being “mixed” and/or “pure.” By examining Coloured people through a creole framework, we come to understand the ways these people weld unique cultural and genetic attributes together. In this way, Coloureds can be seen as differently preserving and adapting to new circumstances with new multifaceted meanings.

South Africa’s national government, popular media and economic leaders, as well as ordinary citizenry claim a special place on the global stage based on their economic resources and infrastructure, the peaceful transition from White minority government to black majority rule, and multicultural background of the citizenry. By embracing the nation’s nickname “The Rainbow Nation,” coined by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the implied ethnic and racial diversity of peoples is respected and celebrated. However, in multi-cultural nations people with blended ancestries aggregate and form liminal groups in which they inherit, adopt, and create cultural practices from every group on the racial continuum to create their own uniquely creolized (or blended) culture. However, these blendings are not always recognized or appreciated. I anchor my analysis of Coloureds living in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) as a liminal population between Black and White. My research differs from other scholars examining Coloureds, in that I scrutinize a province associated with a Zulu ethnic majority. By addressing a territory beyond the Coloured “homeland” of the Western Cape (of which the literature abounds) I am able to draw historical and ethnographic comparisons of creolization between the two areas and provide a space for discussion in alignment to Coloured’s own cultural formations.

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To show that girls of Wentworth aren't Raw! We are book smart and strong.

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The oil refinery is known 2 be lyk da ship dat neva sails. It is a true beauty 2 luk at, at night bcoz its full of lights. Many tourist come 2 dis community and admire the oil refinery 4 its beauty bt little do they know wat da people in dis community are going thru. It causes pollution in da air therefore causin' many ppl dat suffer wid asma 2 hav attacks quite often and it causes many different illnesses like lung cancer, asma and other unknown diseases. The advantages of livn near da oil refinery is dat it provides jobs 4 many of da unemployed in my society and elsewhere. It brings a wealth status 2 my community and it brings owt da beauty of Wentworth bcoz it's a stunning sight 2 luk @ especially @ night. They give the schools in Wentworth a percentage (money) towards an education trust and they also give bursaries 2 those wu excel academically. (sent via SMS, txt talk)

Figure 26: Untitled by Tatum Lambert age 16

I took this picture of a boy, his uncle and his dog that he loves so much. This boy should be or is an inspiration to many Coloured boys. He has tried smoking drugs and drinking. He realized that if he continues this way he would end up looking like his uncle and decided to change his life for the better even though he looks like a gangster.

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I know I'm talented when it comes to doing hair, this picture shows a family chain in the sense that I've learnt how to do hair by my family and will probably teach my children this trade. It shows that Wentworth is not only a place where girls walk around pregnant but also do constructive things.

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

In 1994, the world witnessed the dismantling of the last bastion of White supremacy on the African continent in South Africa. At that time, Bishop Desmond Tutu branded South Africa the “Rainbow Nation,” and the country followed suit. As a national metaphor Tutu’s reference to the rainbow followed the idea of the American “melting pot” implying diversity, multiculturalism, acceptance, and cohesion. However, both metaphors act as prototypes of a particular situation adopted as a “model for” a desired trajectory of national development that should continue in the future with institutional support. Each model in turn becomes a goal to be implemented, maintained, and achieved (Stewart 2011:49) through rhetoric and policy development. South Africa’s national government, popular media, and economic leaders, as well as ordinary citizenry claim a special place on the global stage, and on the African continent, that embraces this implied diversity of peoples. Yet, mapping South Africans places individuals and groups on a continuum of settler, import and native (or indigenous), thereby mirroring other colonized nations. Like most multi-cultural nations, there exist people with blended ancestries that borrow, adopt, and inherit cultural practices of each group on the continuum to create a uniquely creolized (or blended) culture. I anchor my analysis of an intermediate population, known as “Coloureds” living in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province to illustrate the formation of a creolized identity in South Africa.

Although the concept of creolization is widely applied in the Caribbean, Latin America, West Africa and islands within the region of the Indian Ocean, I find it useful in describing the creation of Coloureds as a new group of people in South Africa. To call Coloured people creole or creolized deviates from the prescribed racialized classification of them as “mixed-race” thereby circumventing the idea of purity amongst people. Recognizing that creolized societies, communities, and peoples merge two or more “formerly distinct” ethnic or cultural entities in new

spaces to create unique social orders in heterogeneous styles, structures and contents eliminates essentialized definitions of people as being “mixed.” After all, as many layman and scholars have pointed out human beings are all “mixed.” Instead, creoles weld unique cultural and genetic attributes together which they then differently preserve and adapt to new circumstances with new multifaceted meanings (Spitzer 2003:58-59). “Creole forms are never static” (Baron & Cara 2003:4) thus, they are never fully formed. They are continually changing based on the current conditions and interactive context(s). Creole communities lack absolute cultural transparency in favor of fluidity and blurring and dynamism of cultural, linguistic and genetic boundaries. Using open-ended ethnographic interviews of elders and youth, professionals and the working class, I determined that the long-term effects of inter- and intra-generational relationships and governance on the surrounding communities created cohesive, separate identities in KZN province that determined belonging to distinct ethnic enclaves that simultaneously enabled participation in greater creolization of a larger South African identity.

In the twenty years since Apartheid ended, race as a classifier still exists despite the concerted effort of the incumbent African National Congress (ANC) and its champion Nelson Ronihlanhla Mandela to create a “non-racial society.” Race as an economic and political marker continue to persist, as it has been deemed necessary for creating equity in a newly democratic land with a history of colonialism, dehumanization, and racialism. In attempts to right the wrongs of past regimes, the “previously disadvantaged” were placed on a continuum where those that suffered the brunt of Apartheid disenfranchisement and disempowerment were positioned to receive the most assistance and opportunities for social mobility from the new government. This meant classification as Black and African affords the most government assistance and preferential treatment in accordance with South Africa’s version of reparations and Affirmative Action. For

many creolized people who regard their identities as different from that of other South Africans but suffered discrimination to a lesser degree than their darker counterparts the question of how to succeed in this new racial hierarchy arose. This dissertation examines how Coloureds navigate the waves stimulated by the toppling of old policies, quotas, and representations. Focusing my attention on Coloured youth in comparison to their elders, as well as other creole groups across the nation, I examine the persistence and resistance of a separate Coloured identity. In addition, I scrutinize ideas about race in relation to the Coloured category across generations and how these sentiments play out in families, representations, and the larger society.

In my explorations of Coloured identity, between 2010 and 2011, I wanted to learn if younger generations of multi-generational so-called “mixed-race” people in formerly Coloured areas still cling to what many call an “Apartheid imposed identity.” If this was not the case I wanted to see if these creole youth individually and collectively were being educated to become “black” or another classification based on revised schooling systems, increased visibility and affluence of Black-Africans, national investments in Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), and the “new dispensation” (affirmative action). The purpose of this research is to investigate the role formal and informal educational institutions – such as churches, family gatherings, peer meetings, and schools – play in the formation of ethnic identity among the South African Coloured minority populations living in KZN since the official fall of the Apartheid regime in 1994. Based on reviews of the literature these questions remain unanswered in the context of KZN or to the extent I have addressed. A few scholars – Pierre L. van den Burge (1960), H. F. Dickie-Clark (1966), Ali Venter (1974), Lorraine Margarette Fynn (1991), Rodney Patrick Jones (1998), Nadine Dolby (2001), Ngair Blankenburg (2004), Sharad Chari (2006), Daniel Schensul (2006), Janette Yarwood (2006; 2011), and Brownyn Anderson (2009) – cover a topics ranging from legislation and categorization

to cultural and political affiliation that address KZN Coloureds. While some discuss aspects of the topics I cover, many mention KZN Coloureds in passing comparison to other focuses (mainly Cape Coloureds, government policies and/or race). Others examine collective youth of all ethnic groups, or a general Coloured youth construct in relation to notions of African Diaspora. My work attempts to bring together this wide variety of literature, linked with work on Cape Coloureds and ethnographic material to paint a more nuanced picture of South African Coloured identity. During fieldwork, I discovered that many of the teens with whom I spoke continued to cling to their Coloured identities despite having parents who espoused a broader South African identity of non-racialism or an all-encompassing black identity of anti-Apartheid activists of the 1970s and 1980s.

Literature Review: Coloureds, Mixed, or Creole?

Though numerous anthropologists, sociologists, and historians focus on identity involving “mixed” or “multiracial” communities in South Africa, they typically focus on the residents of the Cape Province, at the southern-most tip of South Africa. My work revolves around a similarly creolized people living in smaller pockets in more northern territories. The speed at which the unique blending of various distinct ethnic cultures and peoples occurred allowed for different attitudes and cultural practices to develop in relation to place. In the Cape, the contributing ethnicities and cultures included Calvinists and Huguenots from Europe, Muslims from the Dutch East Indies in conjunction with the Khoisan, East African slaves, and Malay political prisoners (Venter 1974:282). According to Mohammad Adhikari (2006), a prominent South African political scientist, a separate “Coloured identity crystalized in the late nineteenth century” in relation to the emancipation of indigenous Khoisan and imported Black, West African slaves. Newly liberated slaves, an influx of Bantu speaking Nguni tribes, and the “mixed populations” were all vying for a place in the newly established mining revolution. Those people who would become “Coloured”

acculturated and possessed privileges feeling the need to assert their uniqueness in the face of migrating Black-Africans (Adhikari 2006:469).

In Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) indentured servants from East India and China, merchants and explorers from the British Isles and their descendants intertwined Christian spirituality with Nguni genetics and languages to form a uniquely creolized group, solidified by the English language (Venter 1974). My study seeks to amplify the understanding of creolized South Africans by examining the intricacies of place, history, and memory and the way it translates into group identity and belonging in this province. Although, scholars like Adhikari (1992; 1994; 2005, 2006, 2011), Distiller (2006), Erasmus (2001), and Field (2001) primarily focus on the aforementioned group examining literature on the Cape provides an overlapping framework between KZN and Cape Coloured experiences of creolizing, dislocation, survival, racism, denial, fear, hope, and creativity.

Despite these creolized roots, ideas of racial and ethnic purity remain, as does the idea of racial mixing abound in the language used to speak about Coloured people. Zimitri Erasmus' introduction to *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place* rejects the essentialized definition of Coloureds (in general) as a "race mixture" between African and European. In her articulations about Coloureds of the Cape specifically, Erasmus emphasizes rather the "cultural creativity, creolized formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and [A]partheid" (Erasmus 2001:14). She problematizes and unpacks the generalized understanding of the classification Coloured as a "mix" of "purer" cultures. These histories and observations are important in my examination of current attitudes about ethnic solidarity, group consciousness, alliances, agency, creativity, and antagonisms in the face of globalization.

Hendricks (2001) notes that identities were conferred to Coloureds in general through a “process of differentiation” often resulted in the internalization of differentiation based on their liminal identities and status (Hendricks 2001:32). Because Coloureds in KZN were subjected to the same race-based legislations, a separate identity for Coloured people in both places became more than a top down process. People gave meaning to lived-experiences and became active participants in defining group boundaries. In areas where Coloured people lived Apartheid physically forced together dispersed groups of heterogeneous people through racial classification. Simultaneously, Apartheid legislation like the Group Areas Act divided existing communities and redefined them to fit racial parameters. These spatial determinants became highly important in the formation of identity and memory.

Generally speaking, all people experience and form memories in relation to the places they play, work, and live. For youngsters especially, the spaces of home and feelings of togetherness help them grow up and build confidence and independence. The blending of sights, smells, sounds, touch, and taste link people to a space and a community creating memories and in the end an identity (Field 2001:100). The affiliated memories and present actions in particular spaces give different agency to individuals to maintain and decide what relationships and identities to nurture. For instance, the independent fierceness of their Zulu and Swazi ancestors, the frontier spirit of their Afrikaner and British progenitors, and the ingenuity of their East Indian relations created a steadfast ability to maintain a separate Coloured identity, while simultaneously embracing elements of the foundation cultures. In KZN, since the creolization process occurred in rural areas pockets of what would become Coloured people were founded on familial bonds. Coloured families congregated during celebrations and intermarried. Despite greater freedoms of

intermingling between distinct peoples and cultures in “the bush” people of “mixed” heritage often came together to form separate communities.



Figure 1: Coloured Community of Nongoma, KwaZulu-Natal. Christmas Day, early 1900s

Likewise initial colonization of South Africa in the Cape of Good Hope in between 1652 and 1677 coincided with the simultaneous growth of Cape Town. The history of battles between pioneering British and Dutch capitalists and steadfast Khoi and San indigenes, along with an experience of slavery and intermingling in an urban center created a strong sense of determinism and rebelliousness amongst the creole people that would become Cape Coloureds. In the Cape the numbers of intermarriages between ethnic groups grew to an urban, blended people that came to dominate the surrounding areas. This in turn allowed an active political awareness and agency to develop. Examining these affiliations and adoptions builds on ideas of creole cultures. The length and breadth of these historical interactions between unique cultural elements and ethnicities shaped the population density of Coloureds in each place.

These bonds carried over into the surrounding areas where Coloured people migrated. Colonial and Apartheid administration concretized relations between people. With this said, the urbanization of Coloureds in KZN is more recent than their counterparts in the Cape. As a result, Cape Coloureds were educated earlier and to a larger extent than their rural KZN counterparts. Cape Coloureds, therefore, produced more scholars and academics. This legacy influences the scholarly literature on Coloureds today. Most Coloureds in KZN were agriculturalists or blue-collar workers, and though many were politically active at a grass roots level, their concerns were practical involving labor equity and education more so than philosophical. However, South African historiography continues to reflect the marginal position of all Coloured people in general because relatively little has been written (Adhikari 2006:467). Adhikari (2006:472) laments that studies on Coloureds omit the simultaneous plastic and static nature of identity.

In 2001, Erasmus and her colleagues at the University of Cape Town made great strides at inserting the Coloureds (especially those residing in the Cape) into the larger South African

narrative. By examining Coloured identity and recognizing their legitimacy, scholars acknowledged a continuous shift within a larger black, South African experience, while simultaneously warning “against claims of a moral authority based on the deployment of fixed groups for the purposes of exclusion” (Erasmus 2001:14). In this dissertation I build on Erasmus’ work by restoring KZN Coloureds into the larger discussion of Coloured people, as well as discussions of creoleness across the globe.

Identity

In examining identity formation and persistence, the KZN Coloureds make a fascinating study of the malleability of individual and group history, folklore, and representation. The persistence of Coloured people in this province speaks to their continued resistance and agency in determining a separate identity and place in the South African “peoplescape.” I view creoleness (as I describe Coloured identity) is defined as an “insider’s culture” beyond the gaze of outsiders. At times, it is secreted or masked during periods of conquest and colonization. Being Coloured as nested within creoleness means acknowledging a home culture, that is an intimate, native culture of a people. “Formulated and enacted by folks who lack political power yet who aim to establish autonomy, creole cultural forms are often subversive social and political tools” (Baron & Cara 2003:5). According to Robert Baron and Ana C. Cara (2003) throughout the postcolonial Western world and the southwest Indian Ocean creole has become a powerful identity marker (6). However, in the “Two Oceans” region where the Atlantic and Indian Oceans meet at the Cape the theoretical wave of creoleness has yet to crash upon the shores of South Africa, nor have they found their way to the beaches of KZN. Yet, small pockets of Coloureds undermine the ability of outsiders to situate them according to racial, cultural, or political binaries. In this way Coloureds as creoles suffer from what Baron and Cara call a “creative disorder, poetic chaos” that challenges simplistic

notions of center and periphery. The juxtaposition of negative words such as “disorder” and “chaos” with constructivist words, “creative” and “poetic.” shows a tension of agency, power, and identity struggle of many “mixed” peoples. A perceived lack of ancient traditions or land base might oblige creole people to be susceptible to be more creative because they must reinvent themselves in absence of indigenous traditions.

John Comaroff (1996) declares that, “identities are not things but relations: that their content is wrought in the particularities of their ongoing historical construction” (Comaroff 1996:165-166). He argues that ethnicity has its origins in relations of inequality. Identity as a category of practice and analysis is used by laymen to make sense of themselves, their activities, and how they differ from others outside of their group or themselves. Identity is also used by those with political interest to push people in specific understandings of self in a direction aligned with specific political purposes (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:4). Ethnogenesis (or the point at which a group of people become a distinct ethnicity) occurs through social processes in which culturally defined groups (including racial ones), constituted in a dialectic of attribution and self-assertion are integrated into a hierarchical social division of labor. Ultimately, these divisions dictate the allocation of resources and power. Equations of power represented in political and symbolic material, such as campaign placards, ceremonial clothing, and language often conflate with ethnic (and racial) identities in South Africa. Identities are seldom forced on a group of people without their consent. Comaroff argues identity construction, more often, involves struggle, contestation, and sometimes failure. Examining Coloureds in this way is useful in tracing the origins of creole groups that have a fairly recent genesis.

My work focuses on the way South African creoles draw on other people’s perceptions and their own to construct their racial/ethnic identities in South Africa. I discovered these identities are

not static; rather they constantly undergo revision based on one's exposure to other groups, spaces, and knowledge systems. In my analysis of Coloured (or creolized, "mixed-race") identity and how it is passed down through generations I examine how multi-ethnic individuals (as a group) draw upon their own familial, cultural, and political connections to inform their group identity. I examine the areas in which "Coloureds" are successful at negotiating distinct ethnic identities and where they fail to express a unified voice. While there are many KZN Coloureds who attempt to deracialize, their separate ethnic identity occurs in the minutiae of daily activities, their shared symbols, and their use of language and space.

Ien Ang (2000) argues that when identity is mobilized it is usually backward looking to an idyllic past that essentializes selective memory. If this is true, what past do Coloureds have to look back to? For some in KZN it is a time before Apartheid when similar families grouped together to form new communities but different groups were able to live beside each other. For others it is during Apartheid when racialized people were forced together and found friendship, support, and community in shared experiences of oppression and resistance. It is also a time when people had a tangible enemy to struggle against. Coloureds in KwaZulu-Natal are an example of people trying to define themselves. As agents of cosmopolitanism Ang (2000) asserts it is our job to build bridges and translate (Ang 2000:11) identities and attitudes in order to build understanding between people and their need for space and expressions of who they are, were, or want to become. This research represents my effort to give voice to a liminal people, a people falsely labeled (and who often describe themselves) as having no culture. That Coloured people are combinations of African, European, and Indian born and raised on the African continent complicates the definition of what it means to be "African" in South Africa. Though the trend within Western Society, and, for all intents and purposes, South Africa falls under this umbrella, is to deracialize, that this intermediary

group exists represents a quandary: if race truly does not exist then how can “so-called” Coloureds exist as a separate identity? Why is there a separate categorization for people from which to choose? Can they be African and if not why not?

According to Ali A. Abdi (1999:153) in response to colonialism African identity became demeaned and oppressed by numerous racial theories (regardless of how false such theories were). Apartheid influenced the identities people accepted in the context of political and daily oppression. This determined the spaces they took up, whom they contacted, and with whom they had relations. During Apartheid especially, people of color formed multiple identities to survive and retain their sense of sanity and self-worth. “Colonial and [A]partheid education systems were, by themselves, among the strongest tools of identity deformation and subjugation and were designed to assure the permanency of the established status quo” (Abdi 1999:155). By exploring the formation of the current models of identity in spite of, and because of current institutions that often dictate people’s individual and group self-worth, I note the various ways Coloureds form their identity through institutionalized and familial socialization processes and illustrate how this group holds a separate identity, as ambiguous it seems.

Purpose

As a minority in South Africa, Coloureds suffer similar issues of displacement and dysfunction minorities in other nations face – such as African-Americans or First Nations in the United States. The effects of colonialism and racialism created groups that suffered displacement, (at times) parental and societal rejection because of being “mixed,” and substandard government provisions. As a result, many Coloured men and women turned to alternative means of success beyond institutionalized education and striving toward upward mobility. Many turned to alcohol and drugs, organized violence, and sex. In attempting to break the stereotypes about Coloureds

being drunkards or fierce fighters, I employ the theory of “voluntary” and “involuntary minority” to reason why some Coloured people do not succeed in ways that conform to the norms of general society.

In the early 1970s educational anthropologist John Ogbu attempted to rationalize why attitudes differentiated between recent immigrants and long-term minorities. His focus was student success. Ogbu (1990) theorized that new immigrants to the United States (Asians, West Indians, and Central Americans etc.) represent “voluntary minorities” who differed from “involuntary minorities,” mainly African-Americans, Amerindians (First Nations), and in some cases Puerto Ricans and Chicanos. These two groups’ different experiences of life in the United States, together with their historical baggage, affected their success in academic settings. Ogbu reasoned that involuntary minorities were colonized people suffering the debilitating effects of oppressive institutions, displacement, imperial wars, forced assimilation and slavery. Thus, any attempt to get these groups to “buy-in” or embrace – forced systems without acknowledging their individual struggles – often fails. Instead, as he highlighted with research on African-Americans and comparative studies, involuntary minority youth tended to create alternative paths to success, mainly in urban street culture such as hip-hop and drug dealing. Ogbu’s writings and theories spurred useful debates about student success and the differences in minority achievement and many scholars disagree with Ogbu, arguing there are numerous other factors that predict minority success and failure beyond history, race, and class. Douglass Foley (2004), for instance, criticizes Ogbu for his pessimistic view of urban African-American subculture. His theories and moral stances negated the agency of these youth that were attempting to find worth in a society and/or system that denied them success. Stating that Ogbu’s immigrant status in the United States affected his views of a hybridized black America, Foley nonetheless disagrees with labeling en masse the

dysfunctional/deficient cultural attributes of involuntary minorities because doing so hurts those Ogbu was attempting to uplift (Foley 2004:387). Angela Valenzuela (1999) contradicts Ogbu's findings by presenting in-group variation amongst many high-achieving native-born Chicana/os considered "involuntary minorities" by Ogbu's standards. Expanding on Ogbu's theory, Fodham (1996) investigates gender differences in African American achievement and between African- and European-Americans. Finally, Foley (1989, 1990) demonstrated that class differences and levels of ethnic political mobilization are important factors in school success and mobility (Foley 2004:388).

In South Africa, desegregating schools was an attempt by the ANC government to create equity and right the wrongs of Apartheid. The previous hierarchical, race-based system left the majority of the nation's youth ill prepared to meet the needs of South Africa's burgeoning, industrial complex. In this sense under Apartheid rule the majority population (black) became minority stakeholders in the political economy, while the White minority became the majority benefactors. To use Ogbu's language, colonization and the colour-bar created an "involuntary minority" out of the majority population.

After forty years of authoritarian rule ended and the transition to a democratic state in 1994, South African schools continued to be serviced under their respective race-based departments of education for one year following. By the time the old system was due to be phased out in 1995/1996 the new national education board allowed schools to choose a variety of models for open enrollment. Schools across the nation were given a choice on how to transition. For example, Model A gave schools the option to privatize. Many formerly White schools chose this option because the tuition would be prohibitive to blacks. Model B gave schools the option of becoming a state school if it was not already classified as one. Model C opened the possibility for schools to

become semi-private schools; this fell somewhere between Models A and B in that teacher's salaries were paid by the state with the school communities paying all other costs. Model D schools continued as state aided schools; this was the case with most schools catering solely to African students in rural areas.

The South African Schools Act (No. 84 of 1996) dismantled the Model system, but the Model C financing plan established precedents privileging class over race. "While the Constitution is framed by struggle values and grounded in a rights-based discourse, neoliberal imperatives have resulted in the government's abdication of responsibility to deliver these rights" (Hammett & Staeheli 2013:312). Thus, the privatization of textbook publishers and outsourcing for teacher training has resulted in a discombobulated set of standards. In the aftermath of Apartheid the newly elected government began to revise the curriculum by "cleansing" racist and sexist elements from the old curriculum and implementing Outcomes-based Education (OBE). OBE was borrowed internationally from a standards-based model "linked to formative and continuous rather than summative assessment" (Chisholm 2005:80). According to Ken Harley and Volker Wedekind (Chisholm 2005:81) OBE reinforced educational inequalities rather than diminishing them. Together with curriculum challenges that matched the needs of the youth, South African schools simultaneously struggled to fund historically neglected schools while maintaining the principles of non-racialism. Today, OBE has been abandoned for a new set of curriculum standards and implementation. This is all done while being forced to unpack race in the classroom, sports fields, and schoolyards. My work examines the way teens in the New South Africa use race and racial markers in the New South Africa.

Understanding the nature of formal schooling systems is essential to understanding its role in forming Coloured identity. Likewise, it is essential to see the way institutionalized education

operate in relation to informal sectors. Some informants painted a picture that imposed racial classifications, forced removals, and “immorality acts” created an “identity crisis” for Coloureds. Their ability to fit into, and at times subvert, firmly held racial divisions and classifications makes this group a fascinating case study because of the genetic heterogeneity and the fact that members within this group have a wide range of phenotypes and countless mixtures of cultural traits passed down from their parents. This ambiguity challenges people to define Coloureds concretely. The same liminality sometimes facilitated Coloureds assimilation into other “race” groups, such as Indian, Black-African, or White.

During Apartheid, there were numerous accounts of Coloured people passing into White society because of the lightness of their skin, leaving behind their friends and families, for the benefits they would obtain by “playing White.” Examining the process of miscegenation, Pierre L. van den Berghe (1960) concludes that because Coloured people were the least “corporate” or unified in their culture/communities they had the greatest incidences of exogamy of all four “race” groups. Van den Berghe defines Coloureds as a “residual category in relation to the other groups” almost “completely acculturated to the [W]hite group with which many Coloureds identify themselves” (van den Berghe 1960:74). He continues that a “lack of cultural distinctiveness” operates “with the desire of many Coloureds to ‘marry white’ to make the Coloured group less endogamous.” Despite expressing his distaste for illogical and irrational anti-Miscegenation legislations, van den Berghe’s definition of Coloureds as being a “residual category in relation to other groups” denies their agency. Furthermore, he neglects to examine the many reasons for exogamous marriages, such as upward mobility. Looking only at one side of marriage patterns denies Coloured people’s creative measures of survival and means of becoming socially mobile through marriage. By calling them a sort of “leftover,” he implies they have nothing to offer and

rather be swept away by assimilation. Needless to say the “desire for assimilation into the dominant society was evident in its most acute form amongst those individuals who were not only willing to disown their identity as [C]oloured and turn their backs on friends, family and former lives, but were also prepared to take the risk of exposure in an attempt to pass for [W]hite” (Adhikari 2006:477). In his Dissertation *School for Pass-Whites* (1967) and subsequent book *Passing for White* (1970), Stanley Graham Stewart Watson explains (without judgment) that passing for White is a form of social mobility found amongst Coloureds. It is a process involving face-to-face interaction in which Coloureds assess and act in certain ways and Whites make decisions about the passer’s ability to claim White (Watson 1967: iii, xii, 173). In light of the political change in South Africa, the transitions from the dominance of European descendants to that of indigenous Africans, I was interested to see if contemporary Coloureds chose to identify as black¹ to take better advantage of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) – South Africa’s version of Affirmative Action. Based on the desire for social mobility Coloureds in KZN would assimilate as Black-African. With regard to youth, I was interested to see the way formal and informal education converged to inform Coloured identity as blacks or to maintain a separate creole identities. Soudien (2001) argues that the relationship between the “official discourse” of (post)Apartheid schooling and “formal discourse” of identity is a complex relationship of interaction in determining the identity an individual adopts (Dawson 2007:467).

¹ Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms “black” with a lowercase “b” to denote a political identity that is not necessarily represented through phenotype, and “Black” with a capital “B” to differentiate people of African descent who are members of an indigenous African nation reflected in their phenotype.

Nadine Dolby (2001) demonstrates in Durban schools the power of global media that – while ubiquitous and homogenizing at surface level – is used locally in numerous ways to demonstrate, reinterpret, reconstruct, and at times challenge past norms that were based on overt constructions of legalized racial segregation during Apartheid. While her piece is titled *Constructing Race* she breaks open the idea of race and identity formation, Dolby challenges the Enlightenment idea of identity and the concept of self (made up by gender, race, class, nation, and ethnicity) as being static and unchanging. Through her work working with mostly Coloured students, we see that these categories were, and indeed are fluid in some instances but concrete in others. Thus, Fernwood high school (the fictitious school where she conducts her study) embarks on a negotiation of space in the new South Africa where legal segregation was defunct and inclusion and multiculturalism became the politically correct method of rebuilding the nation. Dolby shows how this acceptance of multiculturalism became a survival strategy for students born into a system where their places were not immediately carved out for them, or who saw social and economic inequalities lingering from Apartheid days. For Dolby the students she worked with are then “thrust into the borderlands; their negotiations of these spaces point us towards and opens up multiple futures, including the futures of race” (Dolby 2001:110). She explicitly states that the perspectives of the students she represents are those that show the ambiguity of racial and cultural barriers because they assist in “reinscribing, reconfiguring, or challenging the racial borders that exist...” (Dolby 2001:96).

My main research questions were as follows: How are associations and/or self-segregating practices learned and expressed by Coloureds during their interactions with other groups and institutions in society? What are the push-pull factors that influence identity formations? What are

the unique cultural practices that characterize this ethnic or racial minority as well as the race or ethnicity, which Coloureds may attempt to emulate or “pass” (be they Indian, African or European)?

The scarcity of academic literature on KZN Coloured communities gave me a space to contribute to previous work done involving identity in South Africa. Much of the research concerning this group was motivated by the Apartheid government to understand how to better classify and govern these liminal people that existed outside the barriers of the state determined legislation and the Coloured homeland, the Cape. Under the Nationalist government, social scientists spent time justifying various degrees of segregation or imploring the immorality of race based legislations (Suzman 1960). Anthropologists, social workers, and legal counsel spent time in courts determining if people were attempting to pass (Lewin 1956). Determining how people self-identified and getting them to tell their own stories remained unexplored until recently.

In later years, historians contributed to the examination of this creole group by bringing attention to figures that broke barriers. Charles Ballard (1980, 1985) and Shirron Bramdeow (1988) explored the deep and complicated history with two of the province’s most notable settlers that crossed ethnic, cultural and racial divides to become the progenitors of much of the Coloured people in the area. Ballard’s historical inquiry into trader John Dunn’s relationship with his Zulu council, King Cetshwayo, provided a backdrop for the one hundred plus half-Scottish, half-Zulu children he fathered that still live in the KZN area. Ballard briefly shows how Dunn influenced his children by building them a missionary school to learn the three R’s as well as be well versed in Zulu language and customs. Bramdeow (1988) similarly paints a picture of explorer Henry Francis Fynn, one of the first Englishmen to make contact with a Zulu king, King Shaka. Bramdeow examines the complex relationship between the two figures as well as the British colonial rule’s struggle to control Zulu influence. As seen in this work, Fynn’s adoption of Zulu customs, such as

polygyny, his eventual chieftainship and land possession become a contested legacy for his creole offspring. The research conducted shows how the “Fynn clan” adhered to Zulu law and custom but adversely affected by colonial authority through race-based legislation and the essentialized definition of Coloured being “mixed-race.” These two manuscripts laid the groundwork for numerous other studies and inquiries concerning the condition of their offspring labeled Coloured. Allow me to highlight a few of the more salient ones.

In the events leading up to universal elections in 1994 ethnic violence raged and Mary DeHaas, an anthropologist worked with rural residents in KZN. Many were the Coloured descendants of John Dunn, but they were not the exclusive participants determining the extent of human rights violations. DeHaas collected stories from Coloured, White and Indian farmers in the area focusing on reasons for violence and finding solutions. Around this same time, a growing number of researchers began inquiring into the Coloured condition and Coloured identity around KZN, mostly around Durban. The subject of Coloureds in KwaZulu-Natal ranged from looking at identity and examining specific cultural practices to education and media consumption. As segregation fell out of favor, the number of Coloured university students rose in KZN and many focused on the Coloured experience.

Unfortunately, many older works are not published for mainstream consumption and sit on the shelves of university libraries; again marginalizing the perspectives of these mostly KZN Coloured scholars. To access them requires going to the home institutions. One such work is Lorianne Margarette Fynn’s (1991) thesis that brings her attention to Coloured people living in a working class Coloured neighborhood. She shows how identities operate within a system of relations with others. Groups, including Coloureds use myths, legends, folklore abstract social theory to confirm its collective group identity to supply members with a sense of group history

and significance in relation to others. Basing her inquiry in Erving Goffman's theory of stigma Fynn (1991:18-23) frames the Coloured community of Natal as a people who suffer the consequence of negative social evaluation, but she illustrates how the stigmatized create agency by gaining acceptance through gaining symbols associated with the norms of society; rejecting the labeling system, or passing or covering.

Ngairé Blankenburg (2004) expands the discussion of identity, space and belonging by focusing on the trials and tribulations of her uncle Morris Fynn, a descendant of Francis Fynn and one of his numerous Zulu wives. Through the film, we see Fynn reject the essentialized definition of a Coloured identity being mixed-race. Blankenburg follows Fynn as he attempts to reclaim what he calls his "birthright" as chief in KwaZulu-Natal's south coast. At times Mr. Fynn is interviewed in full Zulu regalia and he is heard speaking fluent English and isiZulu. Though not overtly, concerned with Coloured identity, by examining Morris Fynn's and his relations, the people interviewed in the Coloured and Zulu communities viewers glimpse antagonisms and potential cooperation between the Zulu and their creolized Coloureds. The film peers into the numerous issues facing Coloured people in KwaZulu-Natal. Blankenburg depicts a dismantled people, whom because of Apartheid have been displaced, dispersed, and disconnected with their Africanness. The story of Morris Fynn is a story of reclaiming roots. It is a story of reclaiming identity and an attempt to self-classify; something previously denied Coloureds under Apartheid.

More recently, Nadine Dolby (2001), Janette Yarwood (2006), Bronwynne Anderson (2009) and Natalie Houston (2011) focus more completely on Coloured experiences. While Dolby and Anderson both focus on educational institutions in Durban and racial implications of identity markers such as consuming fashion and activity choices, Anderson solely focuses her ethnographic attention to Coloured boys in Wentworth and their struggles with patrimony and dysfunction in

their communities. Focusing on Durban high schools, Dolby (2001) argues based on the expanding influence of global popular culture, youth identities no longer belong to one place or location; instead they are influenced by a plurality of languages and cultures. She further concludes that global popular culture is a key site for identity formation as students spent a great amount of energy both in and out of school consuming the global popular” (Dolby 2001:54).

Yarwood (2006:206) builds on Dolby’s work, arguing “contemporary racial identities are constructed through an engagement with local racial categories and global popular culture. In this way, the universe of potential racial identities and race in South Africa is no longer situated in one place or space but rather inhabits a deterritorialised shifting cultural space.” In her concluding paragraph, Yarwood reflects on the “global traffic in blackness” on Coloured youth in establishing a deracialized, deterritorialized blackness based on urban, ghetto conditions and marginalization. She states “it is ironic that the [C]oloured population are not black in the South African sense, yet by looking to a blackness based on urban marginalization and the struggle against racism originating in the United States, [C]oloured youth and young adults are able to articulate a blackness that links up with global understandings of blackness based on oppression and discrimination.” Yarwood’s focus on popular culture and her American perspective bias her findings. In talking to people who were part of the anti-Apartheid struggle blackness refers to unity of all non-Whites to fight against White privilege and White supremacy. It is an identity still prevalent amongst all non-Whites, including Coloureds, and encouraged with new African National Congress policies that privilege blackness.

By examining the persistence of a Coloured identity in KZN, I build on previous works, showing how consuming global and local culture, living in particular space and building relationships educate one on how to be Coloured. Repeatedly, during my visits to South Africa

after 1994, I heard “so called Coloureds” – as they sometimes reference themselves – complain about lacking a voice in the new government. “We have no place.” I heard it from family members, friends, and acquaintances, but to me, their place was South Africa. They were home. Not only were they born of the land, they were the products of specific mixing and mingling of cultures and peoples who were natives, settlers, and imports. They are South Africa’s creoles.

Organization

The following chapter addresses my personal connection to South Africa and inspiration for conducting this research. In it I address the support and challenges encountered with my chosen methods and personality politics. Chapter Three examines the anthropological and historical discussions of race and the way in which racial ideology was used in South Africa. I begin the chapter discussing colonization of the Eastern Cape by the Dutch and the malleability of social mobility despite the presence of a slave class and free class. From here, I discuss how territorial control shifted to the British and the antagonizing affect it had on Dutch identity but also on racializing non-Europeans. As I follow the creation of the Afrikaner identity, I introduce how anthropology was enlisted to assist Afrikaners in their mission to maintain each “nation” separate from the other. In this discussion, I show how the idea of Apartheid was built upon a foundation of British segregation, but also inspired by American policies. I do this to stress the global networks South Africa drew upon. I explore how European settlers coming to the southern-most shores of Africa had different ideas and motivations behind the idea of including and excluding people into their own ideas of nationhood, membership and pollution. I use Mary Douglas (1967) discussions about marginality, power, and pollution in order to break apart the stereotypes of mixed-race people and examine the logic surrounding the danger of race mixing. I engage the scholarly discussions that race is a biological myth utilized to colonize and exploit natural resources. Social

scientists agree that racial ideologies have consequences on the real life experiences of people who are continually racialized. The continued use of race qualifiers and racial data give credit to the belief race as a natural category. Using Paul Gilroy's idea that governments use normative racial ideology to build nations, I show how people racialize themselves and others to perpetuate the idea of race as a legitimate biological fact. Utilizing the idea of ethnogenesis I show how the creation of a separate Coloured identity is similar to other once heterogeneous ethnicities in South Africa by discussing the homogenization of Indians, Afrikaners, and Zulus.

In Chapter Four, I focus my attention on Coloured identity as present in KwaZulu-Natal province. I frame the identity within a spectrum of patriarchy that resulted based on the ethnic groups from which their progenitors belonged. I argue that it is partly because of this strong patrilineal tradition amongst all the ethnic groups coupled with racial ideologies that many Coloured people look back to their European "mancestors" as opposed to their ancestresses. From here, I examine the political divisions that influenced the formation of KZN Coloured identity in relation to members of other groups. I draw on scholarly work and newspaper articles from my time in the field. The final section of this chapter examines Desmond Tutu's metaphor "Rainbow Nation." I examine how scholars have critiqued the metaphor that is presented as a useful in describing the multi-cultural nature of the South Africa. I use three examples of contemporary "mixed" relationships to illustrate the racial divisions that remain.

Chapter Five explores the PEP youth groups and the experience of meeting, taking photos and reflecting on their individual and collective identities. Focusing on the photographs, the captions they created as well as responses to the photos I show how these projects act as catalyst for motivating youth to take notice of their space and their lives. Similarly, I show how observing the photos enabled the audience to reconnect with community members and share memories. In

this chapter, I focus on the agency of youth and their ability to create their identities through participation in group and individual activities such as PEP.

In Chapter Six I examine the formal, institutionalized education system and how people's experience in schools educates students for race. I examine school curriculum and socialization to contrast the effects of informal education as seen in inter/intra-generational conversations and absorption of global and local media presented in the previous chapters. Like institutions in the southern United States that were segregated based on race, under Apartheid, places of learning in South Africa were similarly by definition separate and not equal. Increased international pressures catalyzed change and in the 1970s, Catholic schools, against government wishes, began admitting non-White (or black) students. Soon the practice began spreading to private White schools and in the 1980s Coloured and Indian schools followed suit (Dolby 2001:8). I show how these legislations and institutions affected the identities of mixed-race people helping to educate South Africans for a racial hierarchy. Using ethnographic examples, I challenge the idea that the current South African government is meeting the challenge of creating a non-racial society. I present an education and social system that helps solidify a separate Coloured identity from Africans, Europeans, and Indians.

I conclude with a new definition of an "African" identity that transcends race and offers a place for Coloured people. Furthermore, this exploration of Coloured identity places them within an indigenous spectrum in South Africa. I briefly revisit each chapter in order to highlight how the racialized identities in South Africa are simultaneously ever changing and recreated with each generation through formal and informal patterns of education. By comparing the progeny of multicultural couplings in other nations, I open up space for a larger discussion of South Africa going beyond the often-myopic Black and White struggle. In this way, I place South Africa in a

larger scope of global creolization and challenge the idea of the postcolonial state in Africa. The move away from classifying Coloureds as mixed-race enables a broader discussion of how government institutions stifle minority voices in order to push specific racialized agendas based on ideas of purity.

CHAPTER 2: A Method to the Madness, Inspired by teaching

My inspiration for taking on this research project is partly based on my love of visual expression (I have a BFA with a focus on painting and ceramics) and my life as a person of “mixed-race” (South African Coloured and German-Sicilian American) who was often misidentified as being Hispanic and always having to answer the question, “What are you?” Early in my life, I was drawn to Afrocentric artistic and cultural expressions, indigenous people’s marginality and their struggle to maintain a unique identity, and immigrant cultures thriving in their new home. Through my love of cultures and traveling I pursued a career in teaching high school history and taught in an alternative high school in East Harlem, New York close to my home.

Based on my experiences as a youth and my experiences teaching adolescents I wanted to give marginalized adolescents a means of positive self-expression of their identities based on their worldviews as opposed to outsiders’ often-myopic visions of them. Observation of the interactions between the majority Afro-American and Latino high school student body, their relationships with various teachers, and how the pupils changed from one year to the next, gave me insight into how their personal interests, experiences, and relationships shaped their individual and group identities.

My relationships with students spurred my own ruminations about identity. Many of my students were either African-American, or Latino (overwhelming Dominican and Puerto Rican). Towards the beginning of each school year after establishing rapport with the new class inevitably a few of my students questioned my ethnicity / race. First, one would ask if I was Puerto Rican,

when I replied “No,” someone might ask, “What are you?” Sometimes, a student who heard from others about my mother being from South Africa and categorized me as “black” despite my light skin. At the time their view of me didn’t matter so long as we understood each other and I could be an effective teacher. Eventually however, their inquisitiveness about my personal history led me to question the often-simplistic view and understanding of blackness in mainstream Western society.

According to my former students, it was obviously more than just the color of someone’s skin but also some tangible connection to place that classified a person as black. In some cases just the fact that some “White” or “light skinned” teachers were connecting with the students and their cultures disrupted the racial barriers to the point that the students did not consider these instructors white. Whiteness for the students represented rigid enforcement of (sometimes-irrational) rules and regulations, control, and disconnect from the student body. Therefore, blackness for the black students represented a kinship. At the same time, there were examples of students who were dark skinned but did not consider themselves black because they were born in the Caribbean and/or spoke Spanish, listened to Meringue, Salsa, and Bachata, ate *arroz con gandules y plátanos* (rice with pigeon peas and plantains) and were into baseball more than basketball. Working in this environment led me to question how through education, both formal and informal, young people learn to construct their identities based not only on other people’s perception of them, but also on their perception of other people and the societies they live in.

In 2004, the year I visited South Africa for my grandfather’s 80th birthday, I visited two high schools with a teacher friend of mine. While visiting the public schools we could not help to notice how our school and students back in New York City was so similar to the schools in South Africa. Of course, the differences were striking but the urban students were very much the same –

amiable, eager to contribute, curious about how other people viewed them, excited about music, dancing and the opposite sex. Likewise, the complaints of the teachers were similar to our complaints back home: rowdy students, overcrowded classrooms, and underfunding.

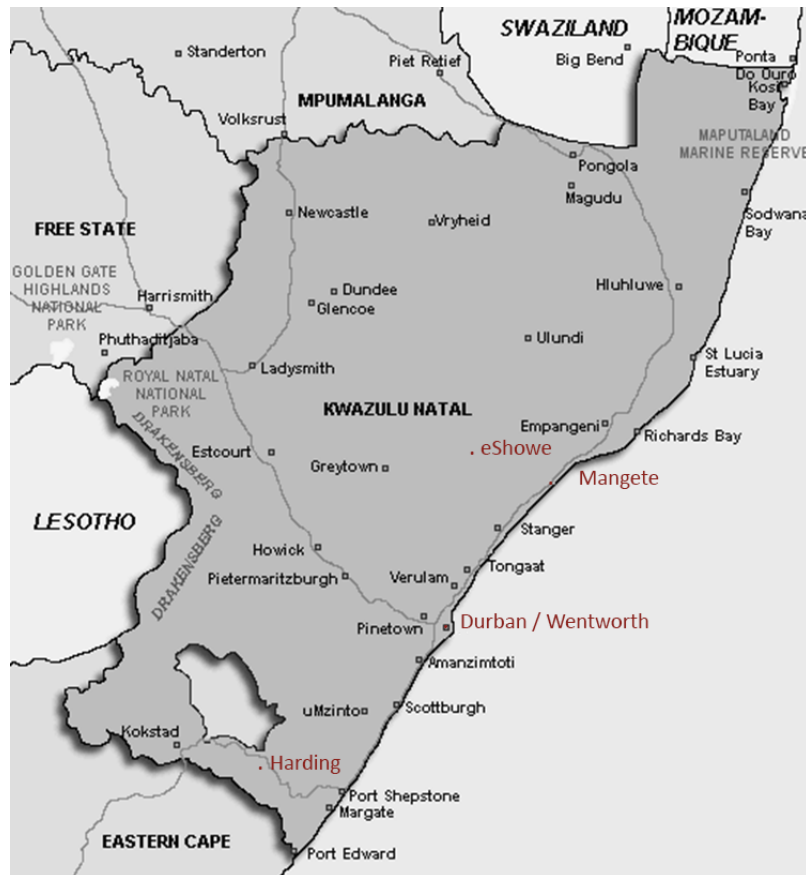


Figure 2: KwaZulu-Natal Map. Source: http://www.aboutsouthafrica.com/maps_kzn.htm

Choosing a Place

I chose to conduct anthropological research in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa partly based on my own connections to the area. My mother is from what was once a small farming community of Coloureds on the coast of the Indian Ocean called Mangete. My grandparents, a few uncles and their families, along with many cousins of various degrees of removal also lived there

until the early to mid-1990s. The community broke apart due to land grabbing and farm violence that marked the 1980s; as a result, only a handful of the original community members continue to eke out a living between the Tunga-Hewlett sugar cane fields and the Zulu squatters who fell under the jurisdiction of Chief Mathaba.²

Perhaps the area's history, rife with conflict between Afrikaner, British, and Zulu forces and the ghosts of their aggressions make the land such contested territory. Equally tumultuous was the manner in which the land was acquired by the Coloured community, most of whom were descendants of the "Great White Chief" John Dunn. Dunn was a Scotsman who won over Shaka Zulu's nephew and eventual successor Cetshwayo, with his bicultural expertise, his bilingual skills, and access to European trade items. The king reciprocated by providing a title, land, women, and cattle for Dunn's ambassadorial and trade services. Later, in the 1880s with the burgeoning British resolution to annex Zulu territory Dunn switched sides to act as an informant while opportunistically retaining his power and wealth gained from working under the Zulu kingdom. After Cetshwayo's overthrow Dunn was again given chiefly jurisdiction over the lower Zulu territory. The area included Mangete, Emoyeni, and Qwayinduku first given to him by his former friend. Over the decades with various racial segregation policies Dunn's descendants were forced into continuous conflict to retain their ancestral land and numerous court battles were fought to

² (Chief) *inkosi* Khayelihle Mathaba is cited as being something of a warlord by Mary de Haas, an anthropology lecturer at the University of Natal and a member of a government committee investigating farm attacks. She placed the blame for conflict on the *inkosi*'s own ambitions to expand his power base and links to the Apartheid police. DeHaas believed the area's problems were exacerbated by political party conflict and "failure to act on the part of the police, provincial government and Land Claims Court" on behalf of the Dunn descendants. Mathaba laid claim to the 61 farms that were owned and housed the Dunn descendants and ordered 2000 squatters to occupy the land and disrupt their lives (MacGregor August 31, 2001:17; Bridgland 2004).

gain title to land. The spirits of upheaval and displacement remain not only for the Dunn descendants, but for many of the creole people sharing similar stories in KwaZulu-Natal. The land itself is agriculturally rich with its fertile soil, mild tropical climate, and warm coastal breezes wafting from the Indian Ocean. It is no wonder people are in constant battle to develop the area to suit their own purposes.

The previously mentioned conflicts converged with desire for territory drove many of the former Coloured residents. Cronies of the chief set their homes on fire, poisoned livestock, and intimidated farmers. Coupled with the fact that few from the younger generations wanted to take up the grueling career of commercial farming and a shortage of employment opportunities outside agriculture in the region, most young people moved further south towards Durban (the largest port in Sub-Saharan Africa). Others migrated north or south to other coastal and inland areas with more opportunities for a modern life.

When my parents sent me to visit my grandparents' farm during my summer holidays bits and pieces of these conflicts were exposed. Mostly, all the children my age were at school because it was winter in the southern hemisphere. I wandered past the sugar cane fields, rode to the sugarcane loading zones with my grandfather in his pickup truck or with my grandmother in her vehicle to do shopping, observed the livestock and listened to the elders when they were around. In my mind, I was African; at least half.

My intimate connection to South Africa's history and place, learning about the politics from family members and friends, and listening to the news drew me to the position of Coloured people in this area as an anthropological study. The scarcity of academic literature on KZN Coloured communities gave me a space to contribute to previous work done involving Coloureds. Much of the work concerning this group was motivated by the Apartheid government to

understand how to better classify and govern these liminal people that existed outside the barriers of the state determined legislation and the Coloured homeland, the Cape. Under the Nationalist government, social scientists spent time justifying various degrees of segregation or imploring the immorality of race based legislations (Suzman 1960). Anthropologists, social workers, and legal counsel spent time in courts determining if people were attempting to pass (Lewin 1956). Determining how people self-identified and getting them to tell their own stories remained unexplored until recently.

The Relevance of Race

During Apartheid, numerous individuals passed or attempted to pass into other categories for which they had not been designated to afford them access to better educational, and employment resources. This government sanctioned passing became known as the “chameleon dance” as people slipped in and out of their race categories via petitioning the government and paying a small fee.

1985 had at least 1000 "chameleons"

Political staff

PARLIAMENT – More than 1000 people officially changed colour last year.

They were reclassified from one race group to another by the stroke of a Government pen.

Details of what is dubbed "the chameleon dance" were given in reply to Opposition questions in Parliament.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, disclosed that during 1985:

- 702 coloured people turned white.
- 19 whites became coloured.
- One Indian became white.

- Three Chinese became white.
- 50 Indians became coloured.
- 43 coloureds became Indians.
- 21 Indians became Malay.
- 30 Malays went Indian.
- 249 blacks became coloured.
- 20 coloureds became black.
- Two blacks became "other Asians".
- One black was classified Griqua.
- 11 coloureds became Chinese.
- Three coloureds went Malay.
- One Chinese became coloured.
- Eight Malays became coloured.
- Three blacks were classed as Malay.
- No blacks became white and no whites became black.

The Star, 21 March 1986

Figure 3: The Chameleon Dance. Photographed by Barbara Strydom at the Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, South Africa

While some people partook in what G. Reginald Daniel (2002) calls continuous passing – where people severed all ties with family and community members – others engaged in discontinuous passing, which enabled the person to pass in and out of both communities. Likewise, Teresa K. Williams (1997) furthers our understanding of passing by using what Ari Rosner calls “passive passing” (Williams 1997:167). Rosner’s account of passing treats it as taking place on a number of levels, from phenotypic appearance, cultural display, or a combination thereof. To understand the tactics of these people one must know their motives and intentions. Passing was based on rationality with a goal in mind to obtain a better life. Passing involved decisions and agency as did choosing not to pass. Williams (1997) argues that in “passing” multiracial individuals make radical shifts in their perspective of racial positionality, changing from “majority” to “minority” or even, as she further argues, from one minority status, which may be low, to another of higher status (Williams 1997:167). Both acts were socially hazardous since people risked losing jobs, homes and opportunities if an envious or spiteful neighbor suspected and accused someone of trying to pass. Likewise, not passing meant not denying better opportunities and being left behind by those relatives that did pass or members of the dominant race. In both cases, numerous families and communities were torn apart. In the South African context, nearly 20 years after the fall of the old regime, people in theory are able to classify themselves and identify with whatever ethnicity or race to which they feel most akin. The democratic government’s pledge for non-racialism, as embodied by the Freedom Charter, helped enabled self-identification. With this said, in order to address the unfair privileges of the past regime the policy of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) was adopted to level the playing field. The new policy favored indigenous Black Africans for employment, scholarships, government contracts and loans, whereas before such opportunities were strictly reserved for the White minority. Suddenly, the racial hierarchy of

the past reversed; those who suffered the greatest injustices were put first on the list for advancement. African women were of top priority with African men close behind, next came Coloured women followed by Coloured men. Subsequently, Indian men followed Indian women. Legally and politically speaking, all people of color were classified “black” in the non-racialist terms of anti-Apartheid rhetoric of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) (Biko & Stubbs 2002). However, the truth remains that classifications from the previous government are still in use in collecting demographic data in educational institutions, census, in complying with business equity and BEE. One main difference from the old regime is the individual’s right and ability to freely choose his/her own classification. Today it makes sense for dark-skinned Coloureds to attempt to pass as Zulu, Xhosa or any number of indigenous South African nations because these groups are better situated for bursaries, employment, and government welfare programs according to the new dispensation of affirmative action. Likewise, light-skinned Coloureds cling to the intermediate classification to qualify for BEE.

I wondered if the new policies would indeed influence Coloureds to favor their African roots over their European ones. Additionally, would the youth be more drawn to African modes of expression based on their experiences with school integration, the prominence of African government officials, and greater exposure of modern African music? I wondered whether these factors would influence their own identities, and would these identifications come in conflict with those of the previous generations. To find out I needed to talk to the youth and their family members, observe intergenerational interactions, as well as interactions between friends and classmates.

Seeking to Answer

The South Africa my grandmother knew when she was young was very different from the one she now lived in. In the stories I heard from elders, youth lived their lives in ways that were

very different from how the youth were living in the present. In a sense the openness of the current conditions awakened creativity, acceptance, and affluence to a wider portion of all people. At the same time, South Africa has become a hotbed for HIV/AIDS, violent crime and the disparity between the richest in the nation and the poorest has grown to be one of the worst in the world. During my research I encountered nostalgia for the old regime amongst numerous elders. Many youth, on the other hand, lacked this experience. They also lacked the experience of the struggle politics that many youth who grew up in the 1970s and 1980s, participated in.

I investigate how adolescent Coloured identity affiliations possibly changed since Apartheid and to what extent place of residence, appearance, and intergenerational relationships affect adolescent social constructions. I deconstruct the direct and indirect development of racial and cultural group identity as influenced by intra- and intergenerational social phenomena. In the field, I discovered that Coloured youth learn about *Colouredness* through familial and peer interactions because Coloured history in the school curriculum is lacking, just as it was in public media. During interviews, adolescents and elders expressed feelings of deficiency, during cultural exhibitions at school or on SABC programming celebrating ethnic diversity. This further created feelings of marginalization. Apparently the transition in power to majority rule has not pressed all Coloureds who grew up without the segregation policies of Apartheid to lean toward the newly dominant Black African culture, (i.e. Zulu, Xhosa, or Sotho etc.) over the group's former affiliation with European-based African traditions. For those young Coloureds who did grow up in the "Rainbow Nation," I explored how this new self-identification was passed down and from whom or what passed it down. With the spreading acceptance and popularity of what many call "authentic" African arts and culture (beadwork, *ikhamba* Zulu pots, even West African inspired head wraps and dresses), my original hypothesis was that a growing number of young Coloureds in KZN

would claim their indigenous ties or roots, through language acquisition, alliances, and contemporary expressive culture. This would ensure a sloughing off racialized skins that divided people during the past segregation.

I focused my ethnographic research on time spent with adolescents during extracurricular activities and at family gatherings. Observing their interaction with elders painted a fuller picture of the influences on adolescent lives. Through qualitative research, I observed people's behavior in day-to-day contexts thus enabling me to form a conclusive argument as to how Coloureds go about negotiating spaces and people outside of their in-group. The liminality and strong connection to history, family and space within the Coloured communities in KZN render people legible to one another. In the minutia of everyday conduct people go about their tasks without reflecting on identity. However, sometimes mundane activities such as shopping, going to the bank or post office put people in contact with others like them. Many times they will stop and chat and ask after family members thereby reinforcing ties. Friends meeting for tea or supper will often reflect on memories from their pasts. Conversations around family, school, place of origin, and politics dominate. On more than one occasion, I witnessed people coming to the realization they were related based on their dialogues. These familial realizations reaffirm KZN Coloured connections between friends. Likewise, through large family gatherings such as funerals, weddings, and "twenty-firsts" (coming of age ceremonies for young people turning twenty-one) individuals reestablish familial connections. At these events information is traded about birthplace, family names, and observations about who looks like whom. The sharing of ceremony, food, and memories solidifies relationships and unique cultural traditions. During these times, outsiders are welcomed and informally adopted.

The people I interviewed during predissertation research, June/July 2008, served as the core population for this study. I visited five secondary schools around the province, four of which were formally Coloured schools. I interviewed administrators, teachers, and students and observed class and extracurricular activities. The information obtained compared school policies during and after Apartheid. Learning about elder's experiences going to school or working under Apartheid as compared to after revealed the struggles of desegregation. Observing peer and teacher interaction showed how shifts in school demographics determined student inter-ethnic relationships. From this base I gained access to friends, families, or coworkers who agreed to participate. I spoke to a variety of people, from all four of the historical South African racial groups both young and old. Speaking to a variety of people showed me what cultural aspects were shared across a wider South African spectrum and which aspects were unique to specific ethnicities. When explaining my research to non-Coloured people spaces to discuss history, politics, and people opened up. Many people were eager to share their knowledge, connections, and opinions about Coloureds or the places they lived. Broadening my demographic base to include non-Coloureds gave me a fuller picture of the people and province of KZN. The interviews and observations showed how people and place fit in the larger idea of South Africa as a rainbow nation. In total I completed 60 one on one interviews.

Asking questions and listening to the answers of interviewees who live liminal realities and are often trapped by their particular political identities of either "black" (non-White) or Coloured (non-Black) contextualizes their actions and affirmations that form their identities. Conversations focused on family and individual histories assist both the researcher and participants in identifying the underlying agents beneath the politicized identities. Listening to their stories assists them in their tellings and inspires critiques and critical discussions. In this sense taking, leaving,

remembering, and forgetting cultural elements is imperative for maintaining (Coloured) identity (Clifford 2000:97), but it is also important in recreating, legitimizing, and challenging identity politics, especially in this rapidly changing globalized world.

When I began this project working with adolescent Coloureds I decided my best approach would be to contact secondary school principals, ask to visit their teachers' classrooms and interview some of their teachers. Then I could make my way to the students. Teachers put me in contact with a variety of students willing to talk about race. They let me follow them around, meet with them after classes and I gained access to speak with their relatives. This type of informant collection is better termed as "trickle down sampling" methodology as opposed to "snowball sampling" simply for the fact that I began with the top of a hierarchical structure in the educational setting and made my way down the pyramid to the student body. Since schools are temporary guardians of the vulnerable, underage student body, doing research within the institution requires strict protocol to ensure the safety of all parties and to mitigate any liability issues. For this reason gaining access to research participants was much more controlled whereas the snowball sampling gave me a more varied and representative sample in the selection of potential research informants. My other plan of action was to find elders in one of the three communities I decided to work in and work my way down from there. Since I was designing my project to focus on "informal education," meaning how and what students learn outside of school from peers, media, and family, I wanted to experience how the youth interacted with their friends and family outside the institution of schools and see how these relationships informed their identities.

My first line of approach was the principals. With the help Diane, an aunt by marriage, I arranged to explain who I was, what I wanted to do at their schools, and why I was doing it. Two of the four principals were eager for me to speak to their teachers, sit in on their classes, and even

talk to their students. The other two remained wary of my plans, but gave me helpful advice. The one principal in central Durban reminded me that observing the students in the classroom would be an artificial environment and if I wanted to see the friendships and alliances as they were naturally occurring I was free to attend afterschool activities, sporting events, and observe students on the weekends since many were boarders. I agreed to an extent. In my own experience as a teacher, I observed how classroom relationships differ greatly to those in free space. For example, afterschool or lunch differs greatly from how people act in class. Affiliations based on academic performance become the primary level of interaction amongst students. Often competition for the teacher's attention is the foundation of student action. Distracting the teacher is another motivation for classroom participation. When students collaborate, it is often dictated by rules established by the representative hierarchical structure, the teacher. Alliances become structured and bounded by rules. Observing students during lunch or extracurricular activities, however, shows the variety of cliques and associations that go beyond academic structuring. Affiliations in these settings become organic; often based on language abilities, consumption of similar styles and music, appearance and extracurricular interests or membership. The principal's observation influenced me to explore young Coloured lives outside of school.

In the rural areas, I focused on three secondary schools. In Harding, I had another aunt by marriage working at the formerly Coloured school. Auntie Babe resided on campus as a matron for the female boarders and also taught primary school. Auntie Babe helped me to meet with teachers, sit in on classes and speak with students. The Coloured principal, Mr. Henna, expressed his surprise that I was researching such a topic commenting, "I thought you all [meaning Americans] were past all this by now." I told him we were not and after a brief discussion about race politics concerning classification and affirmative action in the United States, he was happy to

assist in my endeavors. As a former anti-Apartheid participant, Principal Henna was interested in Civil Rights in the United States and the progress of equity. He was proud of the manner in which he ran the school and what the students were achieving, despite his worry about the future direction of South African education in general.

The two schools in my third location of Umlalazi Municipality were both reluctant for me to visit. I was only able to observe the schools in passing from outside and gain information from the perspective of students I knew. Umlalazi High School was a “former Model-C school” and Sunnydale Secondary School was formerly a Coloured school. The Umlalazi High was very much like its counterparts in Durban. Families paid high student fees for their children to attend and rules were strictly enforced. Sunnydale was not at all like the other formerly Coloured schools. I was barely able to speak to the teachers let alone principal. The concession he made was for me to drop off some surveys for the children to complete and he would return them. I suspect past accusations of abuse and student failure denied me access because of previous problems with parent complaints.

Planning

I picked each research site for a variety of reasons, including my familial connections in each location. These long-standing relationships were valuable in that they openly accepted my research, supported me by participating, and referring other people to participate, and opened doors. My grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins readily agreed to interviews; though I sometimes felt they held back or altered their responses from the reality of their everyday lives. Being around them enabled me to measure and witness the truths and contradictions in their actions and speech when they mingled with local people and their familiars.

Most family members were excited about the project and were genuinely willing to help. Diane, one aunt by marriage – only a few years my senior – was my biggest support. In a past life,

she was a bank manager and handled big accounts with sometimes-difficult people. As a result, she is meticulous, personable, and driven. She took interest in the research and helped whenever she could. It was through her that I made first contact with the principals at the Durban high schools. It was through her that I met a pastor in Harding, her hometown. The pastor put me in contact with youth from the community. She referred her cousins, nieces, and parents to partake in the interviews and later the ethnographic photography project. Finally, she was a source of unwavering support, a welcome respite from the toils of research (taking my husband and me on theatre outings and mall meanderings). She always welcomed us on our wanderings in and out of the house and in return, we cooked family meals when we were able and took her sons (my teenage cousins) on outings to give her respite and did errands when possible.

Another aunt by marriage, Eulali, never wanted to be interviewed because she thought she had nothing to say but she helped by getting phone numbers and addresses of important people whom I was trying to interview. She also referred other family members to be interviewed and like Diane, opened her home to my husband and me, fed us, let us use her electricity and did our laundry. During our stay at my grandparent's farm, we often visited her for tea and chats. From her we learned about the local gossip and gained an appreciation of American culture, such as the iconic, former talk show host Oprah Winfrey.

Though I am not sure my grandfather knew exactly what I was doing, he too was instrumental in my success. Having made his farm our home for a few months off and on he supplied me with endless supply of stories from the days of ox-powered wagons, the days before Apartheid, in a land where people had gumption because they provided for themselves and their neighbors with their hands. My grandmother Fulvie, whom I call "Ma," was quiet in comparison to her husband, "Pa." Sometimes she became frustrated by our presence in her kitchen especially

when we did not follow her rules or attempted to “give her a break” from cooking. The underlying her morose disposition was the fact in her mind she was fairly recently displaced by Zimbabwe-like farm violence from the home where she grew up. She felt tricked into living on a thousand acre farm with no electricity and no means of escape. Though Ma refused to be interviewed, claiming that her past was too filled with pain, on occasion she would let pieces of her past slip from her lips. When recounting Zulu life on her ancestral land in a time when the Zulus still lived in beehive huts and she would sneak in as a child to listen to the old women chatter. The New South Africa was filled with troubles. One day after complaining about people stealing food Ma brought out a flat basket. She then began to explain that in the old days when people needed food they would bring a special type of basket that signified people to get food ready to be collected. She went on to say that when the prospective donors would see the person with the basket coming their way the person would prepare a parcel of food to provide to the charity seeker. She lamented that those days were long gone. Mostly, I delighted in her bold immodesty when it came to her crochet work that she sold in her younger days. These days, many pieces were squirreled away. My favorite pieces were of her recent design. Well into her 80s, Ma crafted her memories to illustrate the evolution of the “traditional” Zulu homestead – complete with huts for multiple wives and their sons, separate corrals for the cattle and calves, and the patriarch’s main domicile – to more contemporary versions depicting one square house and an adjacent *rondavaal* (a circular cinderblock structure with a thatched roof).



Figure 4: Zulu homestead pillow throw, crocheted by Fulvie Strydom. Photo by Patti Joshua September 2014

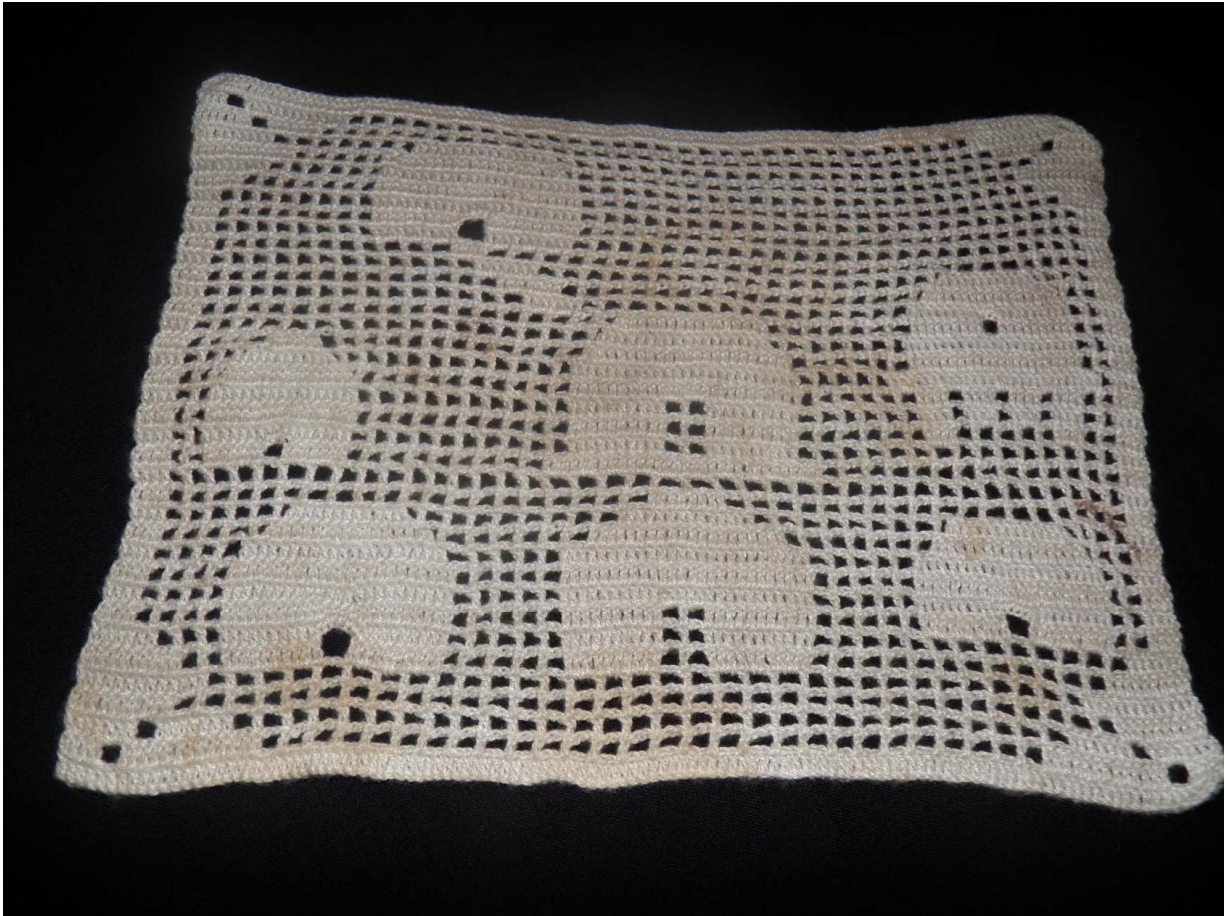


Figure 5: Zulu homestead variation pillow throw, crocheted by Fulvie Strydom. Photo by Patti Joshua
September 2014



Figure 6: **Zulu home**, crocheted by **Fulvie Strydom**. Photo by **Patti Joshua** September 2014

Challenges

Would a female ethnographer in her 30s be accepted by the parents and teenagers in communities reputed to be rife with gangsterism, drugs, violence, and male chauvinism? From my teaching days I was well aware of my students' illicit habits, but did not condone their activities. As a teacher I was required by law to report harmful or illegal activities. However, as an ethnographer, I was bound to a different ethics. My primary concern was for my informants, their well-being, and their anonymity. Establishing trust with my informants was essential.

After returning to Indiana and taking a class on the anthropology of education in the Wright School of Education with Margaret Sutton, I became aware of limitations and potential for awkward situations that might occur both inside and outside school when conducting my participant observations. One particular ethnography, *Learning Capitalist Culture: Deep in the Heart of Texas* (1990), made apparent the awkwardness and challenges of working with young adults. The author, Douglas Foley (1990), spent his time following around American teenage football players and other groups. Foley attended football games and house parties and observed both school and community events. He engaged in drinking and watched as his underage participants imbibe alcohol, while observing other risky acts of adolescent rebellion. At times, his participant observation earned him the ridicule of the youngsters who were nearly half his age. They reproached him for his presence in their space, though he persevered with his research. After reading and discussing his experiences, I questioned my proposed methods.

Methods Revised

Inspired partly by Lori Hammond's (1997) work with the Mien student body in California I decided to work with students as ethnographers. My decision to partake in working with the youth in this way also rose out of being funded as an Ambassadorial Scholar by the Southern

Indiana Rotary District 6580 in which I lived. Part of the requirement to fulfill my obligation as a Rotary representative was to engage in a community service project. Therefore, I dedicated a portion of my research time to training students to be visual ethnographers in their own communities.

When I returned in 2010 to begin my dissertation fieldwork, I changed my methodology. Instead of shadowing (or following) selected youth, I involved them in collecting data and urged them to become cultural analysts. Their observations, discussions, and photographic analysis became invaluable sources of data. As a team, the youth groups and I planned exhibits of their work. Their involvement excited them and their families. Their ability to have their voices and opinions heard and participate in creating a narrative of their space motivated their continued participation despite their often, busy schedules.

I involved elders in the communities to put me in contact with interested youth. One instrumental person in eThekweni was Jean Choudree, a self-identified Coloured woman from Kimberly, Northern Cape province, in the center of South Africa, whose family moved to the Wentworth in the 1940s. As a retired schoolteacher turned community activist Ms. Choudree worked tirelessly for the betterment of the community. It was apparent from the friendly reception people gave her that people respected her organization work with multiple community organizations and community-wide empowerment initiatives. When we first met, she was busy running about directing a Christmas banquet for the elders in the community. My partner and I won her over by jumping in to help off-load the 500 parcels of sundry goods that went to the elders. This made for a fruitful second meeting at the public library where Ms. Choudree sat us down with two diary books asking us directly “What do you need?” While I described the project and the timeline she diligently took notes in her books, set up a meeting time and the next time we met at

the school, she arranged for us to meet the principal, one of the teachers who was recommending students and the students themselves. In all, there were eight, highly motivated youth from two Wentworth, eThekweni Municipality schools that completed the project.

I approached interview participants through community groups (churches and schools). Additionally, through snowball sampling, family members and friends referred me to additional participants. Individual interviews usually lasted between 30 and 90 minutes. Interviews with some of the younger participants were short in relation to their older counterparts, who had more experience, more opinions, and greater confidence in expressing and sharing. Questions were clustered around themes of identity (including racial, ethnic and religious affiliations, friendships, family history, and spatial). I also conducted group interviews and used a version of the photo-voice methodology, part of what I called the photographic ethnography project (PEP), to engage Coloured youth. I used the PEP to interview students, spark peer discussion, and harness their creative energies. Through this methodology, youth were able to show and tell stories of whom they were by capturing snippets of their lives in photos to display to each other and their communities during the three exhibits that emerged. To protect the identity of my participants each person received an alias unless otherwise stated. Although place names remain intact, the names of schools were changed.

During my time in the field, I met with the three groups of approximately ten students in three separate areas on a weekly (and sometimes daily) basis. I conducted the meetings with the assistance of my husband and fellow researcher Joseph Učihřeháh Stahlman who was an essential part of documenting through videography. He was especially helpful in working with the young men involved in the project. That he was “red Indian” helped facilitate rapport with many people who were otherwise distrustful of outsiders but wanted to know more about Indians. Together we

had the youth journal opinions, discuss their neighborhoods, culture(s), families, and any other issues they deemed important.

After three preliminary meetings with the first group in eThekweni, we passed out digital cameras to participants. We participants take photos based on our discussed themes and, at times, interview friends and relatives. The second and third groups in Umlalazi and Umuziwabantu Municipalities that participated in May, July and August received their cameras quicker since we already used them with the first group. One of the many strengths of this method was empowering the teens to tell their own stories through a medium in which they commonly engaged. Most of them had cell phones with cameras and were already taking pictures of each other, things that attracted them and things that amazed them. My role as the researcher was to facilitate group and individual activity, to encourage them to focus their attention and lenses, to answering the questions that helped them analyze their places in their world. This was done through journaling activities, question and answer sessions, and even bringing in professional photographers and researchers.

Between photo sessions, we continued meeting with the teens to monitor the process and for peer-critiques of the photographs. Everyone received multiple opportunities to express their likes and dislikes of other people's photos. Likewise, the photographer was encouraged to explain the reason for the photo and their associated feelings. We asked the youth to give us tours and went out with each group at least twice to get a feel of their neighborhoods and assist the photographic process. They really enjoyed being the experts and happily showed us their homes, places they



Figure 7: Umuziwabantu Youth Center July 2011

were scared of, and places where they felt safe. They were interested learning more about their community and they took advantage of their position to share with each other their personal experiences, struggles, and achievements. For some of the youth, especially those in Harding, Umuziwabantu Municipality our meetings gave them something to do. Since our meeting time coincided with their winter holiday, our participants were excited to have something different to do that would get them out of the house. One of the many complaints they had was that their town offered few afterschool or youth activities.



Figure 8: Umuziwabantu Youth Center, close-up July 2011

There were plenty of challenges along the way. I found the second group was not as excited about the project as the first and the third. That we lacked the buy-in from the youth and their parents contributed to the failure. There were several attempts to meet with the parents of the participants as a group and individually to explain the project. Unfortunately, the group meeting never manifested as it did with the first group. In the end, we sent consent forms home. They were returned without question. I was able to confer with a few members of the families, but communication was mostly superficial. The second barrier, I believe, is that during the time we embarked on the project national exams were taking place and many students were distracted even after they were finished with their exams. In the end, we decided to end and cancel the program. Although this group did not carry the program off to completion, the youngsters provided a wealth of information through discussions and from the few, but excellent photographs, they did capture.

Having the youth gather information from their families and friends altered the power dynamic between the professional researcher and informant. Using photography created a more open and honest portrayal of the people. Later, as a collective, we chose the best images to be displayed. Exhibitions of their work in neighborhood community centers and a final collective exhibit in a newly established art gallery in central Durban were staged. The audience, mainly people from the communities, was in awe that these youngsters, with no formal training, were able to take such poignant photographs.

I continued to focus on Coloured youths' expression of acceptance or rejection of the African pride that was taking the nation by storm since the African National Congress (ANC) and Nelson Mandela rose to power in 1994. I also examined if and how these Coloured adolescents

use indigenous languages in slang and indigenous genres of popular music, for instance *Kwaito*,³ House, African Gospel, and/or *Maskandi*⁴ to construct their *Africanness* in conjunction with music from America and Europe making them cosmopolitan. During interviews, I asked people if they were African. Most respondents noted that they were South African, implying a difference between South Africanness and *Africanness*. Many people implied *Africanness* referred to indigenous African groups and nations like the Zulu, Sotho, Ndebele, Xhosa, and Pedi, whereas South Africa implied a blending and living together of multiple ethnicities from Africa, Asia, and Europe. To accomplish the project's goals I also conducted ethnographic interviews, with teenagers and adults across the lifespan living in predominately-Zulu communities in Wentworth (Durban), Eshowe (Umlalazi Municipality), and Harding (Umuziwabantu Municipality) in KwaZulu-Natal province, South Africa. Participants were asked a series of approximately 30 in-depth questions to explore their self-identification and experiences as that identity. All interviews were conducted in places the interviewees choose and lasted between half an hour and an hour. Sometimes this was in their homes, other times at their place of work. The locations chosen also provided a wealth of information, since I was able to make detailed observations about their lives and conduct. Doing this also enabled me to compare their answers to their actual lived experiences. I did this to assess impacts of segregation and multiculturalism on the contemporary populations. Visiting these three areas (a major port city, a northern rural, sugar farming town, and a south coast town supported by

³ Kwaito music is a popular music made famous by Brenda Fassie, contemporary South African Gospel was influenced from Zionist Christian movements that spread across South Africa.

⁴ A popular type of Zulu folk music. Performers are men and women who often wear skins or beaded cloth skirts that are reminiscent of older styles of pre-colonial adornment. The music has an upbeat tempo. Singers are often accompanied by guitar, accordion and percussion. Lyrics usually tell a story and accompanied by synchronized dances.

timber production) gave a broader perspective to my study than visiting one place would have. The two rural areas (Umlalazi and Umuziwabantu) are individually distinct and both are very different from the major city of Durban. The two rural populations are roughly the same distance from Durban (1.5 hours). The equidistance from this metropolis however, renders numerous differences. For instance, the geographic location of the northern inland foothills of what was once Zululand is a large producer of sugarcane, whereas the southern valley of the Ngeli Mountains based largely on timber. Additionally, the political-ethnic relationships Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) – and the newly formed spinoff National Freedom Party (NFP) – is dominated by Zulus in the north versus the incumbent ANC party and their rival the Democratic Alliance (DA). These differences created unique perspectives, challenges, and allies amongst the residents.

I chose eThekweni (Durban) as a base because of its central locale between Umlalazi (eShowe) and Umuziwabantu (Harding). While Durban's size contrasted the rural towns, there were numerous interviewees who had familial, personal, and historical connections to Durban which, ultimately, lessened differences. These connections seemed to allow the locations to overlap and become parts of a greater whole. Additionally, since the previous government's control of people's movements and destinies were based on race and because each research site had a substantial community of Coloureds the connections between people in one area ultimately overlapped with people in the other locations, despite seeming worlds apart.

Dividing Time

I divided my time among the aforementioned multi-ethnic, main place of Zulu communities during my twelve months of fieldwork. In the first three months, I shared my time between Umlalazi and Durban, eThekweni with the latter site being my predominant residence and the former was devoted to weekend visits. I did this in order to familiarize myself with individuals and

social dynamics of both communities. Being present in the community afforded me recognition by families and youth. The fourth month was spent in Harding. The remaining nine months I divided time between the three locations. I spent a few months in each locality with sporadic visits to one or both of the other communities for various local public and private social events, as well as to connect with my respondents. Dividing my investigation up in this manner enabled me to devote equal time at each location and make my presence a regular occurrence that became expected and eventually integrated into the local life. I purposefully built flexibility into my timetable in order to attend special events, such as matriculation dances (the equivalent to a United States prom), coming-of-age ceremonies, or cultural/sports festivals. While in attendance, I carefully observed, noted, and recorded behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes pertinent to the local cultures.

During fieldwork, Stahlman and I attended two weddings and three wedding receptions, two funerals, an ANC rally, an NFP launch along with a non-political recycling initiative between Buyisa e-Bag and Senzokuhle Community Based Organization, a student protest at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a fire-walking festival dedicated to the Hindu goddess Durga. Through this observational study, I sought to understand the underlying processes involved in the construction of identity.

An important aspect of fieldwork was my affiliation through the Rotary Club. As a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar, I was supported to participate in a community volunteer activity, which motivated me to start PEP in three locations. I was obligated to arrange eight speaking appearances at local clubs around KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). I conducted the majority of my fieldwork around Durban. Through these clubs, I interacted with many people of British and Indian ancestry and a few with Afrikaner and Zulu backgrounds as well. During my visits, I spoke about my home, the district I represented and about my activities as a scholar. Speaking about race, showing pictures

of the areas I was working in, and inviting people to my field site opened up a wide range of emotions and allowed me to gauge interest in the subject. Some people were enthusiastic; they asked questions after I spoke, gave suggestions as to people I should interview, and shared personal stories with me. Other people were visibly uncomfortable or bored with the topic and politely stayed quiet.

CHAPTER 3: The Mixed Makings of Race in South Africa

“The ties that bind a man to the land are not easily understood. They extend over time and are subject to the vicissitudes of history. They are given various cultural glosses that permit an array of rhetorical, political, and economic ploys and that cover in one fashion or another his ambivalent relationship to the soil” (Crapanzano 1986:79).

This chapter frames the Coloured group as an ethnically distinct category of phenotypically diverse people – much like other creolized groups, for instance African-Americans, Caribbean, Lumbee, Mestizos, and Metis. In this chapter I include an overview and historical context for the “creation” of select Coloured groups. I show how instances of Colouredness relate to other ethnicities in South Africa, with a particular focus on KwaZulu-Natal province. I will show how these ethnically distinct individuals invest in the ethnogenesis of what is something of a contested ethnic grouping of heterogeneous “mixed-race” offspring. Both Whiteness and Blackness are essential to this narrative because it was against these two distinct backdrops that Coloureds were created, judged and distinguished. Because the bulk of my research was conducted in KZN province where the vast majority of South Africa’s Indian population live I discuss the homogenization of this diverse group despite originating from multiple points of ethnic departure. Since Indians (or Asians as they are sometimes classified) did not fit into the African or European binary categories Indians were often grouped as Coloured. Due to the cross grouping of creole

Afro-European people and people from the Indian sub-continent intermarriage between the groups was common, thus adding to the diversity of KZN Coloureds.

It is important to note that these racial categories and the associated ethnicities underwent their own ethnogenesis that give credence to the idea that Coloured people although in some cases “forced” into a group by dominant government policies became a separate entity amongst themselves. They too had their own historic experiences of *Othering* or being *Othered* that point to their eventual designation as a separate group. It is imperative to understand that although an identity was imposed, in many cases the Coloured identity is one that is partly self-constructed; to say otherwise – that the identity is a “false consciousness” – negates the agency of these people and gives complete power to the colonial and Apartheid regimes (Adhikari 2003; Field 2001:108). This idea of “false consciousness” traces back to Marxist theorists involving institutional processes manipulated by the capitalist system (and the manipulation of it) to hold power over the lives of the proletariat. According to the theory, individuals believe they understand the workings of the system, but because they suffer from a false consciousness to the true mechanics and motives of the government and capitalists, they inadvertently do things to support the system (such as hold on to race based categories) – the very system that oppresses them. For outsiders looking in at Coloured communities, Coloureds appear to work against their liberation. The most common observation and perception is the racist attitudes Coloureds have toward other people of color or the idea that their main goal is assimilation. While this may be true for some individuals, the drive for assimilation is not universal amongst Coloureds. If assimilation was the goal separate communities would cease to exist after Apartheid officially ended. However, despite the democratization of free assembly and movement, I witnessed many Coloured professionals, who had moved out of Coloured ghettos, continuously return to revive a sense of community because

it was in those spaces, the places where they grew up, created memories, and knew the territory and people that they felt most comfortable. The sights, smells, sounds, and touches were more familiar there than the formerly White suburbs they migrated to. Coloured communities continue to exist and strive for recognition and acknowledgement of a separate identity even after twenty years of ANC rule.

Ethnogenesis

John L. Comaroff (1996:165-166) argues that “identities are not things but relations: that their content is wrought in the particularities of their ongoing historical construction.” Ethnicity and identity, he argues, originate in relations of inequality. Ethnogenesis occurs through social processes in which culturally defined groups, (such as Afrikaner, Coloured or Zulu) constructed in a “dialectic of attribution and self-assertion,” are incorporated into “hierarchical social divisions of labor” (Comaroff 1996:164). Ethnic identities are therefore consistently entangled in equations of material, political, and symbolic power. However, identity construction is never entirely imposed; rather it often involves struggle, contestation and sometimes failure. This study adds to our appreciation of race and ethnicity in that it reflects the experience of South Africans who exist beyond the Black and White binary. As a group, Coloureds were directly affected by the idea of race-based policies and ethnic antagonisms between groups because the very nature of being multiethnic/multi-racial *Othered* them. Their very existence represented crossed borders and boundaries that were morally and culturally abhorrent for some. Thus, by nature they were tainted and relegated to subhuman positions. Mainly these tensions manifested between British and Afrikaners, British and Zulu, Indian and British (in KZN). The de facto policies imposed by settlers influenced indigenous and minority groups to invest in the imposed racial hierarchies that would eventually lead to de jure segregation. For this reason, one or both parents shunned many of their

“mixed-race” or creole offspring. In other cases, one parent was favored in place of another in order to “pass” into or be more accepted by the dominant society. Examining the history of ethnogenesis and racial theory in South Africa is essential to anthropology and a societal understanding of how and why communities divide themselves and what happens when people cross social divisions like race.

In this chapter, I describe the way Western racial theory affected South African ideology and social order. Likewise, I challenge the ever-popular belief that Afrikaners were the sole proponents of White supremacy and the racial segregationist policies that came with Apartheid. While it is true that the original Dutch merchants who landed on the shores of the Cape came with their own prejudices, I show how ethnic tensions between British imperialists undermined Afrikaner *Boer* (farmer) settlers, leading to contradictory and simultaneous feelings of superiority and inferiority that continues to linger in the background of South African society. It is these conflicting feelings which remain today and continue to undermine a cohesive South Africa. Because my focus is the way Coloureds came to be as a group (a recent phenomenon within two hundred years) I dedicate this chapter to weave the histories of each group to show the interconnectedness of each ethnic group and the events that helped shape them. I do this to illustrate the way in which each group was constructed by the other. I delve into policies that defined a person’s group and show how adversely these classifications affected people’s sense of self and group identity. There are numerous scholars who have written extensively on the various subjects I will touch on in this chapter and while I cite some of their work, I do not go in-depth as they do; rather I highlight main points to clarify and contextualize my research. This chapter gives readers an idea of how South Africa became so systematically racialized, to introduce the players

that made it happen, and to unpack the idea of a separate Coloured identity that is often essentialized as mixed-race.

South Africa and the Influence of Racial Theory

Benedict Anderson (2006 [1982]) reminds us that “[a]ll the great classical communities conceived of themselves as cosmically central, through the medium of a sacred language linked to a superterrestrial order of power” (Anderson 2006:13). Two examples illustrate ethnocentrism from South Africa, for instance *amaZulu*, means “people from the sky,” and *Khoi Khoi* means the “men of men.” Anthony H. Richmond (1955) broadens this idea of ethnocentricism stating that “most people tend to think the alleged characteristics of their own group are superior to the alleged characteristics of another groups” (Richmond 1955:19). Even Coloureds often claim superiority over others in that they are combinations of the best parts of other distinct peoples. A common saying amongst them is “one day the whole world will be Coloured.” Conquering groups, however, often displace and disrupt oppressed worldviews. Upon encountering indigenous peoples the dominant Europeans through physical, mental, and spiritual conquest were able to dismantle aboriginal ethnocentric beliefs about themselves. The subjugated indigene began to look at Europeans as being dominant and superior. As indigenous worldviews changed the landscape quickly followed suit. The land was seen as something to be tamed, conquered. Under European tutelage the landscape was altered, swamps drained, forests cut and waterways diverted. Renaming places and teaching them to children destroyed ancient songs and chants. More devastating, intergenerational relationships were disrupted, histories severed and spiritual elements silenced. Land was taken away and then “gifted” back in the form of reservations, locations, reserved ghettos (Smith 2002:51). European languages became sacred and powerful and European rulers became the means to access superterrestrial power markers – whether through Jesus and the Bible

or through consumption of manufactured goods. Whiteness and European origin became ideal and representative of power. Rulers became obsessed with ideas of “purity.” Preserving “racial purity” into the 20th century became a “sacred duty...linked, illogically enough with the survival of ‘Western Civilization’” (van Den Berghe 1960:71).

The modern day concept of “race” was non-existent in antiquity. According to C. Loring Brace (2005), many ancient Greek and Arab travelers were aware of ethnic, religious, and physical differences. Although, sailors, merchants, and chroniclers described differences in appearance descriptions were absent of moral or value judgment. The slow travel of the ancients revealed a gradual transition of human physical, cultural, and linguistic change. It was not until the European Renaissance and the Age of Exploration that race began to solidify as advances in transportation and the time-space continuum catapulted people to encounter drastic human difference (Brace 2005:19-20). Brace notes that *Othering* became more formalized during the Enlightenment Era through science, philosophy and imperialism. As the industrial age gave rise to rationalization, individualism, and capitalism, racialization of the human subject arose. Those who made and circulated history belonged to a particular race, class, and gender. Thus, it was only natural that “they (wealthy, European men) were regarded as fully rational, self-actualizing human beings, capable, therefore, of creating social change, that is history” (Smith 2002:32).

It is apparent in most documented cases that European classifications and taxonomy systems were valued over the systems of those classified. These classifications disempowered indigenous, displaced, or indentured/enslaved peoples who were crucial in making the Empire (Smith 2002:22). Western order systems provided underlying connections between the things (including people) encountered and created by imperialism’s science, trade, and law. The foundations of these systems were based on the social constructions of race. Often times, the

reclassification of people permitted governments to assume control of long-held indigenous lands, resources, and knowledge.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, social and scientific theories about the nature of human difference passed for truth and societal constructions with race as the foundation was often taken for granted (Alexander 2007:93). The epitaphs that followed people whose parents did not fall within the same category of race or ethnicity were detrimental to how others perceived them and how the people conceived themselves. Using zoological terms to refer to creole, “mixed-race,” and indigenous people was a strategy of colonizers to dehumanize the colonized (Smith 2002:7; Fanon 2004[1963]). The idea that inter-cultural people are “hybrids” or hybridized implies an animal quality based on the etymology of the word. According to John D. Forbes (1993), the word “hybrid” evolves from the Latin word *hibrida* developed during Roman times to refer to the offspring of a wild boar and a tame sow. Over time the word came to signify the child of a Roman father and a foreign mother, or a freeman and a slave (Forbes 1993:100). Though Forbes argues that during this time race was not a qualifier of peoples implying servitude, he does note the anachronism that many scholars engage in when applying these terms to divisions of people based on genetic markers used to determine race (Forbes 1993:101). Using race to distinguish human beings came much later, during the scientific and industrial revolutions. The evolution of the idea that Africans and Europeans were different species is illustrated by the Colonial Spanish classification of a person with one European parent and another African as *mulatto* “mule.” Individuals classified as such

were linked to beasts of burden because they were a “hybrid”⁵ of two separate equine species – offspring of a mare and a male donkey. The implied incapacity to reproduce spoke to the division between European and African races (Luker 2008:313; Cuevas 2012). In Australia, people of “mixed-race” were pejoratively deemed “half-caste,” meaning half of their heritage was to be “cast” (thrown) away.⁶ In all instances of miscegenation, producing offspring, half-castes (or mixed-race) affronted ideals of racial purity whereby challenging real and imagined colonial structures (Luker 2008:308). “Half-castes” or “half-breeds” were often excluded from belonging to both the indigenous and settler groups. The offspring from “mixed marriages” or sexual liaisons were sometimes considered half-way civilized and other times “worse than civilized” (Smith 2002:27).

⁵ For further discussion and explanation of terms regarding human physical makers and the evolution of race related terms see John D. Forbes (1993) *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black People*.

⁶ For an in depth discussion of the etymology of the term *half-caste* see Luker 2008

Racial Concentrations and Homelands

Racial concentrations of 30% or more by magisterial district

NOTE: Portions of Colored, Indian, and white areas may also have an equal or slightly larger percentage of other racial groups. Black areas have no other racial groups as high as 30%. Homelands are traditional areas set aside by the South African government for specific black ethnic groups. All have a black population in excess of 90%. Bophuthatswana, Transkei, and Venda have been granted nominal independence by South Africa.

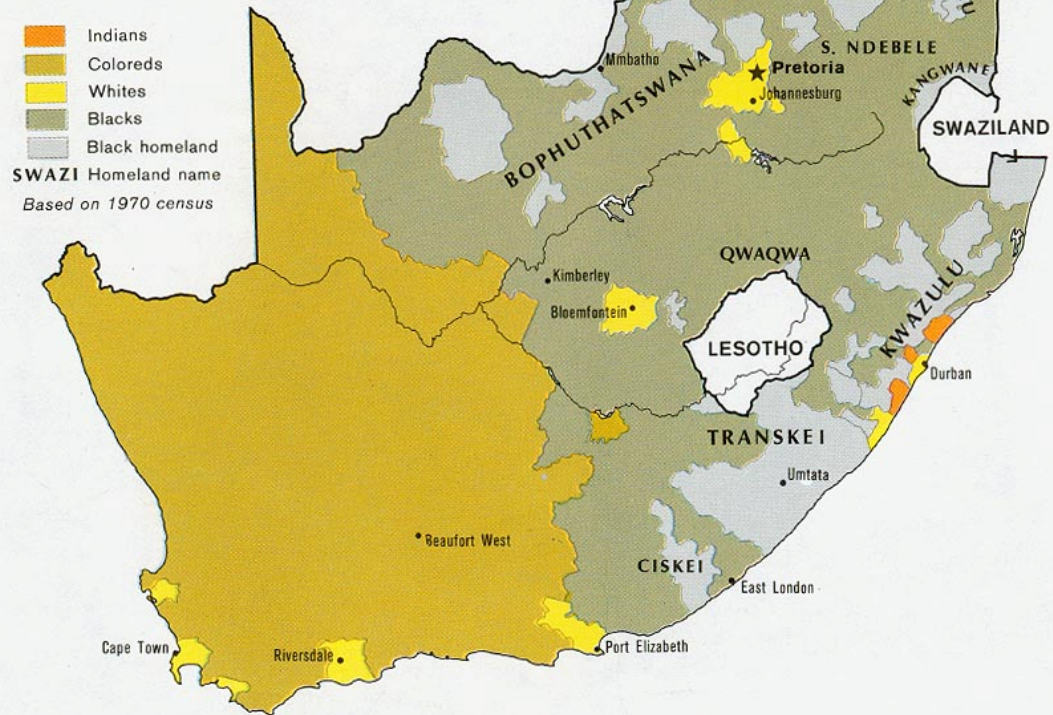


Figure 9: South African Homelands 1979. Source: University of Texas Libraries:

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/south_africa.html

To Mix or Not to Mix: Historical Contexts of Creolization

During early European expansion and colonialism miscegenation between frontiersmen and indigenous women was frequent and, in certain cases, permitted and encouraged as in South Africa, Asia, Australia, and the Americas (Frederickson 1985, Stoler 1997:45; Hendricks 2001:38; Luker 2008:312-313). In some of these scenarios, the “mixed” progeny became highly valued to colonial enterprises. Between the eighteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries “half-breeds” were used to oversee the “full-blood” natives, serve as interpreters, and most importantly, act as a buffer between the colonial and indigenous populations thereby establishing hegemonic control over indigenes (as was the case in South African Cape colony, the Americas, the East Indies, and Polynesia). Additionally, mixing was sometimes promoted to rid the colonies of the aborigines. In South Africa, the original Dutch colonists had no barriers against *race mixing* and encouraged assimilation of *mixed* progeny.

Cape Town Remix

In the first eighty years of the colony, with European women in short supply many colonial men married freed slaves and indigenous women. Hermann Giliomee (2011) notes that the male to female ratio was 2:1 in the cities and 3:1 in rural areas; creating a gender imbalance that led to mixing (Giliomee 2011:18). Sexual relations between Dutchmen and Christianized Hottentot and Khoi women were common. However, with the establishment of a permanent Dutch colony in the Cape, a smallpox epidemic erupted, devastating the Khoikhoi tribes in 1713. The Khoikhoi had been the main source of domestic labor for the early Dutch. The decline in their numbers created a major labor shortage that was soon alleviated by soldiers and the importation of slaves from Madagascar and Mozambique, India and Indonesia (Nurse & Jenkins 1983:71). The diversity of peoples in the Cape added to the gene pool and cultural creolization of Cape Coloureds. According

to Pierre L. van den Berghe (1960:68), approximately three quarters of all children born from female slaves had White progenitors.

Dutch men from the VOC readily intermarried with slave women from their East Indies colonies, where the exercise was already in practice. In colonial territories, condoned “concubinage” reproduced traditional European class hierarchies. Many times the children of these unions were cast aside and looked upon with disdain by colonial administrators who felt they were the embodiment of what needed fixing in the colonies. To prevent further moral decay bourgeois values were instilled through state control. This was expedited through missionary sponsored boarding schools and orphanages where hundreds of thousands of indigenous and *mixed-race* children were separated from their families and cultures (sometimes by kidnapping), trained in the domestic and industrial arts to serve and assimilate into White culture.⁷ Many of these servants would later accompany their “adoptive” families on the treks north in pursuit of freedom from a second wave of colonization by the British.

Formal racism arose in discussion of sex in the 18th century becoming infused into the political economy of the population, as well as becoming a means by which to regulate private sexual relations and public conduct (Stoler 1997:26). These discussions manifested themselves with the increased presence of Europeans living abroad in their far-flung colonies around the world. Sexual intercourse between the indigenous and imported inhabitants and Europeans threatened the

⁷ In Australia these children are known as the “lost generation and between 1910 and 1970 upwards of 100,000 aboriginal children were subjected to these policies. This policy was adroitly captured in the film *Rabbit Proof Fence* 2002. In North America schools such as Dartmouth, Carlisle Indian Boarding school in Pennsylvania and Haskell Indian School in Kansas were infamous for their policies in assimilating and indoctrinating Indian children into the lower rungs of the American economy and society. In the South African context Giliomee

necessary social boundaries that had kept colonial rule viable. Therefore, sex had to be administered and highly controlled (Douglas 1966; Hendricks 2001:38; Zegeye 2002:330). Consequently, if people's bodies and actions could be controlled so could their minds, which would enable the imperial, capitalist mission to continue without question.

Eventually the VOC administrators established codes to dissuade marriages between slaves and free men. Though the laws were not “vigorously enforced” there were some who understood the implications of the act to create an intermediary class between freemen and slaves (Giliomee 2011:16). However, it was not until the dawning of British rule and the eve of the Dutch control that ideologies about difference between people began to solidify. When travel became more common among European women, large numbers of marriageable White-stock became available. Men of status and ambition drove the demand for “pure” European wives. Urban men married to European women began vying for space at funerals, weddings, and other social ceremonies for visibility. The men's worth increased if they had a “pure” White bride (Frederickson 1985:122). Soon the majority of slave-women who had relations with European men were concubines rather than legal wives. In the rural areas, the absence of foreign slaves and the ubiquity of indigenous female servants encouraged numerous intermarriages and relationships between indigenous Africans and Europeans. According to van den Berghe (1960), Whites intermarrying with “nominally free Hottentots” populated one sixth of the Cape Colony. These unions resulted in an important intermediate class of “free blacks” and it was these communities – made up of Euro-Afro-Asian offspring – that established autonomous regions along the Orange River (van den Berghe 1960:70).

When Cape governors began instituting increased limitations on land tenure, trade, and slavery growing numbers of African-born Dutchmen became upset. With the city's burgeoning

regulations many fled from the ever increasing limits to their freedoms to become *trekboers* (nomadic pastoral farmers). The exodus was exacerbated by British political interference in Cape affairs. The Dutch having colonized South Africa in 1652 looked on with angst as the English came to power in 1806 (Richmond 1955:38; Frederickson 1985:1; Dharampal 1992:2357; de Reuck 1996). Together with their non-White relatives and servants the *Voertrekkers* (Dutch pioneers) set forth in their wagons to create a new independent life. According to Martin Chatfield Legassick (1970) a frontier zone lacks a single source of legitimate authority. Furthermore, there is “mutual acculturation” evolving new modes of life and institutions through the interaction of different cultures. The frontier in South Africa although fraught with danger, hardship, a menacing alien population, and emptiness was associated with the *beloofde* land (promised-land) – not unlike the pioneers of the United States in pursuit of Manifest Destiny – to the *Voertrekkers*. Armed with the Calvinist belief they were God’s chosen people thousands of people fled north to “escape from the evils imposed by the English” (Crapanzano 1986:79).

Griqua: Mixing on the Frontier

As “the descendants of every conceivable racial group in South Africa” (Venter 1976:114) the Griqua were subjected to an ambiguity of other creole people within Southern African social order. According to Nurse and Jenkins (1975) the leader of this “mixed” group, Adam Kok I, was a former slave of the Dutch governor who was manumitted and provided land outside Cape Town in the eighteenth century (Nurse 1975:71). With territories beyond the VOC’s administration, Kok delivered refuge to deserting soldiers, runaway slaves, and remaining members of various Khoikhoi tribes. According to the “History of the Griqua Nation and Nomansland” website, “large numbers of this new group of outcast Bastards and indigenous people became ‘troublesome’ and were expelled from the Cape of Good Hope after having their traditional lands stolen from them...”

Expelled with the rebellious White settlers who joined them in outlying lands beyond the colony's influence, "roving gangs of Bastards on horseback, known as the *Bergenaars*, started raiding native tribes further inland and pillaging their herds."⁸ Griqualand communities were fluid and the size of the population varied depending on their political strengths and leaders. As literate Christians, this group outlawed polygamy and established missions. In 1813, director of the London Missionary Society, John Campbell, helped draw up a constitution for Griqualand's recognition by the Cape Colony. It was Campbell's proposition that the *Basters* change their name to a shortened version of *Karixurikwa* (one of the Khoi clans to which many were descended) to appeal to the ears and tongues of the Afrikaners. The name change was not to imply that they were "pure:" rather it was in recognition of a common genetic thread (Nurse & Jenkins 1975:71; Alan G. Morris 1997:113). Between 1819 and 1823 Adam Kok II led the most prominent settlement at Campbell.

Beyond the control of the White settlers, Griqua became market driven landowners, mostly dealing in livestock and employing African labor. During the 1800s, they were the link between the Tswana people of South Africa's hinterlands and the Cape Colony. Though their culture was similar to the Dutch, their skin color prevented integration. In the 1830s the Boers of the north-east Cape complained that the Griqua had an unfair market advantage because Boers were denied access to rich pastures north of the Orange River (Venter 1976:115). Boer moves beyond the northern boundaries of the Cape Colony threatened Griqua independence. The Griqua became responsible for bringing the British north of the Orange River in order to help stave off Boer

⁸ <http://www.gwb.com.au/gwb/strachan/griqua.html>

transgressions. In 1842, Kok informed the British of Boer intentions to transgress established territorial boundaries (Venter 1976:119). However, continued tensions between the Griqua and White trekkers forced an exodus from Philippolis in southern Orange Free State to east of the Drakensberg Mountains, also known as “Nomansland.” Adam Kok III lead 3,000 people to the territory called East Griqualand (Edgar & Saunders 1982:203).

The Griqua community that arrived in 1861 founded the town Kokstad in 1872. The surrounding area was divided into 3,000-acre farms. East Griqualand was an independent state able to negotiate with the White states on equal terms. However, individuals were considered subjects of the British. The territory between the Transkei and Natal (now modern day Eastern Cape and KZN) they controlled was coveted by European migrants because in 1867 prospectors found the world’s richest deposits of diamonds (Nurse & Jenkins 1975:72; Yarwood 2011:46). In 1874 the territory was annexed by the Cape fearing Natal expansion. At Adam Kok III’s death 1875 East Griqualand citizens found themselves caught in a tug of war between British and Cape Colony control of their territory. The Griqua lost half of their farms after being incorporated into the Cape Colony and an influx of White settlers (Merret 1983:62). Many Griqua were swindled out of their properties by land grabbing Whites and were forced to become rent-paying tenants (Edgar and Saunders 1982:203). By 1905, only ten Griqua farms remained (Merret 1983:62). Alan G. Morris’ (1997) study on Griqua origins in South Africa examined the group’s genetic makeup to unravel the mysteries of their heritage and their claims to indigeneity. Morris observes through genetic and skeletal studies intermarriage (gene flow) and demographic fertility and mortality (natural selection) patterns are revealed (Morris 1997:107). To determine the genetic admixture of the Griqua two series of skeletons were observed. One from the Western Griqualand Brink series, excavated because they were proposed to be the first genetic cross between “half-breed European

and Hottentot women;” the other from Riet River people – supposed to be San people that settled along the river in the 16th century (Morris 1997:108). What Morris found was “[t]he biological history of the nineteenth and twentieth century suggests a multi-origin group which has developed a heterogeneous but distinct society which encompasses a substantial biological and cultural input from aboriginal Khoikhoi” (Morris 1997:117). It was this diversity in their genetic and cultural heritage that motivated the Griqua to be classed as a subgroup of Coloureds. Apartheid legislation concretized this classification which prompted greater interaction and intermarriage within the overarching Coloured group.

Coloureds of Natal

In the northern territory of Natal (today known as KwaZulu-Natal) Coloured genesis took a different path than in the Cape, though some Coloured people in Natal had links to the *trekboers* and *Voertrekkers* that settled in the rich pasturelands. This new “race” of people separated themselves, finding others with similar backgrounds as theirs, and creating communities of intermediary people who were well versed in the cultures of those surrounding them (Afrikaner, Anglo, Swazi, Xhosa, and Zulu). At times White administrators that had fathered children from Black-African women would put their “mixed” children in the care of Coloured families in the area. Other times it was the African women that conceived and birthed a child from *umlungu* (a white) that initiated giving up the child. In this way, a separate community grew. Intermarriage between the families was common. Remnants of these groups remain in Nongoma, eShowe, Mangete, Nqabeni, Umuziwabantu, and iziNqolwene (amongst other places).

When the Zulu leader, King Shaka encountered the first Englishmen, he was more impressed with their technology and access to manufactured goods than their appearance. For Zulus the access to goods and services was more important than skin color when involving Whites.

Numerous fortune-seeking Europeans were welcomed by the Zulus; some even gained the status of chief. For instance in the early 1820s King Shaka gave Henry Francis Fynn and his brother, Frank Fynn, large tracts of land south of Zulu territory to oversee. From 1857 to 1879 John Dunn, became one of the most powerful chiefs in Zululand (to the north).

Though debate over whether or not these “White” men were officially given control of Zulu territory by the Zulu leadership or not, the Fynns and Dunn adapted to Zulu culture and rejected Anglo-culture as they deemed necessary. They combined European technology and British trading and labor networks with Nguni customs and agrarian pastoralist practices to win over Zulu leadership and become powerbrokers (Ballard 1985:65; Bramdeow 1988; Wylie 1995:417; Pridmore 2004).⁹ Each “White-chief” took on numerous African wives to concretize relationships with their “subjects,” secure trade-networks and economic relationships, and establish connections between powerful families. The numerous children born from these marriages resulted in an intermediary group existing between indigene and settler. While some assimilated into the surrounding African communities, a few even becoming chiefs themselves (like Percy Fynn), others leaned toward their European ancestry and lifestyle. Many of the latter moved to cities where they could “pass” into European society.

⁹ At one point Cetshwayo presented two wives to Dunn in thanks for two guns he provided and for taking charge of the prince’s gun running services beginning in the 1860s. Dunn married into the many clans that surrounded his area and lived with in it. In Ballard’s biography of Dunn he compiles a list of each woman designated by clan. They were mostly from areas in Zululand that were south and central coastal to his area. Establishing political, social and economic ties with these areas was important to Dunn since they ran along the north south stretch of his trade route.

At times the parents, especially the progenitors of “mixed” offspring were the ones to designate difference. For example, Dunn’s close relationship with King Cetshwayo led to a large community of half-Zulu, half-Scotts resulting from his forty-five marriages. Dunn’s power and wealth drew many allies on the frontier because he respected the Zulu marriage custom of *ilobola* (loosely translated as bride price paid in cattle), many fathers saw the unions as a source of wealth and power. This quickly became a strategy used by Dunn to secure and dominate trade networks. His marriages resulted in over 120 children all of whom were held in high esteem by the father. According to Charles Ballard (1985) Dunn perceived his children to be superior to both the Africans and Europeans since they straddled both worlds and knew both customs. With the intention of cultivating the new rulers of Zulu territory, Dunn built a missionary school specifically for the children of his clan. However, the annexation of Zululand by Queen Victoria, the deposition of King Cetshwayo, and the implementation of early racial segregation and legislation, Dunn’s offspring never reached the potential he hoped. Instead, his descendants spent over one hundred years battling to regain control of land upon which they were born.¹⁰

Sub-continental Coloureds –

Many of the British Empire’s colonies and colonial subjects interconnected, and individuals were moved about like pawns on a chessboard. The British conquest of India in 1763 brought numerous changes to traditional Indian villages, which became a catalyst for Indian indenture in South Africa. Foreign mercantilist policies and nine famines caused by environmental

¹⁰ After Dunn’s death, the British confirmed the White Chief of Zululand’s family landownership in the John Dunn Land Distribution Acts of 1902 and 1935. This was complicated by the 1955 Race Classification Act introduced by Apartheid government dictating rank and location according to race (Anderson 2009:35).

disasters between 1850 and 1900 forced many people to seek nontraditional employment. Indenture offered by the British was a means of escape for the poor, displaced, and hungry. Many looked at the opportunity as a short-term solution that required only temporary absence from home. For the majority, however, it became a permanent displacement (Desai & Vahed 2007:49). Between November 1860 and July 1911, 152,184 Indian nationals travelled to South Africa. The Indians who came to South Africa were not a homogenous population. They had class, caste, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. Their numbers included Tamil, Hindu, Muslim, and Bengali people. This diversity, however, was not recognized by White South African imperialists, especially where race became the primary principle of classification. From the onset of their journeys, becoming an indentured servant left little room for caste or custom. Upon arrival in South Africa, state classification collapsed first and second generation migrants from India regardless of religious or cultural background into a categorically homogenous group (Radhakrishnan 2005:267). Furthermore, because Indians did not fall within the definitions of either European or African but were people of color they were classed as “Coloureds.”

Over time, the addition of peoples from the Indian subcontinent to the South African “peoplescape” marked an economic transition from Zulu worker to indentured Indian servant. In Natal, most Englishmen/ found the indigenous Natal inhabitants inferior to Whites. The ever time conscious colonists perceived the dominant Zulus to be lazing around their designated territories, passing away the day “without a care in the world except to kill time” (Atkins 1993:2). In their opinion Zulus were far too war-like, difficult to recruit, unreliable and inefficient (Sacks 1967:14) for the labor intensive sugar plantation. India became an alternative labor pool when it became policy not to hire indigenous workers (Dharampal 1992:2357; Soske 2009:2). The influx of Indians to the province along with their official classification as Coloured added to Natal’s Coloured gene

pool. Although many Indians that arrived directly from the subcontinent tended to marry within socio-religious categories, those that had entered South Africa via Mauritius, St. Helena, and The Seychelles were more apt to marry “locally.”

Coloured Results

For people whose identities are derived from place of origin and are strictly definable by biological, cultural, or linguistic characteristics, people of mixed race are perceived to be divided in loyalty because of their *mixedness*. These combined identities are portrayed as being schizophrenic with fractured allegiances that have greater propensity to break down in hard times. However, when political and economic circumstances are going well this is not the case (Muchie 2004:24). In much this same way, Coloureds are often touted as being less than Black-Africans and White-Africans, as inauthentic by Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Afrikaners and other ethnically distinct groups. Many of these groups categorize creole people as assimilationists (Jones 1998; Adhikari 2006). As creolized individuals, however, Coloureds within KZN and Cape Coloureds possess unique cultural traits that emerged from the colonial and post-colonial policies directed at them.

In 1903, the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) went about naming subaltern subjects in South Africa and placing them in boxes shows the malleability of racial categories. The search for appropriate definitions such as “indigenous inhabitants” or “coloured people of mixed race” excluded acknowledgement of what people called themselves. Rather all names came from dominant discourse. In essence, the naming process silenced the *Other*, turning them into subjects to be governed. Demarcation delineated who would be governed in what way. Ultimately, this affected the identity of the named. “European colonization makes ‘nativeness’ and mixed race categories possible” (Reddy 2001:71). There is an emphasis on the idea of pure blood and that strains of pure European blood ascended to the top of the racial hierarchy based on their

civilizing achievements. Sub-categories of Coloured people: Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, or other Asiatic, and Other Coloured - the aim of subdivisions was to enhance the meaning of the larger category of Coloured by making it all encompassing (Reddy 2001:71, 75). No people were left uncategorized. Defining people became a powerful way to control them.

Everything and Everybody has a Place

With the decline of religion and the rise of science, contemporary European ideas of defilement emphasized the importance of hygiene. The 19th century revolutionary finding in medicine was the discovery of pathogenic organisms and the bacterial transmission of disease through dirt (Douglas 1966:36). Thus, the development of germ theory became the singular and undisputed account of disease causation, shifting White “people’s concern about disease from a miasmatic emphasis on the localized environment...to the terrifying intangibility of germs emanating from the body itself” (Zoia 2012:3). Bodily mobility was potentially more dangerous than the local environment since it was the invisible germs that bodies – especially presumably black bodies – carried and released that caused panic. “Occurring against the backdrop of a nascent global community centered on another intangible, [W]hiteness, this germ panic was racialized. The clean, urban landscape of civilization was imbued with a sense of peace, calm and health while the black body came to represent dirt, disorder and disease” (Zoia 2012:2). Therefore, Europeans that “mixed” with Africans were considered morally and physically reprehensible. According to Paul Rich (1990), segregation was an extension of Victorian fears of “dangerous classes” (Rich 1990:666). Segregation then was promoted to maintain social order, and deemed essential for urban life in 20th century South Africa (Rich 1990; Zoia 2012:2). The germ panic’s racialization thus provided race and racism with a gut sense; White people literally felt physically compromised, even violated, when encountering Black bodies (Zoia 2012). The desire to tame wild spaces, the

process of civilizing through scientific discovery, together with urbanization and encounters with “the savage” demanded the separation of unlike bodies. According to Mary Douglas (1966) “order implies restriction” (Douglas 1966:95). To go beyond the perceived order of civilization (Whiteness) posed a threat. Order provided an underlying connection between things encountered and created by imperialism, science, trade, law (Smith 2002:27). Thus, as Douglas (1966) theorized, “To have been in the margins is to have been in contact with danger” (98). In this sense, Coloured people were dangerous and left out of the patterning of society; their liminality upset order. Though the marginalized may have been innocent of any moral transgressions their status was indefinable and dangerous (Douglass 1996:96). Creole ambiguity upset order. Like many other “mixed-race” peoples around the world, are heavily stereotyped as immoral and hyper-visceral in matters of sex and violence, perhaps because they were born from colonizers and colonized (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994:341). They were viewed as immoral for crossing racial barriers and being the result of their ancestors’ illegitimate unions and racial transgressions. As Vicki Luker (2008) points out half-castes were proof of interracial sex (Luker 2008:309).

Bodies then became models standing for the bounded system; boundaries that represented perceived threatened or precarious borders (Douglas 1966:116). British attitudes toward non-Whites were part of the empire’s colonial mindset. These perceptions were “shaped by racism and denial documented in two centuries of literature in terms of economic motives and of the ‘White man’s burden’ to ‘civilize and convert’ local peoples” (Brook 1996:207). South Africa, as one of many British colonies, was susceptible to the bi-polar categorizations imposed by the rulers. “Christian-Heathen, Free-Unfree, and White-Black” (Christopher 2000:402) were part of a dichotomizing system stemming from ancient Roman notions of civilized and savage (those falling between the extremes were meant to be separate in the eyes of the British). According to Ann

Laura Stoler (1997), notions of race arose in Europe and local inhabitants were just as susceptible to becoming disenfranchised, exploited, and brutalized as indigenous peoples in Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Australia. Folk notions of race abounded in Europe through national discourse and a belief in blood and “cultural contagions” (Stoler 1997:52, 126). “These folk theories of race were derived from how empire was experienced in Europe” (Stoler 1997:52) and were propagated through imperial logic that interpreted cultural hybridities as subversive, which was seen to be contagious and actively fought against like a disease. Straying from the moral norms of bourgeois worldviews was dangerous because in a colonial/imperial frame such hybridities would create “world citizens” who would not be loyal to their European counterparts. Thus, mixing would undermine the imperial plan allowing revolt against the “full-blooded,” bourgeois European’s right to rule (Stoler 1997). Therefore, the transition from master to master race was effectively carried out when reaching the colonies and indiginized.

Paul Gilroy (1993) argues that nations manipulate citizens based on normative racial ideologies. The strategy to homogenize cultural diversity for greater control of citizens suggests itself in the colonial South African government’s attempt in the late 19th century and early 20th century to classify groups of people based on continental racial divides. Similarly, John and Jean Comaroff (1992) remind us that culture contact in frontier areas found each side attempting to mold the *Other* in their own vision. The settler missionary endeavored to portray indigenous people as degenerate savages to be transformed into Christians, whereas the aborigines looked to missionaries as powerful entities for securing and protecting a quickly vanishing way of life. In the end, Europeans were better positioned to impose their constructions of reality onto indigenous peoples because foreigners supplied goods and knowledge demanded by indigenous people who faltered in the face of political challenges, natural disasters, and early settler advance (Comaroff

1992:239). In winning ideological and political power in contested territories racial divisions limited social movement, contact, and knowledge-sharing between subjects, thus opening the door to essentialized human groupings and stereotypes.

The Makings of Race

Nineteenth century anthropology was the handmaiden of imperialism, which sought to create the necessary conditions to extract raw materials and manpower (Mafeje 2001:51). During this time the global exchange of race-based ideologies were well underway and across South Africa both the natural and social sciences were further rallied to support divisions and categorizations of people to legitimize human exploitation. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2002) illustrates how Western colonization appropriated indigenous spaces with the help of mathematics in an attempt to define and measure qualities of dimension and parameters of exactness of coveted land. These equations not only influenced concepts of time and space but also arrangements of gender and race (Smith 2002:51). Formulas and equations also applied to the human body, as indigenous and mixed-race peoples were quantified based on blood percentage in order to (dis)enfranchise and/or relegate to spaces, wealth, and power.¹¹

Population classification as represented by the census aided by modern scientific mechanization produced comprehensive enumerations of people over the last two centuries (Christopher 2002:402). More precise calculations and a wider range of questions could be asked. South African ethnographic surveys were able to assist “the state in its national planning and facilitating governmental control of the population” (Christopher 2002:402). Once divisionary

¹¹ Full blood, half-breed, quadroon and octroon were among the common lexicon in South African parlance and echoed language that had been present long before in the Americas.

lines were drawn it became easier for the state to distribute or withhold resources based on racial demographics. It is important to note that as race was continuously discussed it became normalized and accepted. Soon it became “common sense” (Omi & Winant, 1994).

With the evolution of social and natural science theory surrounding race researchers and scientists no longer strive to render race as truth or fact. Numerous scholars make concerted efforts to falsify older racist claims about the superiority and inferiority of groups of people based on superficial physical features. Despite these attempts at disproving former racist theories, that race remains a main determinant of how society is currently run in Western influenced nations is well documented. Despite altered language and classifications, conscious and subconscious racial factors are part of political movements, media, and social behavior amongst the citizenry. Beginning in the 20th century the biological component of race became the focus of much research and debate in anthropology (Richmond 1955; Boas 1962, Gould, 1981; Smedley, 1998; Brace, 2005). Scholars like Gould (1981), Brace (2005), and Jablonski (2009) repeatedly demonstrate the contentious past of anthropology in the “biologization” of race and its attempts to discredit earlier scientific proclamations of the validity of race. Omi and Winant (1994) argue that one of the shortcomings of anthropology has been the tendency to subsume race into other social constructions, such as class, ethnicity, culture, or nation. They argue race and ethnicity are typically conflated. “Race was but one of a number of determinants of ethnic group identity or ethnicity. Ethnicity itself was understood as the result of a group formation process based on culture and descent” (Omi & Winant 1994:15). Culture included language, customs, nationality and political identification, while descent included race. This theory of race resulted in response to problems and issues of migration and “culture contact” (Omi & Winant 1994:15). However, where race and ethnicity is concerned there is no universal agreement as to the classifications

(Christopher 2002:401). Yet the social sciences attempt to rectify those past theoretical transgressions to ensure contemporary researchers are well informed on the politicization of race (Boas 1962 [1928]; Hall 1987; Omi & Winant 1994; Gilroy 2000; Sturm 2002).

Heike Becker (2007) states that culture, often “understood as racialised ethnicity incorporating the concept of a plurality of diverse cultures, has emerged as a keyword of the ‘New’ South Africa as much as it was under the country’s [A]partheid dispensation” (Becker 2007:93). Anthropology, Becker claims, has a proclivity to use race as an alternative to ethnicity, connoting biological distinctions and biological divisions in human societies revolving around skin color, phenotype, and genotype (Becker 2007:93). Alternatively, when ethnicity is employed, it signifies expressive aspects of culture, such as religion, food, languages, traditional clothes, and so forth. The accompanying identities are often gendered. Women’s bodies and dress become the prime sites of representation of difference, built from a fluid collective of symbols, values, and meanings that compose a living, historical culture (Comaroff 1996:166). This results in the asymmetrical limitations, or double standards, surrounding women’s and men’s sexuality in efforts to maintain purity (Douglas 1966; Stoler 1997). Despite much research showing how culture is learned and continuously rediscovered by individuals born or adopted into the community irrespective of biology (Wolcott 1997) social science and society still confuse these two seemingly disparate constructions in the discussions of human distinction. Normative racial ideologies are employed in an attempt to homogenize cultural diversity and to determine the social affiliations of its subjects. This allows for greater control and manipulation of the nation’s citizens by the ruling powers. James C Scott (2006) shows how 19th century people in Europe were given surnames and medieval cities were modernized based on geometric patterns and wider roads to aid state agencies to access the populations (Scott 2006:247-263). In line with the colonial project (Fanon 2004 [1963]:7)

molding individuals into racialized categories aided colonizing consciousness (John and Jean Comaroff 1992) of racialized subjects who began to accept race and associated attributes as truth. Racialization assisted individual “legibility” thus enabling ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) – military officials, teachers, and/or preachers – to exert greater control over citizens (Althusser 2006:88). Legibility enabled “the ruling classes...to ensure their domination over the working class” (Althusser 2006:90).

When skin color became associated with difference in social status, the outward visible sign limited social mobility. The association of one “racial” group as owners and managers of production while another “racial” group becomes the proletariat increased the potential for conflict. Richmond (1955) observed that “the efforts of the superior status group” to maintain their “privileges, influence, and power increased corporate class consciousness among both groups” (Richmond 1955:28). Thus “Economic upheaval was a central element of this mobilization of ethnic [and racial] consciousness” (Vestergaard 2001:21) as White Afrikaners began feeling greater resource competition with mass urbanization.

In 1886, the discovery of gold in the Transvaal (now Gauteng) created an industrial mining boom, a labor demand, and the mass urbanization of Africans. Furthermore, British were motivated to take control of the Boer territories (Yarwood 2011:46). Fortune seeking *Uitlanders* (foreigners) – including Americans, Australians, Englishmen, and Scots – soon outnumbered the Boers. “The policy of Anglicization struck at the heart of Afrikanerdom” (Nkonko 2004:202) as foreigners

began to dominate political power.¹² Afrikaners were threatened by external policies perceived to destroy language, culture, and identity.

In 1895/6, British attempts to take control of the Transvaal were easily put down by President Kruger.¹³ The captured British leaders were turned over to British authorities for punishment and Kruger used the threatened coup as justification for further repressive measures against the foreigners. Ordinances were enacted calling for expulsion of persons dangerous to public peace, restrictions on open-air meetings were imposed, the press was limited and Dutch was made the official language of schools. Great Britain interceded on behalf of *Uitlanders* and mine owners, however. Although the treatment of non-Europeans was raised it was not as forcefully advocated as the case of aggrieved Whites. A rupture between the two settler powers came in September 1899, when diplomatic parleys collapsed amidst ominous troop movements by both sides. In October 1899 war erupted. The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal; motivated by the perception that the future of both states was equally threatened. Meanwhile the conservative government in London affirmed human rights in South Africa could only be secured by an end to Boer independence. The English perceived the war a just act to liberate fellow countrymen oppressed by a corrupt Dutch oligarchy (Sacks 1967:18). The Anglo-Boer war ended with the Treaty of Vereeniging. Britain postponed granting black political rights until self-rule was firmly

¹² Anglicization lasted until 1910 with the establishment of the Union of South Africa where Dutch and British established equal governing power and territories to the north were absorbed under Afrikaner jurisdiction.

¹³ Under the leadership of the Prime Minister of the Cape colony, Cecil Rhodes, the Jameson Raid was Great Britain's attempt to gain control of the northern territories in South Africa that were dominated by their rivals, the Afrikaners (Richmond 1955:39; Sacks 1967).

established in the Boer republics. This came as a rude awakening for the Black-Africans and Coloureds that had allied with the British against the Dutch oppression (Yarwood 2011:47).

Race against Turbulent Times

Between 1900 and 1902, a national (White-tribal) identity was forged on the battlefields of the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. The British gathered Afrikaner women and children into concentration camps to eliminate enemy supply lines. The “scorched earth policy” enacted by the British “left the defeated *Boers* destitute when the cessation of hostilities was finally agreed to at the signing of the Peace of Vereeniging” (de Reuck 1996).¹⁴ The death of nearly 30,000 detainees and their martyrdom further strained British-Afrikaner relations, creating a greater resolve on the part of the Dutch descendants to legitimize their place on African soil (de Reuck 1996; Schutte 2003:483). At the end of the war, the British encountered a dilemma: though the question of non-Europeans had to be considered, of equal import was the support of Afrikaner colonists that emphasized White supremacy (Sacks 1967:23).

Because the majority of British descendants in Natal were of a similar mindset as the Boers, England would be alone in its quest for racial equality. Without the support of the Afrikaners who were already suspicious of English rule, White supremacy continued to rise unabated. In a territory dominated by people of color to cater to Afrikaner opinion was a way to bind those that were economically more powerful and create solidarity with a people that were more similar to the British because of their European heritage. The British reparation package after the war to wealthy landowning Afrikaners included increased credit for land purchases; land that had been confiscated

¹⁴ Richmond (1955) notes that feeling of oppression were so deep when he wrote his book the term ‘concentration camp’ conjured images of the Boer War rather than camps in Germany (39).

from victims of the concentration camps. Absent of opportunities in the agricultural sector South Africa's poor Whites were forced to urbanize. In turn, "landless and migrant Afrikaners lost their status as Afrikaners and became part of an undifferentiated racialized class of the poor" (Willoughby-Herard 2003:150).

To assess the condition and future of non-Whites SANAC drafted a report to the High Commissioner. The authors outlined the following reasons for conducting the survey in the newly established South African Union.

- (1) The status and condition of the Natives; the lines on which their natural advancement should proceed; their education, industrial training, and labour;
- (2) The tenure of land by Natives and the obligations to the State which it entails.
- (3) Native law and administration.
- (4) The prohibition of the sale of liquor to Natives.
- (5) Native marriages.
- (6) The extent and effect of polygamy.

The Commission recommended, "that the word 'Native' shall be taken to mean an aboriginal inhabitant of Africa, south of the Equator, and to include half-castes and their descendants by Natives" (SANAC 1903:21). The Commission arrived at a near unanimous conclusion "That it is necessary to safeguard what is conceived to be the interests of the Europeans of this country, but that in doing so the individuals among the Natives acquiring land..." (SANAC 1903:35) would be limited. Ownership included restrictions on areas where individuals could own land, barring any collective ownership. Natives (including Coloureds) were enumerated and examined to strategize the best ways to incorporate them into the fold of the capitalist workforce. The colonial policies to create individuals of the Natives (which included Coloureds, save "Asiatics and other coloured races not of African descent") and weaken community bonds to more easily entice the individual into the capitalist workforce. The Commission found "labour was in excess of the supply, and that

the demand would in all probability increase” in the agriculture, mining, and other sectors, including railways (SANAC 1903:76).

The agricultural and industrial development of South Africa is retarded by the lack of a sufficient labour supply...The supply available from local sources is capable of being increased and the Commission has given attention to suggestions as to how this is to be done.

It was determined that higher wages were out of the question because it would be too costly to industry but more importantly, it would give the itinerant labor “increased gains [that] would enable them to remain for a longer period at their own homes” (SANAC 1903:81). To supply a local source of labor and to stimulate industriousness amongst Natives the Commission recommended restricting squatting and the creation of “private locations” (or native land reserves); taxing legal locations; imposing rent on Natives living on Crown lands beyond reserves or locations; laws against vagrancy would be made; and encouraging a higher standard of living through education “to increase their efficiency and wants” (SANAC 1903:82-83). “The formative influences which labour and industry will bring to bear on the character of the Native himself will be most valuable” (SANAC 1903:82). Valuable that is, in dislocating individuals from communities and creating dependency on the state.

Most of the 20th century saw the minority government of South Africa seeking systematic scientific solutions for political dilemmas, and prior to WWI segregation sought to “guarantee the [W]hites a place in a future South Africa” (Cocks 2001:741). By the 1920s young Afrikaner scholars¹⁵ returning to South Africa from Germany brought with them a new style and focus to

¹⁵ Werner Eiselen who later became the head of Bantu education was heavily influenced by German anthropological thought and was instrumental in Apartheid policies.

fieldwork that aligned them with the German philosophies of *volkekunde* (the study of primitive peoples) (Mafeje 2001; Quinlan 2000:127; Vestergaard 2001:20; Willoughby-Herard 2003).¹⁶

Still bitter over the Afrikaner defeat in the Boer Wars, South African anthropology was strained due to the antagonism between the British and siege mentality of Afrikaner scholars. These Afrikaner academics and universities rejected Anglicization and British imperialism. While 20th century British anthropologists began to focus on social anthropology attempting to distance themselves from their colonial history, *volkekunde* scholars moved toward meeting the needs of the National party that was gaining momentum. Tim Quinlan (2000) reminds us that “[t]he aspirations of the discipline were tailored... to suit the prevailing scientific conventions and conditions for securing political patronage” (Quinlan 2000:128). Max Gluckman in his early papers pointed out that advocates of Apartheid argued that indigenous culture was not inferior, rather excellent in its own right, not only appropriate for its bearers, but indeed something they should cling to and fight for” just as the Afrikaners did against English domination (Cocks 2001:747). Thus, some well-intentioned South African anthropologists associated with the British school of anthropology indirectly promoted segregation.

Some anthropologists following the British tradition, however, criticized segregation. In Radcliffe-Brown’s 1922 inaugural lecture at the University of Cape Town announced that in his

¹⁶ According to Ali A. Abdi (1999) the notion of African inferiority was propagated by even the most "enlightened" of South African European philosophers by whom the Nationalists were influenced. Abdi quotes 19th century philosopher G.W.F. Hegel (1965) as saying “Africa is not interesting from the point (of) view of its own history...Man [in Africa] is in a state of barbarism and savagery which is preventing him from being an integral part of civilizations...” (Abdi 1999:151). Furthermore, Hegel’s mid-19th century characterization of Africa as being isolated from history - a land devoid of culture and inhabited by childlike Africans (Reynolds, 2011:xv) - no doubt influenced the Afrikaner scholars who were seeking paternalistic justification for European authority over an unenlightened peoples.

opinion no culture could be studied in isolation from others (Becker 2010:76). Isaac Schapera (1928) stressed that both Europeans and Africans were changing because of their interaction with one another in a singular society and urged both groups to develop together (Schapera 1928:171). Critiquing the colonial opinion of monolithic Africans, Schapera pointed to the inevitability that African or “tribal” culture would continue to change with European contact and vice versa. He also argued that this contact created greater differentiation amongst Africans; thus arguing against *volkekunde* scholars and officials who claimed a uniform, unchanging “African” population.¹⁷

Paul Cocks (2001) notes that although there were South African social scientists and government officials who pointed out flaws in separatist White supremacist logic, ultimately, anthropology failed to provide an intellectual basis for a future of hope in the unified South African social system, absent of fear. Cocks (2001) argues that publications and rhetoric using the ethnographic present portrayed Africans as primitives, thus promoting the idea that Africans occupied a different time and social system from Europeans. The Report of the Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932 was assisted by anthropology to preserve and reconstruct the “pristine identity of native society” while simultaneously developing their society in an economic sense. Limits on publishable information by Afrikaner hegemony and the intellectual and political discourse of the period prevented solutions to segregation (Cocks 2001:742, 746).

A series of ecological catastrophes, the ravages of the second Anglo-Boer war, the Great Depression saw a large number of Whites slipping into poverty. For class and race conscious Euro-

¹⁷ John Comaroff (2012) attributes the success of Scheper-Hughes and other Jewish social scientists to the assimilation of the *Boere-Jode* (Afrikaner-Jew) into the local Afrikaner communities. They became “adept at observing the differences in culture, how you passed, what you could say, what you could not” (Bangstad et al. 2012:118).

Africans the slippage became problematic because it went against the ethos of White supremacy. Social scientists were recruited to find a solution to the “poor-White problem.” Efforts to discover and resolve the income disparity between Afrikaners and other White groups elicited the support of the larger global White consciousness. The Carnegie Foundation in the United States helped fund research (Gordon 1988:537). Between 1927 and 1932 a collaborative study between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Carnegie Corporation of New York to gather empirical evidence about the problem of White poverty in South Africa.

Poor whites were singled out and “corralled onto land settlements, criminalized for being cash poor, and targeted for rehabilitation and social control” (Willoughby-Herard 2003:3). The joint study between the Church and Carnegie Corporation included 35 districts around the Union, incorporating data from surveys of 49,434 families and intelligence tests of 17,000 children. The information was gathered primarily through ethnographic interviews in the people’s homes in order to examine the family’s standard of living. The study combined the efforts of female charity workers, male theologians and young social scientists. It was a unique effort that united churches, government and universities in a common commitment to “proto-social work as well as Afrikaner Nationalism” (Willoughby-Herard 2003:5). The study concluded that industrialization was particularly damaging to poor White political, economic and social transition. The solution concluded by the Joint Recommendations of the Poor White Study was for racially segregated high quality housing and non-skilled employment alleviate the misery of poor Whites in urban areas. Furthermore, the study revealed that because “South African industrialization had become dependent almost solely on underpaid African, Indian, and Colored unskilled labor” poor-Whites were displaced and non-whites detribalized (Willoughby-Herard 2003:6).

During war years black migration swelled urban populations. “The dominant features of [B]lack urbanisation had become tropes of menace: desperate poverty, the proliferation of shanty towns, rising levels of crime and ‘juvenile delinquency’...” (Posel 2003:57). Migrant Africans brought instability to once stable tribal family life. Itinerant women of ill repute led to increased porousness of racial borders, resulting in miscegenation, “mixed-race” progeny, and labor disputes. These racially mixed areas and potential for miscegenation produced fear amongst the ruling class of a “degenerate” detribalized African (Soske 2009: ii, 151). The very presence of poor-Whites undermined the narrative that quality of life was race dependent. The Poor White Study revealed that the natural superiority of Whites was a myth because it could not even ensure White success (Willoughby-Herard 2003:7). Apartheid was built on a foundation of order that was perceived to be lacking in the 1940s. “For many anxious [W]hites, the fate of [W]hite supremacy” grew from a taught *die swart gevaar* (the black danger) that threatened to overwhelm South African cities (Posel 2003:57).

According to Gordon (1988) *volkekunde* professors in Afrikaner institutions were staunch nationalists and many were members of the Afrikaner *Broederbond* (Brotherhood), a White nationalist group that espoused segregation and White supremacy (Gordon 1988:536-537). It was these same students and professors of *volkekunde* who were instrumental in creating the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA) and the Christian-National Education (CNE) ideology was developed. The Broederbond drew on its pool of teachers, lecturers and church ministers to promote and implement Apartheid as a policy (Zungu 1976:207; Giliomee 2003:385).

SABRA’s main goal was to scientifically study racial affairs and to promote democracy and separate development in order to stave off the impending economic competition from the Black majority. This was to be completed through the mode of research, publications, and lobbying

(Gordon 1988:545). Ethnographic surveys were conducted to assist “the state in its national planning and facilitating governmental control of the population” (Christopher 2002:402). *Die apartheid-gedagte* (the apartheid idea) promised increased discipline, regulation and surveillance of spatial and relational boundaries, as well as “races rescued from ‘impurity,’ the notion of family rehabilitated and ‘the savage discipline of tribal life’ restored” (Posel 2003:58).

Promoters of *volkekunde* saw a need to preserve the “primitiveness” in African societies. Werner Eiselen, who followed the *volkekunde* approach, argued that the task in South Africa was “the creation of effective arrangements for the peaceful existence of different ethnic groups,” as opposed to solving issues of race. In step with Eiselen, in 1943, three Stellenbosh scholars, P.J. Coetze (anthropology lecturer), F.J. Language (native administration) and B.I.C. van Eeden (Bantu Languages), wrote the first book promoting Apartheid policy (Giliomee 2003:385). The extended pamphlet combined the ideas of missionary strategists and secular nationalists, proposing that Blacks should be removed from the White economy and replaced to their original territories called *Bantustans*.¹⁸ Coloured people would be restricted to the Western Cape, where it was perceived as the original site of contact between Europeans and non-Europeans. Whites would then take up the place of laborers, and only Blacks that were absolutely necessary would remain in the White, urban world; thus creating order in an ever unstable society. The idea was that Africans would be able to restore their customs, discipline and traditional institutions in reserves without competing with Whites for resources. This would allow Africans to administer themselves in a way “that was healthy in the *volkseie*” or particularities of a culture (Cocks 2001:741).

¹⁸ *Bantu* in Nguni languages meaning “people” and *stan* means “state” in Afrikaans. Therefore, *Bantustan* meant territory of the (African) people. They were modeled after American reservations for Amerindians.

In 1948 Article 6(5) of the Institute of CNE asserted, “We believe that every nation is rooted in its own soil which is allocated to it by the Creator” (Ntshoe 2002:63). Since Coloureds of the Cape were for the most part urban, they were tolerated and entitled to limited rights. Furthermore, because Coloureds either assimilated into the surrounding communities or existed in small rural pockets outside the perceived Cape “homeland” their existence lay beneath the radar until rallied. Coloureds were seen to be a possible ally to the White cause or at the very least a buffer from the natives. Census and sociological data were collected to determine the best way to woo Coloureds who might be tempted to ally with the native. Privileging Coloured people over Natives was a strategy to increase their loyalty to White. Lord Selborne, High Commissioner of South Africa and governor of the Transvaal and Orange Free State from 1905 to 1910, urged a hierarchy of race to fragment *blacks* and ensure a cheap source of labor. If Coloureds were not accepted into the fold of White society, Selborne believed they would side with the Natives and “in the time of trouble they will furnish exactly those leaders which the Natives could not furnish for themselves” (Magubane 2000:43). Thus he urged to “give them the benefit of their white blood - not to lay the stress on the black blood” (Magubane 2000:43; Adhikari 2010:45).¹⁹ According to Apartheid architects race science focused on cultural, social and economic dimensions, not solely on biology (Adhikari 2010:59).

In time segregation became a compromise between the liberal Cape tradition of assimilation and the policy of repression of the White supremacists, especially the Boer Republics (Cocks 2001:742). Anthropology was employed to entice liberal thinkers who believed in segregation without repression. Socio-cultural anthropology recognized the diversity and

¹⁹ The statement was circulated in the Dominion newspaper in 1910.

complexity of African culture, which “informed their efforts to provide for the differential development of Africans” (2001:72). Fabio Zoia (2012) challenges the idea that Afrikaner nationalists were somehow backwards, “anti-modern invalids devoid of a global perspective,” only appealing to “the racist Boers of the hinterland.” Instead he argues “successful politicians ultimately appealed to a broad coalition of [W]hite South Africans” who by 1950 imagined “racial segregation as a perfectly logical course of action” (Zoia 2012:1). Ultimately, Apartheid became the only solution to the Nationalist government. Adam Kuper notes that English-speaking social anthropologists were often reproached for political agendas that seeped into and steered their scholarship (Kuper 1995:425).

What's in a Name?

Race, as a Western construction, was extremely useful in explaining the differences between peoples and in facilitating specific political and social inequalities based on social hierarchies and divisions of power and labor. In the South African context, Giliommee (2003) argues that segregation (under the British) and Apartheid differed in that the former dealt with the idea of race where as Apartheid was primarily concerned with “the family, the community and the ethnic group formed by both racial descent and the *volkseie* - the beliefs, customs, language, and history of a community” (Giliommee 2003:375). While this may be true, the idea of race was a foundational element of the system. Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994) argue the construction of race is a historically situated project relevant to each historical moment; specifically, race has different meanings through time. The racial terms used today, such as “black,” “colored,” and “half-caste,” do not necessarily mean the same things they did two hundred, one hundred, or even fifty years ago (Makofsky 1982; Forbes 1993; Spencer 1997; Gqola 2001; Reddy 2001, Luker 2008).

In addition race takes on different meanings within place and space; a term used for the classification of one group in South Africa will not designate the same category of people in another country, for instance in America, Asia, or Australia. For example, although the Aborigine in Australia were *black* because of the color of their skin, they lacked any connection with Africa. Similarly, on the Asian sub-continent imperial British termed the colonized peoples of India *black* to differentiate them from White citizens of Britain. More recently, in 2006, Chinese born in South Africa were officially recognized to be “black people” by the high court of the nation because they decreed Chinese people “fall within the ambit of the definition of ‘black people’ in section 1 of the Broad-Based Black Empowerment Act 53 of 2003” (Pretorius 2008). Lastly, in the United States *black* referred to people connected with the African Diaspora and was not necessarily confined to a person’s phenotype. Rather, blackness was a way of disempowering and disenfranchising millions of people. Conversely, in America the term “colored” referred to at differing times, members of the African Diaspora specifically, or non-White people generally (Africans, American Indians and Asians). In South Africa, however, the same term referred to mixed-race people or indentured servants from Asia specifically and non-White people (including Africans) generally.

Within the past few hundred years, these terms have been continually recycled and repurposed. In so doing they have become a natural extension of many Western and industrial people’s language and worldviews. Increased global exchanges over the last hundred plus years have found these terms recycled and localized. Though race is erroneously brandished as natural, biological, and (at times) even scientific, the concept is a social, historical, and political construction defined in biological terms (Sturm 2002). Yet the consequences of race are real as seen in examining the Coloured experience in South Africa and other people around the globe

labeled “mixed-race.” John L. Comaroff (1996) suggests that once a society is stratified into ethnic and racial categories, the power of these identities affect the experiences of the people who are *Othered* to the extent that the category appears natural and essential (1996:166). Designating in-group versus out-group members through classifications as related to everyday meanings makes categories real. Racial boundaries then become common sense (Reddy 2001:65).

Separation Becomes Official Policy: Apartheid

Void of absolute definitions, classifications had real life consequences for people identified as Black, Coloured, non-White, or White. The Apartheid State and civil societies that shaped individual attitudes, behaviors, and achievements around skin color, daily habits, and culture assisted in racializing people. These imposed social and political divisions became so far reaching in South African society that such divisions were eventually internalized. “Political organization of the social space conformed to the idea of the natural division between racialised subjects” (Reddy 2001:67). Eventually, naturalized divisions ensured racialized group identities would arise. The idea of divide and conquer ensured ethno-nationalism would benefit dominating forces. The ideas and realities of classifying and allowing people to classify themselves were devices that could enable more politically subversive categories such as ‘communist’, ‘working class’, or ‘African’ (Reddy 2001:67).

Regardless of the fallacies of divisions, these categories were never static. Yet the effects on people’s lives were real. Apartheid era policies promoted a divided mindset by contrasting European with aboriginal and non-White; in which case European referred to what were commonly called the “White races” in South Africa (Suzman 1960:345; Giliomee 2011). Scholars show the racial definitions were continuously expanding and contracting to maintain a sense of privilege for members of the ‘in-group’ and mitigate rebellion for the “out-group.” Barring access to that

privilege created a desire for the “out-group” to attain the illusive status and all the pleasures that came with it. In so doing Whiteness became invisible by becoming “‘the norm’ that undergrinds the structures of society” (McIntosh 1998, Dolby 2001:7). Thus segregationist ideology weakened class and ethnic antagonisms among Whites in favor of unifying the conception of race antagonisms and bolstered the position of the rich and powerful Whites (Hartigan Jr. 1997:499; Dolby 2001:7). The homogenization of, and normative approach to Whiteness denied the heterogeneous aspects of White racial identity. Class-consciousness, ethnic reality, and linguistic heritage were all subsumed in the racial identity (Hartigan Jr. 1997:501-502).

Concealing distinctions between Afrikaners and British was ironic because it was this divide that led to Apartheid (Griffiths & Prozesky 2010:25). Like all terms (Black, Coloured, or Asian) White did not allow for people outside the category to understand the historic contexts, social antagonisms, or cultural paranoia between ethnic groups that led to one group, the Afrikaners, dominating all others. White privilege did not allow “in-group” members to question the morality of their position. Furthermore, the reserved privileges negated how being White aided in individual successes, even if at first poor Whites struggled toward upward social mobility. Yet the idea of Whiteness was in constant flux in South Africa and was not solidified until the beginning of the 20th century when poor Whites were granted certain privileges at the expense of the non-White groups.

CAMELEON DANCE: LEGISLATION

The evolution of race mixing laws to assure cultural purity began in 1902, with anti-Miscegenation laws in the Cape Colony prohibiting sexual relations between White prostitutes and Africans. British territories in South Africa adopted a similar law in 1903. The Immorality Act of 1927 (passed under the leadership of Prime Minister James Barry Munnik Hertzog) forbade sexual

intercourse between Europeans and Africans. The final manifestations of anti-miscegenation laws came under Daniel François Malan's Nationalist Party leadership. South African leadership cited segregation laws of the United States to further prohibit race mixing. Inspired partly by Jim Crow legislation of the American South,²⁰ 1927 legislation was amended in 1950 and then again in 1957 to prohibit any form of sexual relations between Whites and all non-Whites. This made any instances of intimate acts criminal offenses, unless people were legally married prior to the passage of the law (van den Berghe 1960:71). This resulted in a number of abandoned children who were conceived illegally. Sometimes, to hide an "interracial" relationship the resultant child would be given up. Many times, a "mixed" child would be given away or taken away to preexisting Coloured families or relatives to raise. Other times they ended up in orphanages where they were institutionalized. Here they were taught domestic skills while simultaneously suffering abuse.

Prior to Apartheid, the 1936 Natives Representation Act allowed that well-educated 'natives' who "achieved an appropriate station in life could petition for racial 'promotion' to 'Coloured'" (Posel 2003:60). The Population Registration Act of 1950 was created in an attempt to erase all ambiguity. The new legislation considered any admixture Coloured while racial purity referred to Whites and natives (Posel 2003:60). The Population Registration Act officiated race as the dominant departure point of knowledge absent of any training or expertise. Rather ordinary experience of racial difference was privileged ranking Whiteness at the apex. Thus ordinary White people were entrusted to make decisions based on their own prejudices, bias, and interpretations

²⁰ In creating the legislation the Minister of the Interior specifically referenced the existence of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Bill (1949) being legal in 30 American states (Giliomee 2003:377).

of race. For instance, the 1951 census-takers gained the authority to become official racial classifiers. These temporary employees of the Nationalist government were typically ill-educated and otherwise unemployed White people. Thus, these transient workers held their own racial anxieties and manifested them in making decisions about other people's race. Decisions about people's race designations had vast implications for the life experiences of the classed. This gave special powers to Whites that were previously disadvantaged. Allowing these temporary workers to make decisions about a person's classification became an instrument of control over the majority non-White groups.

In classifying biological myths about race were often invoked as common sense. Although skin color was the most common evidence for race, when confronted with ambiguities of individual census workers were at liberty to summon personal "pet criteria" when assigning race. Any manner of biological feature was open for examination to determine one's race. "The likelihood of having to endure the 'nail test' and 'the pencil test,' or being subjected to the humiliation of a genital examination, was itself a function of social position. For people considered "obviously [W]hite" by whatever criteria, such physical scrutiny would have been considered unnecessary and in appropriate" (Posel 2003:66).

Faried and the Pencil Test

Faried Variawa's mother was Coloured and his father was Indian. Faried resembled his father but was classified as Coloured as his parents were not married. Faried's mother decided that she should try and have Faried re-registered as an Indian.

The re-registration required that the parent approached the Department of Population Development. The child was required to present for viewing by the official in order that a definition of race could be developed and the individual placed into one of the categories used by the government of the day, Coloured, Cape Malay, Other Coloured, African, Bantu, White or Indian.

The official called for Faried to come to the window of the cubicle, whipped out a green pencil and slipped it into his crop of hair. The pencil passed through his hair effortlessly, no obstacles here, no roots growing on the outside and hair inside the head, (so typical of the "Coloured"). She tried it once more, this time on the side of the head; just in case the hair had been straightened by the use of a hot iron comb that was commonly used at the time, but the same result was achieved. The pencil passed through the hair like a hot knife through butter and when released from the hand, failed to remain lodged in the hair but fell out of the hair onto the ground.

The white official announced to the mother with all the confidence of an Einstein after undertaking a scientific experiment that the boy is definitely not "coloured" but Indian. She confidently informed the "coloured" mother that "you can see that the boy is an Indian, he has black straight hair and his name is Faried, and as per the test, the pencil did not stick"!

Faried later married a woman of 'coloured' registration and fathered a child with curly black hair and a very white skin. 20 years back they would have registered the child white, but alas the pencil is not around to make the definition.

Submitted by Francis Grantham.



Figure 10: The Pencil Test exhibited in Msunduzi Museum, 2011

Questions regarding General acceptance, home, friends, and employment were asked. Employers were also sources of racial classification since all work was racially designated. In this way agency was stripped. The Race Classification Board determined a person's race. To be classified as White assured a lifetime of privilege whereas "classification as 'Coloured' or 'native' had the more unsettling finality of sealing a person's fate to a lower rung on the ladder of opportunity, reward and power from then on, and removing the prospect of mobility" (Posel 2003:68). Classification, therefore, was all encompassing, making judgements on all facets of life,

not just biological features. “Anything and everything could be read as a sign of a person’s race, preference for hairdresser, friends, earlobe texture, hair, cheekbones” (Posel 2003:72). “By elasticating the official definition of race beyond merely biological factors, the [A]partheid state created a mechanism for investing all facets of existence with racial significance. Everything could be treated as evidence of race; therefore, race was an inherent and overriding feature of all facets of life in the society” (Posel 2003:75).

Partitions against Pollutions

Ideas about pollutions were used as analogies for viewing social order. Thus, ideas about sex were often chauvinistic. Exaggerating the danger posed to one gender (and/or race) over the other exemplified the hierarchical asymmetry within society (Douglas 1966:3). In essence, anti-miscegenation legislation created a class of legally illegitimate people. The definition of Coloured in South Africa became specific to a heterogeneous group: people who were neither obviously White nor obviously Black. Under the *Group Areas Act of 1957* “Coloured” was also used to identify people of Asian descent, including Malay, Chinese, and Indian. Government official categorization of Indians fell under the Coloured classification until *Proclamation No. 46 of 1959* (Suzman 1960:356).²¹ Despite legislation marriages across ‘racial’ boundaries were common especially along the margins. Amongst Coloured families there were spoken rules that mirrored Apartheid policies *preferencing* Indian mates over African ones. This was encouraged by Apartheid policies preventing marriage between groups but also based on the racial hierarchy.

According to Arthur Suzman, the legislation of mixed marriages, which forbade mixed-marriage and ideally prevented interracial relationships and offspring, rationalized real life mixed-

²¹ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/population-registration-bill-read-first-time>

marriages by sometimes reclassifying the offending individuals to conform to government sanctions. For example in the case of a White person cohabiting or marrying a person who fell in another racial group the man or woman would “fall into the group of what may be termed the lower common denominator” (Suzman 1960:362). Coloured was a category for people “in between,”” a leftover from before Apartheid’s *Population Registration Act of 1950*, which defined people as being neither (Suzman 1960:361). Like all racial classifications up to and during Apartheid the definitions of race were constantly in flux.

Under Nationalist rule, segregation imposed powerful racial hierarchies on all South Africans; however, ambiguous definitions allowed people on the margins of the “pure” racial groups mobility within officially authorized categories. Depending on circumstances people were able to “move up or down the racial ladder according to changes...” (Posel 2003:59). Marriage in certain circumstances enabled people to shift classifications. In 1960, Arthur Suzman interpreted the absence of a uniform definition of race in the South African context as an absence of scientific basis for classifying race; he concluded that any such exercise in categorization was merely an approximation and that Apartheid legislature was “attempting to define the indefinable” (Suzman 1960:367). When a person straddles racial and cultural constructions they become difficult to categorize and thus, unnaturally, fall into new racial constructions, like “Coloured,” “mixed-race,” or “half-caste.” This brief explanation of race, especially how it was employed in the social sciences for legislative purposes is complicated when peoples of multi-ethnic or creole heritage are thrown into the mix. Thriven Reddy (1999) argues that South Africa’s intermediary category functions to concretize the system of racial classification in South Africa. Therefore, the Coloured category is instrumental in South Africa for people outside to learn what they are in relation to what this group is not.

Black beyond Borders

Depending on the political climate and group consciousness, “black” meant a category ranging in significance from something less-than-White and inferior to a category representing people different from White, yet powerful and revolutionary in numbers and history. In South Africa today, the “black” category has multiple meanings reaching back to the Apartheid era. The first definition refers to the category of people that were “previously disadvantaged” under the Apartheid government. Since all non-White groups suffered some degree of disenfranchisement, segregation, and displacement, Asians, Africans, and Coloureds qualify as “black.”²² In 1956, Julius Lewin wrote in the *Nation* that the relocation of Indians²³ and Coloureds to urban ghettos makes their plight equal to the African plight in destitution. “Thus people have taken to passive resistance under the example of Gandhi” to unite against White supremacy.

According to Anil Soodeo Coloured and Indian identities in South Africa are situational. Identity is dependent on an individual’s choice which is influenced by class, religion, status, language and culture. Black identity was adopted for solidarity of the oppressed (1988:69). Black South Africans during Apartheid found themselves confronted with challenge of choosing between ethnic nationalisms and broader South African nationality The National Liberation League (NLL) made efforts to unite “blacks” in universal franchise and shared nationhood for all races in South Africa. In 1935 NLL was a direct challenge to the ANC, which from its inception in 1912 catered only to tribal chiefs and the educated Black-African elite (1988:75). Originally, the ANC did not question the inequality, rather they sought privilege for themselves. Inspired by

²² See BEE legislation

²³ 1946 Satyagraha protests – “Ghetto Act” Sookdeo 1988

a younger generation of activists – Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, and Nelson Mandela –ANC Youth League opened membership to all races in the early 1940s (Sookdeo 1988:76). In place of petitions the ANCYL was motivated to use defiance strategies that included those of Gandhi's passive resistance movements. Gandhi's strategies of resistance moved beyond South Africa to influence United States Civil Rights movements, most notably Martin Luther King Jr., the Montgomery Bus Boycotts, and sit-ins. The influence of global ties of resistance related to blackness made its way back to South Africa via The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) under leadership of Steven Biko, which became the next "logical step in alleviating the pain of the colonized population" (Abdi 1999:156). Ali A. Abdi claims that the BCM was a "response to the crisis of identity and psycho-sociological alienation" inundating the youth of black South Africa. The solidity and strength of this definition of "black" embraced the inclusive principles BCM. Biko was one of the most important proponents of a unified non-White front against Apartheid. He urged the unification and mobilization of all non-Whites in order to defeat the racist policies of the Nationalist government. Biko exposed the myth of White South Africa that Coloureds and Indians were the natural allies of the White man (Sookdeo 1988:78). Biko revealed the divide and conquer policies of Apartheid South Africa, and advocated for all non-Whites to come together to reform not only their social positions but also their histories. In his words, "A people without a history is like a vehicle without an engine" (Biko 1978). On issues of racial inequality Whites were the decision makers and marginalized the voices of "black" people. While Biko does make a distinction between Afrikaners and English, nationalists and liberals, he lumped them together because they all enjoyed similar privileges of Whiteness. He also brought to light White-guilt and accused White liberals of comingling with "blacks" in order to lessen culpability. Biko argued though some Whites were moved so much as to help the "black-man," "blacks" speak

with more urgency because it is they who suffer. The BCM and other political movements against Apartheid, like the United Democratic Front, Labor Party, or the South African Communist Party, helped unify the disparate groups that were limited by their classification to work toward ending second, third and fourth class citizenship hierarchy that so defined South Africa's Apartheid system.²⁴

Paul Gilroy (1993) draws on the works of his predecessors W.E.B. DuBois and Richard Wright to illustrate the expansion of the fight for oppressed peoples around the globe through a framework of "blackness" as a global phenomenon of resistance. According to Yarwood (2006:48), *black* is a historical, cultural, and political category created as a consequence of specific symbolic and ideological struggles. However, this category is not necessarily confined to the color of one's skin and in Yarwood's analysis of "blackness" Paul Gilroy's understanding aids her claim; explaining that being 'black' is "a common experience of racialization and discrimination throughout the Diaspora that unites peoples of African descent who are identified as 'black'" (Gilroy 1993:48). She makes the point that while "blackness" in many cases is commonly "essentialized as a racial affiliation emanating from primordial African roots," it is not something confined to the continent. This immutable identity results from a racialized self "that is both socialized and unified by its connection with other kindred souls" (Gilroy 1993:30). As was the case in South Africa under the White supremacist regime all oppressed people became "black." While it is important to recognize these political movements, use of the term "black" still implies race. In using the concept of creolization I move beyond old binary thinking between black and

²⁴ See Chapter 3 for more discussion on political movements against Apartheid.

white, using creolization within the context of race in discussing Coloured people. And if we look at each distinctive ethnic group within South Africa specifically we see that all people have taken on cultural attributes of other groups, making them different from their predecessors.

TRANSITIONS: BEYOND RACE IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the years leading up to Nelson Mandela's release from prison and his election as president, F. W. DeKlerk realized a need to transition from minority rule to majority rule if South Africa was to survive into the next century as a prosperous nation. His actions won him a joint Nobel Peace Prize with Mandela in 1993. The repeal of the *Population Registration Act* between 1991-4 led to the end of legal race classification in South Africa and for the first time in the nation's history allowed people to name themselves. Yet, the *Employment Equity Act of 1998* required classification to monitor the progress of employment and affirmative action policies affecting previously disadvantaged groups: Africans, Coloureds, and Asians (Christopher 2002:406). Section 1 of the Act explains that the 'designated groups' who would be catered to in order to seek retribution and equality officially noting: "'black people' is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds, and Indians" (South Africa 1998:3; Christopher 2002:406; Alexander 2007:94). Conversely, use of capitalized "Black" in the census is reserved solely for the numerically dominant African population (Christopher 2002:406). According to a survey done in early 2000s by South Africa's Institute for Reconciliation and Justice, "51 percent of Whites surveyed agreed that 'despite abuses, [A]partheid ideas were good ones', 35.5 percent of Africans, 34 percent of Coloureds and 42 percent of Indians thought likewise" (Posel 2003:59).

Post-Apartheid South African categories based on previous racial designations still hold firm. Urban residential areas and farming districts remain for the most part segregated according to definitions of the previous regime, though non-Whites have a greater sense of mobility. Post-

Apartheid political party affiliation is often witnessed to reaffirm ethnically defined constituencies (Christopher 2002:406; Adhikari 1994; 2005). Though former classifications remain, Christopher (2002) foresees new shifts based on self-identifications and ethnolinguistic heritage likely to emerge. “Despite the ANC’s long-standing commitment to non-racialism, there remains persistent contestation in government discourse between appeals to Black-African supremacist rhetoric and a focus on black nationalism, and more moderate claims that people of all races have a part to play in the new South Africa” (Whitehead 2010:4). Tension between government rhetoric and the realities of race continue to emerge between the status of non-racialism as a core value in the constitution and the use of race conscious moves in affirmative action and BEE policies that advocate policies to redress the injustices of Apartheid. “[L]egislation aimed at reversing the effects of [A]partheid thus continues to rely on and thereby reproduce the relevance of, [A]partheid racial categories in its implementation and the measurement of its success” (Whitehead 2010:4).

Fissures in the Rainbow

Like the old regime, the New South Africa embraces all non-White people (Indian, Pakistani, Coloured, Chinese, African) as “black,” with different motives, however, in an attempt to redress social, political, and economic inequalities. Yet there are several issues with this policy. First and foremost, because not all black people suffered to the same degree those that suffered most are considered first for employment, first for bursaries, and first for promotion. To the dismay of many people who qualify for blackness under the BEE’s definition, the stratified qualification for this category has many Indian and Coloureds claiming that the new regime is nothing but “Apartheid in reverse.” Because the ANC is in power and minority groups see the ANC leaders (the majority happen to be indigenous) accruing numerous privileges, it gives observers the false impression that the party is exclusively Black African. Likewise, it gives the false impression that

inequities of the past are successfully being overcome. Unfortunately, that South Africa attempted to reinvent and establish a non-racial state with the help of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, Black Consciousness Movement, Labour Party, UDM (predominantly in the Cape with a large Coloured contingency) and many other people and organizations is often drowned out by louder groups.

The election of Thabo Mbeki on June 14 1999 heralded a new age for South Africa. As discussed by some scholars, the “African Renaissance” (coined by Mbeki) as a product of globalization leaned toward the majority Black South Africans to reestablish and release “traditional values and energies from a local history of colonialization and oppression” (Sylvain Guyot & Seethal 2007). However, efforts to create a non-racial, multicultural society, “divided loyalties and antagonistic identities” continued to “lurk under the surface of nonracial constitutionalism” (Moodley & Adam 2000:55). Furthermore, “[m]embers of minority groups” (Coloured, Indian, and White) frequently doubted whether they were “genuinely included in the official political definition of an authentic African when popular perceptions emphasize[d] cultural African traditions” (Moodley & Adam 2000:55). For many who are neither Black nor White the pendulum has swung the other way since Apartheid and their places remain precarious. This created a situation where during Apartheid they were not White enough to gain the privileges under segregation, and now they are not Black enough to secure benefits from Affirmative Action or BEE initiatives. In the face of new economic policies that would dictate South Africa’s direction many minority members felt threatened and left the country or simply barricaded themselves through economic means or under the guise of culture.

Despite the challenge to nation-state sovereignty by transnational corporations and institutions combined with the shrinking the time-space continuum through the growth of digital

telecommunication technology, Comaroff (1996:174) argues anthropology demonstrates that “there is no such thing as a universal image.” While the denotation of one image or object may be global, the connotation is always local, indigenized, interpreted in new ways based on local experiences, feelings, and worldviews. When faced with indifference on the part of transnational corporations and processes of homogenization, subordinate groups stress their cultural distinctiveness against disempowerment. It is for this reason that since 1994 many creolized South Africans of “mixed” decent embrace a Coloured identity in the face of a rhetorically *raceless*, rainbow nation. The myth of a raceless nation in South Africa, the “melting pot” in America or a “colorblind Britain” is a misunderstanding on the part of social science, politics, and media (Comaroff 1996:163).

Faye V. Harrison (1998) notes how the American Anthropological Association (AAA) advised the United States census to revise racial categories to align with the biological trend that race is imaginary. The organization’s call to erase race can be refuted by noting the usefulness racial categories, becoming a necessary evil because census racial categories allow the government to identify and track systemic racism, which is ultimately more subtle and covert than during times when racism was a blatant. The government, Harrison (1998) argues, uses such information to collect useful data on disparate impacts that cannot be adequately explained in terms of class, culture, behavior, or lack of merit. The warning against AAA’s position is that a raceless society could jeopardize social policies that have attempted to “level the playing field for the historical and contemporary targets of racial inequalities” (Harrison 1998:616). Kevin Whitehead (2010) states that while non-racialism has become a focal point in the value of post-Apartheid South Africa “tensions remain between the ANC government’s long-standing commitment to non-racialism and use of race-conscious policies and appeals to black nationalism.” Whitehead

proposes that belonging to a particular racial category contributes to an individual speaker's course of action. Additionally, belonging to a specific race can help the audience understand what the speakers are saying. Conversely, membership can create obstacles for particular categories of people to produce specific actions at a particular moment (Whitehead 2010:2). Deborah Posel (2003:75) in her examination of racial categorization notes that classifications must be the sites of redress. Seven years later, Whitehead echo's Posel's view that "the self-same categories that served as the basis for oppression" under White supremacy, "must now become the basis for the deliberate establishment of an equitable society to replace the deliberately racially stratified society of the past" (Whitehead 2010:7). But Posel (2003) asks serious questions about the utility of employing contentious categorization. "How in post [A]partheid era, do we determine who is 'African,' 'Coloured,' 'White' and 'Indian'? What are the criteria for racial classifications? With whom is the authority of categorizing race vested? On what basis will claims to knowledge about race be issued and defended? What are the processes of racial recognition that accompany the new uses of old racial categories? And what are the consequences of these exercises for the pursuit of non-racialism?" (Posel 2003:75-76). While both scholars have points that racial categories can serve to create a more equitable society, the motives behind the actions and classifications must be transparent. Open conversations in government, media, and around the dinner table that answer the questions Posel poses and debate the merits of using race as a classifier need to be encouraged in order to move society away from relying on superficialities of ascribed statuses.

CONCLUSION

According to Nehusi (2004:18) it is the "duty of every generation to re-examine and where necessary, re-interpret the fundamentals of its own existence". In his opinion an African is a person who shares a common ancestral home and "ownership of, and spiritual attachment to their ancestral

land,” in this case the African continent. Physical markers, a common history, a common set of cultural values, a common world view, heritage, and socio-political, economic interests creates common bonds and identities, enabling Africans to define themselves will promote a positive self-image of the group, in turn leading to a positive self-concept for Africans (Nehusi 2004:18-23) regardless of their color or class.

Race must be understood as an unstable and ‘decentered’ complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggles. Today, “Race is central to everyone’s identity and understanding of the social world” (Omi & Winant 1994:55). Omi and Winant suggest we look at race as an element of social structure rather than an irregularity within the structure. Furthermore, we should view race as one dimension of human representation rather than an illusion (Omi & Winant 1994:55) because of the role it played throughout history and the effects it has on the present. When coming across those who do not fit the predefined boxes like Coloureds, they are confronted by the socio-historical policies of the past. Thus, mixed-race people or ethnicities with which the observer is not familiar challenge the norm, and some who encounter this may experience discomfort and “momentarily a crisis of racial meaning” (Gilroy 2000:59).

By the 20th century the ideologies that discouraged the creation of a new “mixed-race” population were quickly forgotten and relegated to liminal spaces of South African history. When restricted to the hinterlands of liminality, Coloureds, as well as many indigenous peoples and foreigners, become destitute culturally, economically, and politically (Meth 2008). Smith (2002) blames these conditions on how institutionalization deliberately fragments culture and community relationships. As was the case with strict racial barriers, many families and well established communities were split apart, parents and children were denied acceptance by families, neighbors forced to reject one another, and people were metaphorically branded via government.

Smith's solution for the post-colonial period, into which some scholars say Third World post-independent nations have entered, is for marginalized communities to resist the ongoing effects of colonialism. For many of these developing nations, of which South Africa is one, colonialism has not ended because the descendants of the original colonists remain on stolen land. Furthermore, new waves of colonial masters and servants are entering both developed and developing nations. Systemic and institutionalized racism continues to adversely affect the descendants of the colonized. Despite a leveling of the economic opportunity playing field, continued use of colonizer names, categories, and institutions imprints on the upcoming generation within marginalized communities. Allowing those in power to define and dictate to a people without allowing them to define themselves renders the defined powerless. Instead of being able to create a vision of how they see themselves and the future of their communities and institutions they rely on outsiders to define them; in the case of Coloureds this involved stereotyping as visceral, oversexed gangsters, drug dealers, thugs and criminals to be feared for their ruthlessness and rawness. This portrait draws attention to negative aspects within the community which notifies individuals that to get noticed you must fulfill this destiny regardless of the consequences. Unfortunately, those pursuing alternative paths of production, for example nine-to-five jobs, or employment with the ANC government, may be ridiculed and accused of selling out. The question must be posed: Who indeed is selling out? Is buying into an imposed mentality of dysfunction and a feared and false bravado not selling out? Is creating one's own destiny, bettering their communities, and becoming self-sufficient a greater measure of agency? Sometimes it is necessary to use the colonizer's tools to fight against marginalization and destruction. Smith's call to arms – or, in this case, pens – is a cry for all marginalized people to reassess their situations and definitions publically. Moore reminds us “When all is said and done, dogs and slaves are named

by their masters; free [people] name themselves!” (Nehusi 2004:22). It is for this reason many Coloureds throughout South Africa use alternative spellings and terms in self-references, such as *Bruin-mense*, or *Kullurd*. Individual family histories are often recreated by community members to make a space for inclusion in the larger South African history where they are often only a footnote.

The story presented in this chapter attempts to give a broader perspective of the South African peoplescope and to contextualize it globally. South Africa never existed in a bubble; rather, it was influenced by the immigrants, slaves, and indentured servants who came to the shores. Beginning over 400 years ago Southern Africa was colonized and globalized. Interactions between the newcomers and the indigenous peoples that shaped the nation and were sometimes denied citizenship often looked elsewhere for inspiration and guidance to become independent. Coloured people, more than any other group, are both physical and cultural reminders of the nation’s tumultuous global history.

In reference to Smith’s call to action, there is a continuous stream of Coloured scholars in the social sciences publishing articles, obtaining degrees, and telling their stories and the stories of their communities. Artists, such as Cedric Nunn, Natalie Houston, Peter McKenzie, and Trevor Noah at once reject the term Coloured, but simultaneously embrace their liminality by unpacking various themes regarding racial purity, family and community histories as well as their own racialized bodies. Cedric Nunn’s 2006 Documentary *Blood Relatives*, explores the roots of his multi-ethnic family, while Natalie Houston (2011) turns her photographic lens to an underserved neighborhood in Southern Durban. Many of these successful artists and scholars are beginning to deconstruct what it means to be Coloured and the sometimes-awkward status and spaces to which they are relegated. Society has various boundaries: external, internal and marginal. Each contains

power to reward conformity and repulse attack. “There is energy in its margins and unstructured areas” (Douglas 1966:115). By simultaneously reaffirming their indigeneity to Africa and their connection to Europe and Asia, Coloured scholars and artists draw upon the power and richness of their heritage and marginality.

It is important to note such efforts do not comprise any spectacular ethnographic innovation. Many ethnic groups within the South African context are attempting to throw off imposed identities and notions of previous colonizing enterprises. The multitude of anthropologists, historians and cultural critics who are delving into performance, battles, politics, and so on create new ways at examining old occurrences (Difiqane, Truth and Reconciliation, the Rainbow Nation). Similarly, scholars like Hermann Giliomee (2011), Helene Strauss (2008), Melisa Steyn (2001; 2008), Dominic Griffiths and Maria L.C. Prozesky (2010) and others tell stories of Afrikaner social history in new ways that presents them as human beings rather than the racist monsters of Apartheid. Ashwin Desai and Goolam H. Vesdi, Jordache Ellapen, Devi Moodley Rajab, and John Dylan Soske tell stories of the Indian Diaspora in South Africa. Each presents new ways of seeing people in conjunction with other peoples. It shows interactions, strife, and collaboration, and in so doing creates a fuller, more nuanced imagining of history and social reality than that which was once limited to strictly Black and White. By exploring Coloured people’s lives and ways of becoming allows for a more in depth, intimate view of the South African nation challenging foreign and domestic notions of who is an African. Examining this liminal group renders a two dimensional, monochromatic line drawing into a three dimensional sculpture wrought with texture that changes depending on the viewer’s angle.

CHAPTER 4: Coloured Identity in KZN

The first section of this chapter explores Coloured identity as it relates to political formation and how political divisions influenced the formation of this particular identity in relation to members of other groups. I draw on scholarly work as well as newspaper articles from my fieldwork. In the second section I attempt to unpack how Coloured people came about at the most basic level of interethnic relationships that were occurring and how governmental structures responded to these groups of mixed-race offspring. In each of the sections I intersperse excerpts from interviews I conducted to bring to life examples of political turmoil, familial strife, and historical misconceptions in order to give my reader a more nuanced version of South African history that rarely gets told. This chapter will break apart the essentialist ideas that Coloured people have no culture, that they are only found in the Western Cape, and that they are racist toward Black-Africans. While I do not deny the fact that many Coloureds in KwaZulu-Natal did buy into the racial hierarchy introduced by the British and Afrikaans rulers, I present the argument that certain perceptions about Coloureds are the results of particular familial traditions that were present amongst the major ethnic groups that joined to create the Coloured people in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) in particular.

The final section examines Desmond Tutu's metaphor of South Africa as a "rainbow nation." I argue that this metaphor is in fact useful in expressing the diversity of the nation, but is problematic in impeding ways to discuss current racial tensions that continue to surface in post-Apartheid South Africa. I illustrate using three examples from my fieldwork that highlight relationships between Coloured men and Zulu women, intertwined family histories and intergenerational differences and cultural misunderstandings.

FINDING A PLACE BETWEEN THE POLITICS OF BLACK AND WHITE

For many of the long established Coloured families –for instance, the Dunns, Nunns, Fynns, and Ogles – the need to establish legitimacy in the space of their ancestors and descendants in KwaZulu-Natal is an ongoing struggle. Three South African documentaries depict these struggles: *The Dunns of Mangete* by Tommy and Donna Wurzell Doig, Cedric Nunn’s *Blood Relatives* (2006) and *Vying Posie* Peter McKenzie (2005). The first film focuses on the highly contested area of Mangete. In 1840s this area was reserved for John Dunn and his half-Scottish, half-Zulu descendants by then King Cetshwayo and later Queen Victoria who expanded the British Empire by annexing Zululand into Natal provincial jurisdiction. The film interviews prominent leaders in the community who recount unique struggles to remain on their ancestral homeland despite government legislation.

“Blood Relatives” began as a photo exhibit by Cedric Nunn in an attempt to understand his identity as a creole in South Africa. Using photographs taken over a 25 year period, Nunn shows photographs of close and distant relatives. At the Durban Art Gallery opening of “Blood Relatives” Nunn (2006) says, “I decided to look at my own origins in order to better examine who the people were, from where I arose, and how these communities related to others.” In both the exhibit and film, the artist considers the identity of the Coloured communities in relation to one of their major progenitors, John Dunn. Nunn considers the notion of a separate Coloured people as a construct of a policy born out of prejudice, racial bias and the peculiar social experiment foisted on this country by imperialists, colonialists and White nationalists. He critiques Coloured communities for their ignorance of their heritage. Nunn’s enterprises are a documentation of aberration in the social structure which leads to the separation of communities and a celebration of a people often overlooked because they existed outside their designated homeland. Nunn’s work gives agency to Coloured people. When it was shown on SABC TV in 2006 I sat in my youngest uncle’s living

room outside of Durban. The family was gathered watching with a sense of excitement when the image of my great grandmother, Rosie Strydom came up. It was one of the first times Coloured people were depicted in the media after the end of Apartheid.



Figure 11: Rosie Foxen Strydom at home in Nongoma, KZN photo by Cedric Nunn

Vying Posie (2005) is similarly a photo exhibit turned documentary captured by Peter McKenzie from Wentworth. The film revolves around a group of male friends framed for a murder of another young man. The film shows the prejudices held against young Coloured males and depicts the struggles of life after incarceration in a working class neighborhood. McKenzie's work provides the men a larger platform to tell their own story in their own words and to make peace

with the past. Both the exhibit and documentary feature the landscape of Wentworth, showing residential areas juxtaposed to industrial complexes. Central to these works is the sense of the inertia, alienation and marginalization of the three men but also of the Coloured community in general. The images reflect the diversity of lineages, pertinent in shaping identities.

The first two works represent a form of resistance to definitions imposed by both the European and African based governments between which they struggle to maintain connection with lands of their forefathers and foremothers in a precarious landscape of political power struggles and race-based tensions. The third exhibit and film counters the stereotypes of Coloureds. Each acts as a counternarrative to the national narrative placing Coloureds in the Cape or as illegitimate. Deemed illegitimate through legal marginalization and dehumanization these works give Coloured people a voice that reaches beyond their communities. Each work acts to dismantle the silence and discomfort confronted with the label Coloured. By giving the people a chance to speak to the public conversations about the past, present and future are opened.

South African politics has heavily relied on race and cultural survival. During Apartheid only White men were enfranchised. Indians, Coloureds, and Natives had little if any political voice. Bantus²⁵ or “Natives” were expected to be ruled by their tribal councils. Between 1843 and 1864, Theophilus Shepstone (a British agent) set aside land in what would become KwaZulu-Natal strictly for the various African inhabitants whose social structure had been weakened with the nation building campaign started by Shaka Zulu (Dlamini 2005:34). It was thought that denying African tribal nationals the power to vote was not doing them a disservice since their rule was in

²⁵Bantu is the isiZulu term for people but the term became derogatory and was given up in favor of Natives see Suzman 1960. See Chapter 2.

the Bantustans, later known as “homelands” and “reserves.” However, there were millions of Native people living in the urban and peri-urban fringes off the reserves in what came to be called “townships” who lived outside of tribal authority. The Apartheid government considered these people transients. Thus, in government logic to invest time and money in creating infrastructure for sojourners was fiscally irresponsible and wasteful. As a result people lived in crowded areas without running water, electricity, proper schools, clinics, or shopping centers (Emery 1999:4), conditions which continue to plague many of today’s urban township residents.

Indians and Coloureds, on the other hand, did not have homelands, although many considered the Western Cape as a de facto homeland for Coloureds. These two distinct groups of people lived in close proximity to Europeans or Whites and were expected to abide by the corresponding legislation without necessarily being able to participate fully. According to Emery (1999) it was the United Democratic Front (UDF), which had a large Coloured contingency that made great strides in bringing together people from all races to unite in a non-racialist struggle against Apartheid. When the Communist Party was banned in 1950, “Mass-based organizations of protest then formed the Congress Alliance that drew up the Freedom Charter.²⁶ While there was racial cooperation, the members of the alliance were racially based: the African National Congress, which included Africans only; the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People’s Organization, and the [W]hite Congress of Democrats. In contrast, the UDF had self-consciously organized non-racially as a strategy to undermine state-imposed racial divisions”

²⁶ Freedom Charter was drawn up by a coalition of political groups proclaiming “South Africa belongs to all those who live in it, Black and White” (Sookdeo 1988:78). The aim of the document was to found a new South African nation built on a policy of non-racialism.

(Emery 1999:10). Foundations for the party were laid in the 1970s, inspired partly by BCM policy of non-racialism. In 1983, UDM formed a coalition of anti-Apartheid organizations in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. Under the urging of Reverend Allan Aubrey Boesak, an amalgamation called for unified action of churches, trade unions, community organizations, student organizations and sports clubs against Apartheid. The UDM became the largest anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa. It was a "non-racial" and non-violent movement with two million members, and over 700 hundred sub-groups unified beneath its umbrella.²⁷

In 1984, the Tricameral Parliament was created by P.W. Botha allowing both the Indian and Coloured groups to have limited say in government affairs surrounding the health care and education systems in their own communities (O'Malley 2009). Although the Indian and Coloured groups were not allowed to vote in general elections, both were given a certain number of representatives in segregated governing bodies: a House of Representatives for Coloureds and a House of Delegates for Indians (Emery 1999:8). One important reason for the inclusion of these two groups was the fact that Apartheid control over the entire population was weakening; students, political dissidents, and labor unions were standing against unfair treatment. Although Native Africans were the largest participants in collective active resistance, a growing number of Whites, Indians, and Coloureds were resisting the draconian laws that separated people based on ambiguous descriptions of race.

²⁷ South African History Online accessed September 27, 2014: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/reverend-allan-aubrey-boesak>.

THE ANC WAS NOT ALONE

Adhikari (2005) states that as early as the 1930s (pre-Apartheid) radical intellectuals rejected a separate Coloured identity or category for the simple fact that it was considered a divisive measure by oppressive forces “to divide the black majority and split the proletariat” (Adhikari 2005:7-8). However, it was not until the late 1970s that the rejection of the Coloured classification began to take hold in response to the Black Consciousness Movement.²⁸ Allowing Indians and Coloureds limited say in the government was an effort to win a greater number of people over to join forces with the White government against the growing number of uncooperative non-Whites. Although the move did not have the desired effect on a majority of Coloured people, during the first free and open elections of 1994 most Coloureds across the country voted for the National Party despite the party being associated with Apartheid and White supremacy. To this day many Coloured constituents even in KZN have distaste for the African National Committee (ANC), choosing instead to remain loyal to the reformed Nationalist Party: the Democratic Alliance (DA) (Meadows 2008:24). Those Coloureds that do support the ANC look at the DA leaning Coloureds and Blacks as traitors with colonized minds. They are called “coconuts” for being Brown on the outside White on the inside (Morris Botha, May 2010: personal communication). With that said the ANC has been dominating South African politics for nearly 20 years and continues to hold on to votes based on the fact that it is the party of Nelson Mandela, South Africa’s first fully democratically elected president.

In 2011, I witnessed the election frenzy and political campaigning of all the parties. I also had the pleasure of hearing and observing my participants discuss politics and party scandals.

²⁸ Black Consciousness Movement see Chapter 2

Things that were reported in the news were also politicized and became fodder for those rallying or shaking Coloured support for one of the two main political rivals. In the months prior to the municipal elections of 2011 a number of stories hit the media in an attempt to politicize Coloured people in favor of ANC. The first article was the February 17, 2011 piece by Kuli Roberts. In South Africa's *Sunday World*. Her editorial, "*Jou Ma se Kinders*" [Your Mother's Children], sparked because she evoked long-standing stereotypes of Coloured women. Ms. Roberts explained her piece as an attempt at "tongue-in-cheek" humor and in no way was she trying to politicize this group. In the piece Roberts discussed how she missed her Coloured counterparts in Cape Town (her hometown) and valorized them as the future of South Africa for the following reasons: "You will always be assured of a large family as many of these girls breed as if Allan Boesak [anti-Apartheid preacher from the Dutch Reformed Church] sent them on a personal mission to increase the [C]oloured race." She goes on to explain how these women walk around in public with curlers in their hair, smoke like chimneys, and are violent. While many took her words as a type of caustic humor; an equal if not larger number found her comments racist and the editor was called to take responsibility. She was subsequently fired. Numerous follow-ups appeared in the English newspapers calling for his resignation: after all, how could an editor allow such racism to be printed? Later that month a year old interview of Jimmy Manyi – the president of the Black Management Forum and at the time of the interview Director General of the Labour Department – was posted on YouTube.²⁹ Several news agencies began citing the year old statement where Minister Manyi addressed the controversial Employment Equity Act which used racial quotas for

²⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oBqCD_498hY

hiring. “Coloureds,” in Manyi’s words were in an “over concentration situation” and in “oversupply in the Western Cape.” He urged, “...they should spread out...” in order to “meet the employment requirements across the country” (Manyi March 10, 2010). I found this statement further alienated Coloured people across the nation from the ANC ruling party - largely seen as a “Black” or African party. Older people with whom I spoke reflected that Manyi’s statement was reminiscent of the Group Areas Act of 1950 that forcibly removed people from ancestral homes and places of comfort so that coveted areas where people of color lived could be given to the White people who represented the top rung in the Apartheid racial hierarchy.

Trevor Manuel – the Coloured finance minister for the ANC government at the time – pointed out, claiming that Mr. Manyi’s statements were similar to those of H.F. Verwoerd – one of the architects of the Apartheid government (Mtyala March 18, 2011). Reporters rushed on the offensive, claiming that Manuel’s open letter to Manyi was a political ploy to win over Coloureds for the ANC vote. It did seem strange that this man who many self-identifying Coloureds recognize as a fellow *Bruino* (Brown man)³⁰ all of a sudden became the spokesperson for Coloureds. Following Manuel’s “open letter to Minister Manyi” his identity rapidly became associated with gangsterism, another common Coloured stereotype. For a man so high up in the ANC government to be labeled as such in newspapers and for his colleague Manyi to have the year old interview quoted in the media reeked of political strategists (on both sides) urging Coloureds to vote one way or the other.

³⁰ The term affectionately used by in-group members but who does not self-identify as such.

George Lipsitz (1998) argues identities that are politicized – in the way Coloured people were historically and in the more recent past – are done so with ulterior motives by power players who are invested in Whiteness (Clifford 2000:97). With the new government, though, it is clear the incumbents have the same motivation to politicize all non-Whites because they are invested in the idea of “blackness” as defined by BCM. Fisher, a South African columnist who identifies as “black” in the political sense that he was aligned with the struggles of all non-White people, aptly noted the same concerns Clifford cites. In his 2008 article Fisher stated, “The issue of whether there is a [C]oloured identity is not new but...seems to surface more every time we are heading for another election.” He goes on to state that “the resurgence in people identifying themselves as [C]oloureds could be laid at the door of short-sighted politicians who failed to make people who could potentially identify themselves as [C]oloureds feel welcome in the new South Africa.” But like those I interviewed in the formerly Coloured areas of Durban and around KZN, “...it also has to do with economics, where people who identify themselves as [C]oloureds have to fight for a small piece of the economic pie along with Africans” (Fisher 2008). The alienation cited by Fisher was echoed through many interviews I conducted amongst working-class adults between the ages of thirty and seventy. One Durban resident I interviewed, Pinky, confided in me that although she did not vote for Mandela in that historic election she admired the patience of the people that “stood in the lines for hours.” In the same breath she noted that she would never vote for the ANC. Similarly, in the more rural area of eShowe, Mr. Woods (a steel worker) mentioned how peaceful it was when “they” went to vote in the 1994 elections. I noted his use of the pronoun “they” because he used it to differentiate himself from the Black Africans voting for the ANC. “There was not even a peep,” he said, “Everyone was so peaceful.” When my husband remarked that Blacks now seemed to have taken the Whites’ place Mr. Woods replied: “Well, they can’t blame us. We

weren't in power then nor are we now. The highest person *we* have in [ANC] government is Trevor Manuel." (Woods January 15, 2011: personal communication).

Racing the Media

In South Africa, the link between media and identity has grown exponentially, and since the 1970s the influx of American media has soared. From the public South African Broadcasting (SABC) networks to the private cable services American television abounds. Everything from *Nightrider* and *Starsky & Hutch* to *The Bold and the Beautiful* and *Pimp My Ride* has aired on television. As a result of this influx of American media great Griot Salif Keita bellows in "Africa" from his 1995 Album *Folon*, "If you want to go to America go to South Africa!"

For a long time South Africa has absorbed American Black musical culture. From Jazz, reggae and R&B to hip-hop and house, South African people of color listened to their counterparts overseas and quickly transformed it into indigenous rhythms, languages, and themes that speak to their experiences. What was once a division of people based on color of skin and specific cultures, has now become an issue of what type of commodity one consumes and what style people take-up (Dolby 2001). Dolby (2001) argues that youth are especially susceptible to new globalized messages, as they are most familiar with the new technology and are always seeking new ways to transform their identities and establish individual uniqueness from their peers and the older generations. Similarly, their parents – who grew up listening to R&B from overseas – today listen to American gospel music and preachers, such as TD Jakes. They watch Oprah Winfrey's talk show, Tyler Perry movies, and boisterously laugh at Chris Rock's stand-up comedy. They read books by famous people of color in whom they find kindred spirits; most recently President Obama's *In The Name of my Father* has graced the coffee table of more than one "Coloured" home I visited. In my travels across South Africa I met numerous older adults who were invested in

American Black culture to the extent that their children were, which I argue is what makes it acceptable to pursue such identity markers for their children. I watched my first Tyler Perry movie in South Africa in the home of a Coloured couple in 2007. In 2011, I read a review of Tyler Perry's movie *For Colored Girls* on Facebook by a Coloured friend. Yarwood (2006) argues that this "global traffic in blackness," like the exchange in cultural and consumer items, aids in transnational identification with this category.

In post-Apartheid South Africa all racial identities were destabilized in some way in favor of non-racial society and discussions regarding how each category should operate wax and wane concerning enfranchisement, resource allocation, and belonging. While the growing independence of teenagers to seek self-expression and individual identity, issues concerning livelihood and political representation resonate with adults. Both youth and adults vie for collective security. For this reason it is understandable why the "traffic in blackness" and the cultural items that power the movement weakens national boundaries, strengthening bonds of people across land and water. American Blackness as seen by Coloureds is powerful. They are inspired by Civil Rights movements and their ability to contribute to the global arena through their creative outlets despite oppression. Blackness, like *Colouredness*, is a category based on history, politics, and culture. Many older Coloureds identify with African-Americans because of similar phenomena of mixing between peoples and disenfranchisement. However, many people state that the Coloured identity is a false identity – the creation of a politically motivated separatist colonial government. The Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act of 1950 are cited as having a large effect on the solidification of Coloured identity. At the same time the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Amendment Act (1950) made the very conditions that created the

Coloureds illegal. These laws were also integral in creating the conditions that allowed the so-called “mixed-race” people to form a cohesive group identity.

As a result, the Coloured identifier is highly debated within South Africa and many individuals within these communities “are finding new and innovative ways of articulating *Colouredness* in the new space they find themselves in.” In this new fully democratic system the new generation of Coloureds for the first time is able to come of age in a time where neither their past, present, nor future are, “completely defined by the social and physical ordering of [A]partheid” (Yarwood 2006:50). However, the legacy of Apartheid remains a strong marker of who parents and grandparents find acceptable for their children to befriend and marry. This new generation of Coloureds must contend with the relationships of people whose identities, memories, and educations were formed during the highly segregated era. Likewise, this group must further contend with a new system of government that on paper and rhetoric might tout equality but in practice favors people of Black African parentage and ancestry. “At first we were not White enough and now we are not Black enough!” was a common response during interviews amongst not only Coloured people but their Indian counterparts as well. In order to succeed in this new time new performances and positions are established and while some members of this mixed race group do execute excellent presentations by drawing on their experiences and ancestral African pasts, others languish in the throes of want and lacking.

“To imagine a coherent future, people selectively mobilize past resources” (Clifford 2000:97). Thus the present links with the future and the past by requiring performances of traditions and discussions that are integral for collective actors’ positioning on the political and cultural stage. What are the resources South African Coloureds use to create their future as a coherent culture group? Many people I interviewed lamented the fact that they have no culture.

However, “Coloured culture” reflects dynamism in that their political, cultural, and spiritual traditions overlap with and blend with elements from other ethnicities over time. Likewise, the shifting nature of their practices and beliefs is one of the central elements of this group. While there is pain based on the historic oppression and rejection they faced there is a cohesive pride that allows for collective political bartering, increased artistic and cultural representation in mainstream media (though for some more than others it is more locally based than nationally), and economic and educational empowerment. Unfortunately, Apartheid’s legacy is so strong and so recent that many Coloureds have yet to find a cohesive pride that has allowed them to create a visible legacy within their homeland. Having been denied their inheritance from all sides of their familial ties and forced into a separate category has created in the group and in the individuals a sense of shame, loss, and envy for those “relatives” that easily claim their pasts, presents, and futures.

Family Reflections

For some of the families mentioned in the previous section (the Dunns and Fynns) their pasts revolve around the partial fact that the patriarchs of these “Coloured clans” were “White Zulu chiefs” with defined territories and loyal subjects (Ballard 1980; Bramdaw 1988; Wylie 1995). For others the fact that their patriarch made a long journey or trek from another land, suffered political injustices at the hands of the color conscious British, was smote by the elements and sometimes people, but found strength and courage enough to persevere and settle on new ground carries with it the weight of pride and sometimes shame. The Africas, the Marias, the Koks, Strydoms, and Uys (all originally from the Cape) came to exist in KwaZulu-Natal province with the help of their ancestral feet and oxen powered wagons in the 1820s-1850s. They were part of treks north from more southern lands home to the Khoikhoi, San, and Xhosa groups – places where the Dutch first

settled (Fredrickson 1985:50-51,123).³¹ For the Ogles, the Nunns, the Biggers, and the Banfords (to name a few) their European ancestors came directly from Europe to fight in wars against Nguni nations for the British crown and to establish themselves as rich and powerful war heroes and magistrates. Still others made their way to South Africa with the promise of high wages, debt payment, and opportunity. The Pillays', the Padayachees', the Sakers', and the Joshuas' forefathers came as indentured servants, *shicers*, and opportunists from India, Mauritius, and Saint Helena. They gained freedom and made a new life "reflecting mutual influences among Indian people and interaction between Whites, Coloured and African people in the new environment" (Desai & Vahed 2010:218). Although many hoped to return to India most decided to stay – as evidenced from the four million plus Indian descendants and the 2010 celebration of the 150 year anniversary of Indians arriving in the country.

Each story is unique. Each story is passed down orally through the generations – sometimes with the help of pictures, diaries, letters, and government documents. Each story about these families contributes to the untold histories of Coloured people that are recreated with a keeper from the following generation. All of these immigrants and migrants learned to coexist with their new neighbors. They shared rituals and adopted norms. Of course relations were often strained and both ruling and religious institutions were frequently forced upon people. But each group adopted customs that they then passed on to their own children; at times they were abandoned and at other times they were paid forward. Observe any KZN Coloured family and you will find elements of their ancestors' customs shine through. From playing tennis and rugby, crocheting and

³¹ See Chapter Two

drinking tea with scones to raising cattle, tilling the soil, and hunting, to cooking and relishing in braais, *phutu* (fluffy corn meal), *imaasi* (Zulu yogurt), hot curries, and biryanis to worshipping Christ, dabbling in Buddhism and Hinduism and being deeply connected to and revering the ancestors to a point just short of worship KZN Coloureds to varying degrees are an amalgamation of those “pure” groups that came before them.

Sadly, in many instances scholars and non-scholars alike accuse Coloured people of preferring their White ancestry to their Black. Based partly on a mistaken thought that Coloured people’s strong attachment to the idea of European superiority in their expression of identity in daily life, many are believed to associate with Whiteness while distancing themselves from *Africanness*. Whether it is in the value placed on fair skin and straight hair, the prizing of White ancestors in the family lineage, the display of White forefathers, or taking pride in their assimilation to Western culture (Erasmus 2000, Adhikari 2006:476) Coloureds throughout the country choose to retain old familial, spatial, and communal boundaries distinct from other groups. However, the display of photos and privileging of surnames also acted as barriers between crossing lines and incestuous relationships that often occurred in small community that were pushed closer together because of Apartheid immorality acts. During a hike with one cousin he recounted dating a girl when he was young living in Mangete. The girl brought him home to meet her grandmother. The old lady took him inside and showed him a picture of John Dunn. The matriarch then asked him “Do you know who this man is?” and “how are you related?” My cousin affirmed that he knew the man and was related to Dunn. He laughed as he recounted her statement, “What a shame!” The two were forced to break up. Thus in KZN keeping track of relations was a way to prevent breaking taboos.



Figure 12: Portraits of John Dunn and King Cetshwayo. Late 1800s
Source: R.W. Leyland FRGS (1882) *A Holiday in South Africa* London.



Figure 13: Lounge of Mr. and Mrs. N.F. Strydom. John Dunn's photo hangs top center. Harding, KZN, South Africa.



Figure 14: Sisters Mabel and Gladys Dunn by Cedric Nunn

Misconceptions and stereotypes

Oftentimes, South African scholars portray Coloured people as thinking themselves better than indigenous Africans, particularly in the Apartheid era when they received marginally better facilities and opportunities. They were portrayed overall as being racist toward Black Africans and kowtowing to White powers. These summations were based partly on the fact that they did not collectively stand up to the Apartheid government in solidarity with the Black Africans (Adhikari 2007), and how the Apartheid propped them up as a barrier to the darker races. This idea of Coloured apathy is an overgeneralization for a heterogeneous minority. During the fight against White supremacy, politically active Coloured people embraced blackness as a unifying identity with all non-Whites. Anil Sookdeo (1988) shows how “blackness” became an identity of solidarity of the oppressed. Christian Martin (1998) writes on the ANC website that nowhere else in Africa did so many Whites, Asians and Coloureds participate with Africans in a common struggle against class or color oppression³² (accessed 2009). Adhikari (2006) notes how elite Coloureds embraced a black identity more so than working-class Coloureds. The pressures of the working-class to survive and provide for their families prevented many from actively participating in protest movements. This was especially true in KZN where the overall population of Coloureds was lower than in the Cape.

Terms such as “false consciousness” or “amnesia” are often been used to describe Coloured identity. Yet, Sean Field (2001:108) argues that to give validity to these terms renders Coloured people powerless and thoughtless in the creation of their own identities. Contrarily, Field shows how many Coloured communities were politically and economically active in their respective

³² <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2839> (accessed 2009)

regions, and while some were racist toward Whites, Blacks, Indians, or even other Coloureds, many scholars depict Coloureds as being complacent with Apartheid without accounting for differentiated strategies for survival and protestation rather than outright collaboration (Chari 2009:255). Many Coloured people protested unfair treatment in everyday activities. Stories about people going through the “Whites Only” door at the post office and demanding to be served by White workers after being chastised for not using the “Black” entrance. In the 1960s, ordinary people who were politically unaffiliated were refusing substandard service at the ubiquitous “non-European” or “black” windows that appeared everywhere, from post offices service porthole to butcheries entrances. Sage Penny recalls her experience with de jure segregation.

SP: I worked for a man called Guy Taylor. This one day he was expecting an urgent or something from the post office. He sent me to the Post office. And he asked me to please go ask if his parcel or whatever letter had arrived. And it was pension day and on pension day the post office always got very, very full. Black people that used to stand outside in the sun, wind, rain, and snow and storms you know in long lines waiting for their pensions and um because my boss needed this he said no just go into the post office. There was a Black side and a White side. So the Black side was full of all these pensioners so I went into the White side of the post office. And this little girl that worked in the Post office this Afrikaans lady chased me out. So I went back to the office^ and told my boss^. And my boss took me with him back to the office^ and he shouted at this young lady. And from that day on I was then officially allowed to go into the White side of the post office. Prior to that we weren’t allowed to go into the white side of the post office.

FTP: So why were you not allowed to go in to the White side?

SP: Because in South Africa they had a side that said Blacks and they had a side that said Whites only. And because we are of mixed-race we cannot go in the White only side we have to go where the^ Black people go.

FTP: So even though you had light skin and light eyes? I mean how could they tell? How could this this little girl tell?

SP: Okay now, so this is the fancy part ok, if I lived here or if I grew up here and I left my home I went to maybe Cape Town or Johannesburg some kind of big city and I lived there I would’ve been accepted as a white person. But because of where I lived, everybody knew my father everybody knew my family so they knew who

you were they knew you came from. And because Eshowe is such a little place you know everybody. It was much littler than this. This is quite big now. So they knew you so even though you were that color they knew you and would chase you out.

This excerpt illustrates that although Sage was given temporary White privileges at the post office while she worked for Mr. Taylor, a White man, because of where she lived she could not completely pass into White society. Her realization of this did not sway her position and rather than leaving her family, friends and neighborhood for perhaps a more prosperous life she chose to stay with her family. Other ordinary people, like Morris Fynn, gained notoriety by removing “Whites Only” signs at beaches to protest second class citizenship.



Figure 15: Morris Fynn in 1990s, holding the saw he used to take down segregation signs on Durban beaches.

Source: http://www.ulwazi.org/index.php5?title=Durban_Living_Legend_-_Morris_Fynn

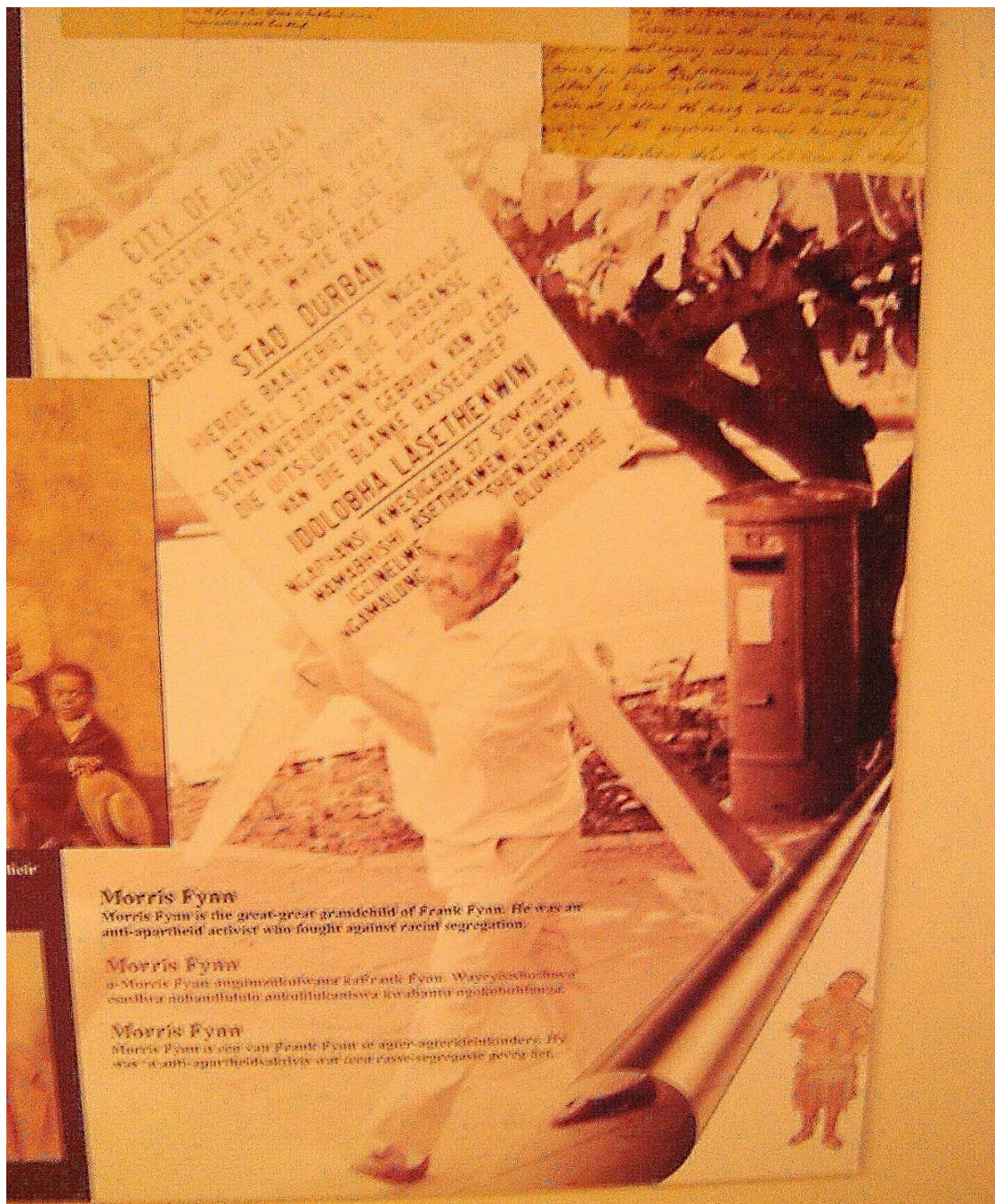


Figure 16: Coloured activism at Msunduzi Museum, Pietermaritzburg, KZN, South Africa. 2011

Referring to Steven Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement Mr. Patterson, a former principal of a Coloured elementary school during Apartheid said:

I used to read about him but on the quiet. We supported him, his ideas...That's another thing the whites...as much as they jailed us, they put us in cells, take us to unknown destinations, they underestimated the roots, the people at the grassroots level, what they were thinking. If they were to say, right who was anti-Apartheid? They would get the shock of their lives. And this came out during the 94 elections.

Mr. Patterson admitted that while he was principal, Zulu parents would plead with him to let their children into the Coloured school. Although it was illegal under the separate amenities act, the principal enrolled the students under aliases using common English first names such as “Johnny” or “Beth.” Surnames were changed to days of the week or months. This was done so that when the state auditor would inspect the school to ensure no race mixing was occurring he would not find any “African” students only Coloured (that typically had English last names). Although, KZN Coloureds were not as mobilized as other groups, they were not passive.

From Unity to Separation

Complaints about Black children taking spaces at English medium schools that were once reserved for Coloured children and stories of nepotism and corruption regarding BEE policies abound. Some Coloured communities continue to express feelings of marginality toward the Black majority (Chari 2009:254) based on the absence of socio-political and economic leverage. Often touted as being less-than Black Africans, inauthentic, or simply mimics of White-European culture, Coloureds within KwaZulu-Natal (as creole individuals) enjoy unique cultural traits that are similar to Coloured populations in Cape Town yet distinct because of their historical and geographic perspective. The similarities stem from speaking an English or Dutch patois, embracing African-American performance style, and negotiating the range of phenotypes in

heterogeneous families. Venter (1974) gives credit to frontiersmen like John Dunn and Francis Fynn who entered the area prior to the official beginnings of colonization and participated in legal polygamy a practice the British government disdained. Thus to a certain extent the offspring from these scorned practices (legal or otherwise) were looked upon with contempt and distrust. Law books and literature reinforced the dehumanization of “mixed” people. The sentiment made its way into the hearts and minds of the many of South Africa’s citizens. From the stereotypical immoral, hyper-sexualized Coloured South African born from colonizers and colonized to gangsterism, alcoholism, and low ambition these views affect identity formation and how one learns to be or not to be Coloured. Weekends in Wentworth signified hard drinking, aggressive behaviour, fighting and sexual promiscuity. This behavior reified the historical ‘hotnot’ stereotypes of how Coloured people are transformed by excessive alcohol abuse” (Anderson 2009: v). The Coloured question was constantly a site of instability in Apartheid theory (Chari 2009:255).

Conversely, many of my interviewees expressed the view that Coloureds in KZN share deep bonds with their African kin – be it through blood or association. Many Coloured women spoke to me reverently of their “African” grannies of the strength and spirituality they exuded. Diane Botha in particular mentioned how her Zulu granny always prayed over the children as means of protection. She similarly spoke about her granny’s steadfastness to get married to her green-eyed Coloured, playboy grandfather, who got her pregnant. Women, including my mother, spoke affectionately of their Zulu playmates that shared stories and games and taught them how to make cornhusk dolls. The Coloured men, my uncles and grandfather included, spoke fondly of their Zulu counterparts with whom they worked, with whom they lived, and from whom they learned how to be men through herding cattle and stick fighting. Perhaps the openness of the New South Africa and the willingness of this group to embrace the “Rainbow Nation” metaphor fostered

a greater appreciation of a past that was once prohibited from even be expressed. However, the fact that these people shared detailed memories proves to a certain extent that they did appreciate and acknowledge this aspect of their heritage and associations. The absence of photographs of African grannies does not alone represent that one is held above the other. Entering many people's homes, I saw *ikhamba* (ceramic pots for drinking Zulu beer), old beadwork, Zulu skin shields, and *sekelas* (Zulu fighting sticks) as much a part of the décor as the European styled sofas, carpets, and tables. During the evening visits with my grandmother she spoke fondly of the old days (in the 1930s) when she was young. She reminisced about going to visit the elder Zulu women in their darkened huts; how the corn was lovingly and adroitly stored in the *nqolobana* (raised, woven storage container) and how the Zulu women used to grind the corn on the *imbokodo* (grinding stone) which today sits outside just off the patio. This being South Africa, a nation where young girls are still forced into marriages to elderly men, where women's education is still underserved, the head of state is able to have extramarital affairs, and corrective rape is currently used against lesbians shows a continued invisibility and powerlessness of many women .

Kinship and Lineage

A close look at the kinship customs and traditions practiced by the “original” groups that brought about the KZN Coloureds reveals that each group participated in patrilineal kinship ties. This might explain, to an extent, why women appear in the background of people's familial histories. Erickson (1998) points out kinship and descent rule changed when people settled more permanently. Switching from matrilineal to patrilineal descent occurred when the kinship ties that bound people became less important than specific permanent territorial relationships formed and people domesticated plants and animals (Erickson 1998:48). Nguni expansion and claims to hunting and grazing lands follow Erickson's theory of kinship shifts. Male prominence and power

increased as the Zulu kingdom unified and amalgamated surrounding smaller tribes. Additionally, European colonization continued this pattern of patriarchal descent. Since many Coloured offspring stemmed from the unions of White men and women of color it stands to reason that their offspring would follow their father's customs. Furthermore, from an opportunistic perspective, it made economic and social sense to bind oneself with those that were associated with property and material wealth in order to be upwardly mobile. While I am not denying the racist ideology of a colonized Coloured mindset, I am suggesting that this group's supposed preference for the European side of the family is more complex than just race and is also linked to issues of gender, lineage, and economy.

Whitney, a young scholar whom I met via a self-identified "black" photographer, pondered "women as gifts" as we stood amongst photographs taken by young Coloureds with whom I did my research. She wondered aloud during the final photo exhibit I helped arrange "Were these (African) women in love with the (European) men to whom they were betrothed?" she queried. Whitney revealed to me how she probed her mother to find out whether her own (African) granny loved the (White) man she was with, or was she simply given as a "gift" which added to the Coloured-nation. Whitney confided that her "mum" answered in favor of love. Nevertheless, the young scholar continued her inquiry with skepticism, suspecting her mother's anachronism because of the historical and present treatment and view of women amongst both European and African societies.

With this in mind, if we again scrutinize each of the contributing ethnicities we will see a definite pattern within each group, African, Asian, and European. Each specific group shared one commonality, a patriarchal system in which the father and his family assumed responsibility for the child. This was the case with Hindu, Tamil, and Islamic Indians from the Asian subcontinent

and Mauritius (Tambiah et al. 1989:419), the Nguni people of southern Africa, including the Zulu, Swazi, and Xhosa (Dlamini 2005), and the Europeans, mainly British and Dutch. Unfortunately, for many bi- or tri-cultural children, the paternal responsibility was sometimes shirked for various reasons or the father was disowned by his family for his miscegenation. Peer into any community roll-book of KZN Coloureds and you will find Dutch, Indian, and English surnames. At the beginning of the colonial project a shortage of European women in the Cape colony, where the Coloured race is said to have begun, unions between Dutch men and slave women were seen as necessary for not only the health of the men and the settlement but also to “man” the outpost since there were too few Dutch to compete with the indigenes and slaves. It is no wonder the authorities sanctified such interethnic marriages (Frederickson 1985:112,127-128). However, one of the main reasons to take on a non-White wife, according to Frederickson, was as “a pragmatic device to establish hegemony over the indigenous populations” (Frederickson 1985:110). White women, on the other hand were often scorned from taking on husbands of another race because if they did they were adopted into the respective culture and lost their Whiteness (Stoler 1997; Cape Slavery heritage project).

The fact that women, regardless of color, were overlooked or controlled by men as status markers is a large part of the issue of Coloured preference of White *mancestors* over their African, or Indian female counterparts. Women were vessels to carry the man’s seed, the earth to be plowed. Women’s names did not live on. In most cases they did not inherit land. They left their families and joined their husband’s home. In the case of Nguni maidens once they married and the marital contract was agreed upon they were expected to provide the husband’s family clan with children and labor. This is part of the reason traditional Nguni tribesmen were expected to “pay” the bride’s family *ilobolo* (usually in cattle) because once she left her father’s home there was one less person

to till the fields, cook, and maintain the homestead. The cattle were supposed to be another means of support (Dlamini 2005:35). Most importantly, the fertility and aspects of motherhood of a new bride were emphasized (Harrison 2001:312, 316).

The birth of a child of mixed heritage became more complex based on White supremacist ideas of purity. However, it is important to note that these ideals of purity were not static throughout the history of South Africa, but the rules became dogmatic during Apartheid beginning in 1948. If the father was dedicated to his non-White wife she sometimes stayed with him but during Apartheid the couple would not be able to be seen in public together, ride the bus or train, and eventually they were not even allowed to live together as a result of The Group Areas Act (1960). Likewise, the parents would not be able to be seen with a child that did not match the complexion of the parent. South African comedian Trevor Noah makes light of such inane rules and spends the first part of his *Daywalker* (2009) show describing how his Xhosa family living in Soweto dealt with him as a child of mixed-race in the 1980s – one of the most violent times in South Africa. In the debut recording of the young comedian, Noah explains how his mother told everyone he was an albino to hide the fact that she had relations with a Swiss man. He goes on to describe their meeting:

My mother is a South African woman, Black, and my father is Swiss ... so they got together during this time, which was against the law. But they didn't care, they were mavericks. My mom was like: 'Wooo! I don't care, I want a White man. Wooo!' She was crazy. And my dad was, well you know how the Swiss love their chocolate ...

Later on Trevor describes how anytime he and his mother walked down the street if a White police man came about she would quickly release his hand and pretend like he didn't belong to her. While his comedic flair gains laughs, hearing similar stories from interviewees brought great sadness as they reminisced over lost relatives and broken families. An ethnically Zulu primary

school teacher from KZN south coast confided during an interview that her father was separated from his sister because of The Group Areas Act. Because the sister was classified as Coloured and her father Zulu they were not supposed to live together. “When my dad got sick he tried to find his sister through a program called *kumbule khaya* (remembering family) which helped relocate relatives.” She told me, “my father looked Indian and Black to me, I could see he’s not pure and I could see it affected him, so he drank.”

Often times the White man that transgressed was disowned by his White family so they lived in isolation. Mr. Jacobs, a fit elder of 80 years revealed that he was the product of a Black woman and a White man. I spoke to him and his wife in their home in a small dusty town. I had just been told by Mrs. Jacobs who was originally from Harding how wonderful life was before Apartheid. She recounted how they had White neighbors, Indians, and Blacks.

Mrs. Jacobs: If we were naughty Mrs. Kruger (an Afrikaans woman) would smack us on our butt

FTP: Mr. Jacobs was your experience the same?

Mr. Jacobs: *Not really*, not really it was a very small town in those days a very small town. My dad being White and my mom being Black we it, it wasn’t a very good growing up. It was ...

Mrs. Jacobs: Your dad couldn’t take you to places he *wanted to*

Mr. Jacobs: *Well I mean* from forty-eight on. We couldn’t go with dad and mom to the cinema or go to the beach or anything together. And my dad, we were very poor very, very poor. My dad worked as a single White man he wouldn’t disclose that he was married to a Black woman so he earned very little.

Mrs Jacobs: He would have lost his job...

Mr. Jacobs: We would never go to the beach or go to bioscope (movies) with my mom and dad. Even the post office and things, it was non-Whites and Whites. Coloureds were mixed with the Blacks and Indians. Whoever was non-White you had your own cubicle where you had to go collect your post or buy your stamps.

Sometimes we'd be in the cue and my dad going to get his (laugh) his post or stamps and he's that side (laughter) (Mr. and Mrs. Jacobs interview, July 2, 2008)

When the couple got married, Mr. Jacobs' White-family disowned his father. After 1994 though, his paternal family welcomed him. When I asked if he had any connection with his Zulu family he responded "No," with no further explanation.

Mr. Jacobs' story is typical during Apartheid, but equally common White men had illicit affairs with non-White women. If the woman became pregnant he would abandon the woman and the children would become illegitimate. Sometimes women would resort to infanticide. Other times the child was given up for adoption (usually to an orphanage or a Coloured family where the child would blend in) as was the case with Prudence, a spunky woman in her 60s. Prudence manages a farm 20 minutes' drive from her home in the same town as the Jacobs. Prudence was also the product of White/Black relations; specifically Zulu and Italian. Unfortunately, her parents did not stay together and she was put up for adoption. Prudence grew up in a convent into an angry young woman and was later placed with a Coloured family whom she felt mistreated her. According to Prudence being "mixed" makes one confused and angry. In our conversation in her home she wondered if her own marriage to an Indian man was reason for her own son's alcoholism and dysfunction. Instead of caring for his only "legitimate" child he fathered with his ex-wife, Prudence lamented his choice to run the streets imbibing alcohol and produce illegitimate children with the local African women. It is for her only son's first child that Prudence lives her life because in her words "I understand what it is to not be loved."

A Crack in the "RAINBOW NATION"

South Africa's geographic location and Mediterranean-like climate made it a promised land to many settlers – African, Asian, and European. As I have illustrated, this influx of people resulted in many unions, both legal and illegal, that brought about new types of people who would

eventually be classified as “Coloureds.” Despite the cultural and racial mixing South Africa remained one of a few nations within the African continent to remain shackled beneath a settler ruling population well into the second half of the 20th century despite the majority of their continental brothers and sisters having broken their colonial yokes. With the release of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (aka Madiba) and his presidency in the early 1990s a new era in the nation’s history and social life began. South Africa was deemed a “Rainbow Nation.” Afrikaans (the Dutch derived language) was replaced with English (the more international, power laden language), a new flag was revealed (an amalgamation of the ANC party flag and the old South African flag), people were granted social, economic, and political freedoms, and *Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika* (God Bless Africa) the national anthem incorporated five of the twelve official languages. With this said I observed many people remained loyal to their assigned spaces and classifications. Additionally, many steadfastly held on to racial stereotypes despite almost 20 years of fully inclusive democracy.

Pumla Gqola (2001) notes that when Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu first spoke of South Africa as the Rainbow Nation and its citizens as the “rainbow children of God,” he was not denying difference. Rather Tutu was attempting to use the analogy to foreground his belief in the ability of all South Africans to co-exist in spite of and because of difference. With the end of Apartheid and the new democratic dispensation this was a possibility for the first time. Gqola says “as this label was thrust into the mainstream discourse of new South Africanese, it took a somewhat less progressive turn” (Gqola 2001:98). “Rainbowism,” as she calls it, became an authorizing narrative which assisted in denying difference and promoting South Africa on the international stage.

Dlamini (2005) suggests that the power of the rainbow metaphor is biblical in that it invokes a period of safety that occurred after the great flood. Thus it became a “symbol of reconciliation.” Both Gqola and Dlamini agree that the colors of the rainbow are used to invoke

the racial and cultural diversity of the nation, but where Gqola sees the metaphor as restricting any constructive discussion thereof, Dlamini leans towards a positivity that expresses the interconnectedness of people from different traditions. Each color represented in the rainbow is static and stratified in its place despite the period of great change during the introduction of the metaphor (Dlamini 2005:1). For Gqola race is highlighted for its own sake and the overlay remains unexplored (99). Some scholars have worried that the analogy is a dangerous one because rainbows are temporary illusions (Møller 1999:274). Like rainbows however, identities are sometimes fleeting and their color lines blur like the illusionary groupings and boundaries of race. Coloured people – who sometimes affectionately use the metaphor to directly represent them based on the breadth of human variation within the group – often neglect a very real part of belonging to a multicultural nation, that of cooperation and conflict amongst the *Other*. The following extended examples illustrate the complexity of South Africa's status as a multicultural nation. The instances depicted rupture this rainbow.

The Woods

October 17th, 2010, Stahlman and I arrived in Umlalazi municipality. Upon driving to the garage our lights shone upon the two tiny figures in the house, Skumbuzo and Lovie. As we parked the car the two children ran to hide under the table but not being able to control their joy began to giggle when I came through the door and then again when Joe entered. The two children are ages 5 and 3. Skumbuzo, the 5 year old, was born out of wedlock to the adopted Zulu daughter of the two adults of the house (Doris and Noah Woods). The 3 year old is Lovie. She is the youngest granddaughter of the Woods; born to Ntombi – a young Zulu girl who lived with the Woods for a few years for schooling. The connection between the two families (one Coloured, one Zulu) is a long story and recently, a sordid one.

What complicated the relationship between the families was that Ntombi and Angus (the Wood's son) developed an intimate relationship while sharing the home; he was 17, she was 15. The result was Lovie. Unfortunately, when the pregnancy was discovered the girl was whisked away to her home on the "location." Much rumor, misunderstanding, and hurt feelings resulted, and cultural mishaps continued for some time. In Zulu culture if a young woman falls pregnant before marriage, traditionally the one who "spoil" the girl or the family of the man must pay *inhlawulu*, a fine to appease the ancestors and confirm paternity (Kaufman 2001). According to Burns (1996) the fine was to "ensure the regulation of birth" (Burns 1996:81). The idea was not to punish the participants but to teach a lesson and in all cases in the past, according to Burns, marriage was the most sought after option. Kaufman reported that *inhlawulu* can act as a "down-payment" for *ilobolo* (loosely translated as bride-price). Likewise, *inhlawulu* is meant to reimburse the girl's family for a loss in the amount of *ilobolo* they can ask for her future marriage if the father of the child does not plan to marry the young lady. The typical fine is two cows and a goat – or as I learned from Doris 10 thousand Rand (the equivalent of US\$1,500).

Both Doris and Noah Woods have complained about the demand for several reasons: the Woods were adamant that the aforementioned practices are not their culture, "nor will they be now" (Woods 2010: personal communication). Mr. Woods, raised in a well-off Anglicized, Coloured family, often expressed his distaste for many aspects of contemporary Zulu culture. Some would say he is a "typical" Coloured man. He was a well-respected steelworker (a trade typically associated with Coloured men), worked hard during the weekdays, and partied hard on the weekends (another trait associated with Coloureds). His mother could have been a South African tennis champion in the 1960s had she been White. Instead she was prohibited from competing internationally because of Apartheid race rules. Being from an upscale Coloured family, Noah

Wood grew up as a privileged only child in a segregated Coloured area of the medium sized city, uGungudlovo. He had little to no connection with Zulu people until he moved to the more rural Umlalazi with his wife. Based on his interview, it is doubtful that he has any African ancestry since his ancestors hailed from the islands of St. Helena, the Seychelles and Great Britain. During one of our many kitchen conversations Mr. Woods revealed that he staunchly disagrees with the inhlawulu because Ntombi lived with them for four years without any monetary compensation or other help from her family. In this sense why should they pay now? He admits “I am very colonial” and often stressed his lack of concern for Zulu traditions. In another informal conversation, he decried the fact that such traditions remain and critiqued that Zulu customs as keeping the people back. In his mind “These are different times and they (the Zulu) cannot live by the same traditions as they did 300 years ago” (Mr. Woods 2010: personal communication). The sentiment that Zulu life was anachronistic was shared in other instances concerning Zulu customs and practices. Such sentiments disregarded a large portion of the population that had adopted Christianity, were monogamous, educated in Western schools, and urban.

Doris and Noah met when they were teenagers. They had one daughter who they enrolled into an integrated Catholic school instead of the public Coloured school closer to home. They were very much a part of White society – being prominent business owners and members of the local golf club. Doris participated in fitness classes while Noah played golf and lounged at the bar. But they were also dedicated to their own people. Their home, in the Coloured areas, was always open and Doris worked for social equity. Alongside her father, Doris advocated for better schooling for Coloureds under the Apartheid regime, and she was instrumental in the successes of a number of the younger Coloureds – sometimes at the detriment of her own family. When the couple was in their 30s they had three sons. Around the same time, Doris transitioned from fulltime hair dresser

to fulltime activist. Today she heads a Community Based Organization (CBO) that caters to Zulu communities. Long gone are the days where Doris washes and sets White ladies' coifs. The CBO manages over 40 separate and distinct projects, ranging from water purification, recycling, and HIV/AIDS homecare to Buddhist meditation and empowerment sessions that she translates into isiZulu. The Woods' boys were raised in this open environment – often surrounded by transitioning young adults of all colors who stayed with the family while volunteering. In this sense, their house was representative of Tutu's rainbow metaphor. However, despite being deeply part of the local communities, working with rural people for education, environmental, and spiritual equity, Doris claims no connection to the Zulu tradition. As a convert to Buddhism, she disagrees that a cow should be slaughtered for the "infraction" since in her words "it had nothing to do with it."

Coloured with a Pedigree

Doris is a descendant of John Dunn. He was many things to many people, but he is best known for the title of being the first "White Zulu Chief." Although there are others whose descendants would claim this title for their patriarch, one thing is certain: John Dunn was the progenitor of many children who would later be labeled "Coloured." Ballard (1986) claims John Dunn was the first person of European descent to be born in the English territory of Natal (now KZN) in 1834. Dunn earned the friendship of the Zulu prince at the time, Cetshwayo (Shaka Zulu's nephew) for being brave, well-built, and speaking fluent isiZulu. He also provided the king with guns and trained some of the Zulu warriors in sharp shooting. In this way, John Dunn became an invaluable part of the burgeoning Zulu kingdom, procuring European goods, and giving valuable advice to Cetshwayo. As a result Dunn was offered many brides by prominent Zulu men in order to establish political and economic ties between the two nations. The count runs anywhere from forty-seven to one-hundred-one African brides taken by Dunn. The true number may never be

known but two things are known: one, despite being an *umlungu* (White) Dunn partook in many Zulu customs. The most well-known amongst non-Zulus is *ilobolo* – loosely translated as bride-price but more precisely an assurance and bonding of the two separate families, redistribution of wealth, as well as social control and the construction of social identity (Tambiah et al. 1989:415; Ansell, 2001:698; Posel et al. 2011:106). He solidified these unions for each and every wife he took (Ballard 1980; 1985). Customarily, *ilobolo* was paid for in cattle, skins, blankets, and other agricultural or homestead items desired by the bride's family (Ansell 2001:699; Harrison 2001:312). Today it can be paid in vehicles, name brand clothes, and/or just plain cash money; the practice has definitely changed with the times and it may be for best because an urban Zulu family would have difficulty fitting up to ten cattle in their small yard. A concern arising from the coming of European descendants is the commoditization/ commercialization of the practice for cash (Ansell 2001:699). Many Nguni people realize there are problems with the custom and express concern that the high cost makes marriage prohibitive (Walker 1992:57; Posel et al. 2011:105, 107), hence a growing number of unwed mothers. Though, not born a Zulu he nevertheless respected their traditions and accepted them wholeheartedly. In this way John Dunn concretized his place amongst the Zulu. After his death in 1895, Dunn left land to each of his 120 plus children on the territory reserved for him by his friend Cetshwayo (who had become king).

Examples of forgoing past traditions for modern ones

It is on this land that Doris Botha Woods, her siblings and their mother (one of John Dunn's many granddaughters) grew up. Doris takes pride in her heritage and she has passed this knowledge to her children. Judging from the interviews, her offspring all know the stories of their maternal line but little about the Wood's paternal line. Though Doris knows that her great-grandfather greatly respected Zulu customs, beyond bride price, Doris is adamant that her son, Angus, will not

partake. Angus' views differ greatly from his parents because he grew-up in a fully integrated community. He revealed to me that he wants to adhere to Zulu custom and pay the fines to be "respected as a man." This revolution in ideas about mixing with Blacks and adhering to cultural traditions represents a generational shift in Coloureds being raised in what my second informant calls a "free and open society" (Petunia Fynn January 18, 2010: interview).

Petunia Fynn is the daughter of a former Zulu chief. I had the privilege of interviewing her and two of her sisters in the home of their mother in a formerly Coloured suburb of in northern Durban. I was told by a self-identifying Coloured woman, working at the American embassy, that Greenwood Park neighborhood was designated for the upper echelon of the Coloured group.³³ Much to the dismay of some the older residents, such as Fynn's sisters, this neighborhood has been inundated by upwardly mobile Blacks, thus creating greater resource competition for schools, clinics, and other social services.

Petunia is a handsome Coloured woman of 55 years of age. Her hair is stylishly cut short so as the top is a bit longer than the rest which is cropped close to her scalp. It is grayish-white in color and appears to be straightened. She has light skin, the color of tea with milk, the favorite drink of many South Africans thanks to the British influence. Petunia has a commanding presence partly based on strong build and the confidence she exudes from her speech. Some would say she

³³ This particular neighborhood bordered both a White area and an Indian neighborhood. Daniel Shensul's 2009 study of Durban shows how the Apartheid model city plan followed a series of concentric circles; of which the most economically viable racial group was situated in the center, with the outer rings reserved for those that were seen as lower on the racial scheme (3). Coloureds and Indians were often seen as population buffers between Blacks and Whites. Despite the end of Apartheid, parts of the city remain segregated creating what Shensul calls "spatial hierarchies" where some neighborhoods are closed to Blacks (14).

has moxie. Petunia welcomed me into her mother's home which sat on a hill in this suburb just off Queen Nandi highway. I would learn that the area was once known for gangsterism.

Petunia and her sisters are not from Durban originally. They grew up in the area now known as the south coast in KZN province; the land formerly governed and administered by their father, Percy Fynn. He too was Coloured and they can trace their family tree "to the very root," in this case back to the 1820 settlers and Henry Francis Fynn, a pioneering Englishman who was part of the entourage to meet the infamous Shaka Zulu. The ladies scarcely mention the Zulu women Fynn married, and so their knowledge is Eurocentric, and somewhat male centric. They blame this on Apartheid legislation and the dehumanization of Black people.

The family lost the chieftainship after Percy's death in 1960. This is also around the time that Group Areas Act was instituted and segregation became official. Their uncle, Morris Fynn, has been on a decades' long crusade to regain the chieftainship and claims to the family land.³⁴ When I asked Morris if he considered himself indigenous he answered "Of course, I know no other country, why must I identify based on color?" "My mother had Nguni blood just like my father had Nguni blood!" (Morris Fynn interview, July 20, 2011). This is the same blood that flows through Petunia's veins. The struggle of the Fynns has been long and has not yet seen any resolution. Not many people outside South Africa know about Morris Fynn and his progeny, nor are they aware that these people have been in a deadlock with the government in attempts to define

³⁴ Part of Fynn's fight is based on Amerindian experiences of activism and his own struggles against oppressive regimes. "Indigenous peoples are often defined as the original peoples of the land who lost their land and were displaced and marginalized by colonizers or by a group of people who arrived at some later date...given the extensive and complicated history of human migration in many part of Africa, being the "first peoples in a land" is not a necessary pre-condition for acceptance as an indigenous people. Rather, indigenous identity relates more to a set of characteristics and practices than priority of arrival" (Kipuri 2009:54).

their place in the New South Africa. Despite a lack of recognition and numerous setbacks Petunia Fynn and her family continue to struggle to maintain their precarious identity in a world in which they say they are “not White enough and now are not Black enough.” While both Morris and Petunia agree that they belong to the human race and cite the Bible as their point of reference, unlike Morris, Petunia and her sisters acknowledge that they are part of two cultures but seem to reject the African in favor of the European. This is apparent in this excerpt from my interview with Petunia.

Petunia tells me “We are living in an era where children are mixing and mingling whether it be from school and-so-forth and they don’t see the way that we saw” She confides that although she would like to have a “Coloured daughter-in-law” one of her five sons tell her “Ma’ you must expect whatever. I could have a Black wife, I could have a Chinese’ (the smile comes through her voice as she speaks)...”so I have to pray fervently” (she laughs). I ask her preference to ensure an accurate assessment of her beliefs. She answers:

I prefer a Coloured girl because of...us having this...culture...where we raise our children with certain values and certain morals. ...I mean with the Coloured, I’d say that our...heritage really that we have is actually religion, where we are taught about God, and where you find that you go to church...and to respect God and to respect other people.

In listening to Petunia’s words it seems she is saying that Black people do not respect God or other people. She continues:

Now this is what I often warn` my boys about, when it comes to the Blacks. Yes we come from them but you find that they have a culture that is very binding. You find that should you...think when you meet your young lady she’s beautiful, she’s...intelligent, she’s in a good job...it doesn’t end there. You fall-in-love-with her and what happens? You-you’re going to get in that relationship but her relationship ties her to her parents and her forefathers and whatever’ their customs-is you find the moment you’re ready to marry that girl-there’s-certain things-that-you’ve-got-to-come and hear from the elders and their culture and that, and it never ends.

The sisters vocalize in agreement in the background with a long drawn out Mmmmm.

Until you die you will be paying when it comes to them. Unless that Black person you choose that well I'm not going to follow that culture of my people. I am marrying you, we are husband and wife and whatever happens, it happens between us. And then you find that that you both probably have a free life.

Petunia invokes a nephew as an example to solidify her point. The nephew had relations with what Petunia classifies as a "Black girl." The two had one child together and were expecting another. According to Petunia the Black girl's family said to her that "we need this boy to come forward and start paying for you know the children..." She goes on to say that the family tells the young lady that their reasons for requesting payment is because of all the investment they put into her. According Petunia, her nephew,

Of course just nicely said-he's not-interested-in-all-that'. He says she knew' I'm a Colored-she fell in love' with me-we don't have-that's not our culture to do things that you do. And as far as I'm concerned my responsibility is to her and if I marry her she's gonna be my wife I'll look after my children and provide for my children. Why should I be paying yol and doing things?

She giggles at the end. Since this is not the first time I have heard this scenario I ask Petunia, "For damages right?" She answers matter-of-factly, "That kind of thing." To be sure I ask another question, "So he is not married to the woman right now?" Petunia confirms, "No!" She goes on to tell me that by her nephew's logic they fell in love with each other, "I have my culture and my culture is not like yours and I'm not binding her to my culture saying that you have to do these things."

However, that Petunia's nephew is unwilling to respect this aspect of Zulu culture means that he is in fact binding the woman and her family to his beliefs. His refusal means he is disregarding their traditions and the social corrections that are being administered. Just as the

nephew said that this woman fell in love with a Coloured, he also fell in love with a Zulu and ideally the two should come to a compromise that speaks to the New South Africa.

Petunia, like her counterpart Doris grew up during Apartheid. Like Doris, she comes from what some Coloured people have called a “pedigreed half-breed” based on links to White chiefs. In theory these women can act as harbingers of cultural acceptance based on their knowledge of the past and the new openness of South Africa. However, their lived experiences and the oppressive system under which they were raised continue to affect the manner in which they accept and reject people and their customs. Both women have experienced cultural clashes that they deem are not part of their heritage. Both women can trace their lineage to White men who not only respected Zulu law and customs but also were chiefs. In this sense the fines that are sought for the transgressions of the younger generation are the responsibility of these Coloured matriarchs.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have attempted to give a brief history of race relations in South Africa, how the division of people created tension amongst “mixed-race” people and how politicians have attempted to harness and mobilize certain groups over others in order to meet their own purposes. I attempted to show another aspect of Coloured life in KZN that goes beyond the Western Cape and beyond the people’s sometimes racist tendencies and speech. Some may find that I give Coloured people too much credit, that in reality they do not consider themselves Black and feel no affiliation with indigenous Africans. Some who are familiar with this group of people may feel that I have misrepresented Coloureds and portrayed them in too positive a light. While this may seem to be the case my examples are set to show that Coloureds are a deeply conflicted people because of a troubled history and policies of oppression and division. This will come through in other chapters where I go into greater detail involving particular families and the relationships they

have amongst themselves and with others. Additionally, because this research involved how people become Coloured based on informal education the following chapters will examine intergenerational interactions that inform a new generation of Coloured people as well as racialization by institutions.

CHAPTER 5: YOUTH PERSPECTIVES

A South Durban neighborhood

The first group of youth I worked with came from the two schools in the area, five were from eThekweni Secondary, three from Park East High School and one attended ABET – an alternative matriculation program for teens and adults. All nine of the participants were young women between the ages of 16 and 17. They all identified as Coloured. Each manifested the variety of sanguine relations and heterogeneous genetic makeup of Coloureds through their diverse appearances. Jean Choudree, a contact through the United States Fulbright liaison, helped with recruitment. The one ABET student, Natasha, had recently moved from Johannesburg to live with her grandparents and cousins. Natasha's cousin, Diane, was a friend of mine and suggested Natasha for the project. Diane believed it would be good for her younger teenage cousin to be involved with the project because the transition and upheaval of the new circumstances challenged her to stay motivated and positive. Natasha had recently lost her mother due to illness. Overcome by sadness, her family worried for her. After meeting Natasha and her grandparents, we all decided participating in the project would help her meet people in a productive, safe environment.

The first meeting with the recruits took place in eThekweni high school. The Afrikaans teacher, Mr. Harry Potter, volunteered his classroom as a space for the first month. The first topic consisted of introductions and descriptions of the project. Many of the students from eThekweni had Mr. Potter as a homeroom teacher, which made them more outgoing and comfortable. The girls from Park East High School, Natasha included, were more reserved. After preliminary introductions, I handed out information/permission sheets for everyone to give to their elders to read over and sign. Since they were all under 18, I had to ensure their safety. Communicating

intentions was essential. Along with general information about the project, I included an invitation to a question/answer session for the parents to attend, meet me, and ask questions.

This parent recruitment meeting proved important in the early stages of fieldwork. Getting to know the parents, interviewing them in their homes, and spending time in the neighborhood afforded them an opportunity to open-up and discuss issues that were on their minds. Their willingness to open their homes and give me access to their children signaled their approval of the work. As a result, they were always ready to help and their commitment to the project fostered a buy-in from their children.

Meetings

Meetings took place after school. For the first two months, we met on school grounds in one of the classrooms. Towards the third month, the classroom was not always open so we eventually moved our meetings to alternate between the local community center/library and Women of Wentworth (WOW), a local non-profit for women and children. As this was the first group to participate in PEP, we held weekly meetings. About a month went by before dispensing the cameras. During this time, we discussed various themes and I distributed journals for the young ladies to write responses to prompts, collect photographs, and journal ideas about images we showed.

One of the first activities we did to familiarize ourselves with the area and to have the participants think about their geographic and social space, I asked everyone to describe their neighborhood. Their descriptions addressed the hopes and despairs of the community.

Wentworth is a place to be. There are many talented people living here that can sing, act, dance, etc. People in Wentworth are creative and very unique. It is a populated community that has all different types of religions and cultures. We have lots of churches, both Anglican and Catholic. We have one Mosque. Every community has ups-and-downs just like mine. It saddens me to see many youngsters on drugs and alcohol. Anyway Wentworth youth are creative, the[y]

draw graffiti on the walls which is illegal but really posh. Many of the young boys in this community are rival enemies based on the section you come from.

One common thread running through each description was the unity and diversity of people and dynamism in the face of multiple challenges.

Wentworth is a place that has and still is a changing over the years. Wentworth is actually better than how it use[d] to be in the past. It was very dangerous because of all the rivalry between certain sections as in areas, where the men were at war with each other. We have a small community and people are not endangered like how they used to be.

We have beautiful sight sees in certain areas. We treat our neighbours as family, we have basic shops and centres just like any other little town. People stand together for what they believe in here in our community, and people have tried making changes and making the community a better place, but most of these have been accomplished. Wentworth is not a very rich area but we do have access to clinics and hospitals, schools, parks, and a bit of recreation facilities. We have police stations, libraries and plenty more to see.

Tatum age 16

The students also highlighted the beauty of the neighborhood. In particular, Marcie expressed the positive aspects of having a diverse group of people living in one space.

Majority of Wentworth is made up of Coloured people and we've become a family. Yes people are still racist but that's just a minority of us. These people that are not Coloured actually show us or remind us where we come from. That is a mixture of Black, Indian, White, etc. without them would we remember where and how we became Coloured?

Being part of a Coloured community reminds me why we have become a family. The people you find in Wentworth, you won't find anywhere else. We are a community that welcomes other people, we also stand together as one. Being in a community where we have a variety of people is something different from what people are used to seeing.

Basically to me Wentworth is a place where anybody can feel like they fit in. Yes we have problems like any other community would have, but somehow, but somehow we make Wentworth what it is. With our different people, religions and beliefs we make our community a home.

One activity I brought over from my social studies teaching days was drawing maps. I asked participants to draw a map of their neighborhood showing important places they frequented. Most of the maps contained the same places: school, home, and church. I asked the students to do maps for “homework.” Each map reflected the personality of the creator. I asked everyone to exchange maps and think about how they compared to the ones they created. Some were detailed others were streamlined. Some were in color other were black and white done with pencil. We then discussed how these maps were like photographs and how each map was truly a snapshot of their reality. In this way, the young ladies began to see the images that they would create as maps to their community.

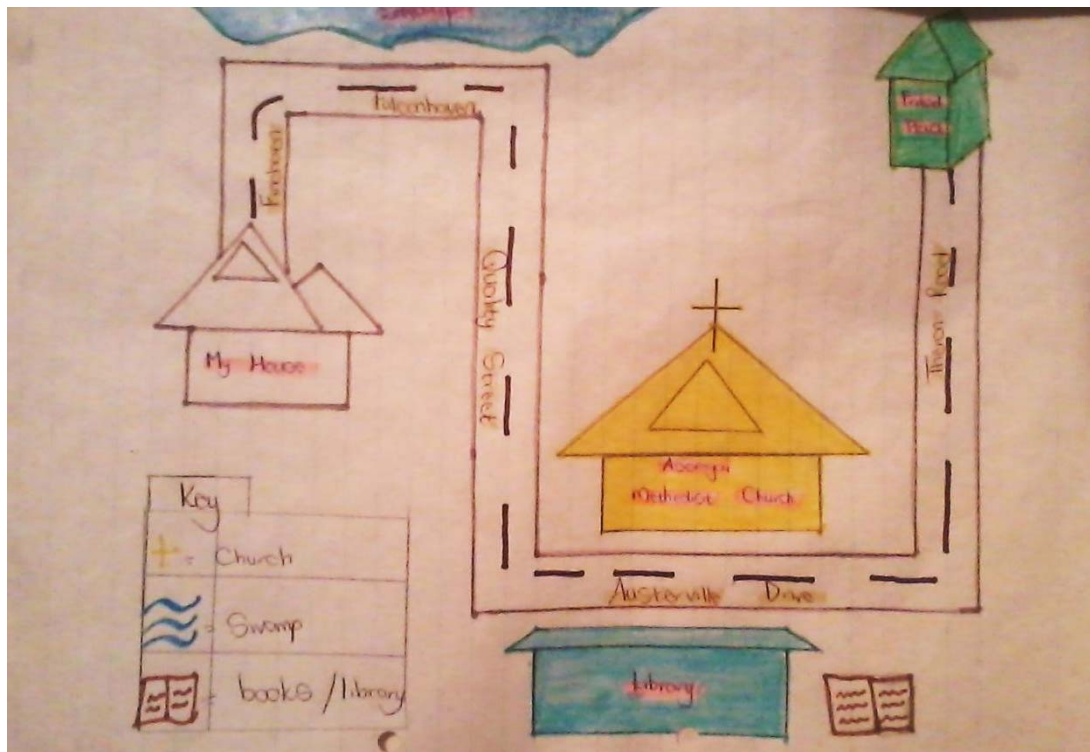


Figure 17: PEP participant map of Wentworth 2011

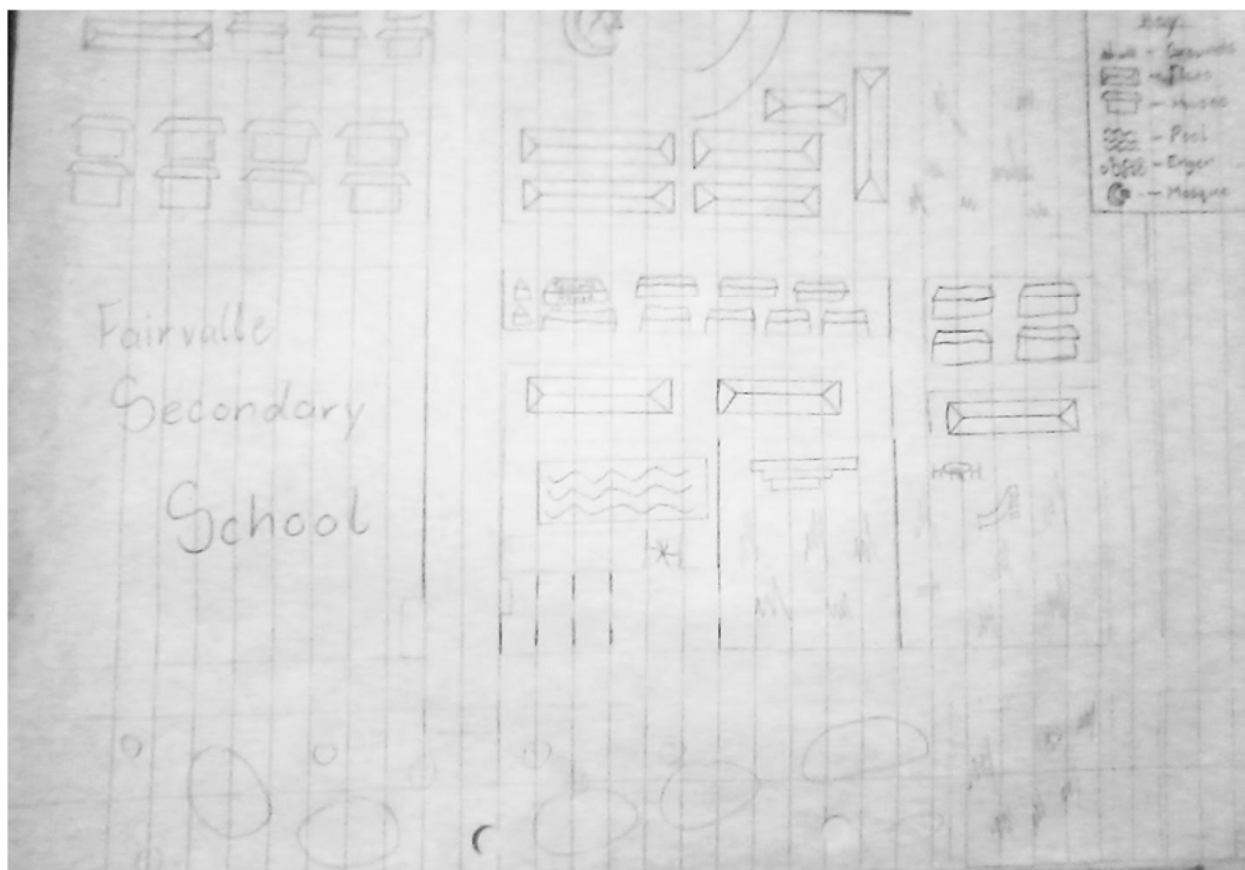


Figure 18: PEP participant map of Wentworth 2011

After discussing the principles of photography, we looked at images taken from Cedric Nunn who had photographed in Wentworth.



Figure 19: Football in the shadows of industry photo by Cedric Nunn. 1980s

Everyone knew this scene. They often walked passed boys playing soccer in the field with big industry as a backdrop. This well-known image of their neighborhood prompted discussion about the absence of color, framing and the reason he took it. The students, all girls, remarked how

similar it was to what they see every day. Somehow, Nunn's portrayal of this ordinary scene made it special.

I also showed them a photo of my great grandmother, Nunn took. The image became the catalyst to tell them about my South Africa connection. The image represented my tangible connection to KZN and the participants. They recognized me as committed to them and made me seem more familiar. One of the reasons many of the youth were so involved in the project was because they wanted to dispel the stereotypes about their communities. In other cases activities available to occupy young minds and bodies were lacking. Participating in PEP gave them a chance to feel important because adults were listening to their opinions and thoughts without the pressure of grades.

Everything we asked of them was strictly voluntary, so when students had time they were involved. At times students were busy with other extracurricular activities, which ranged from karate classes to engineering club to taking care of the home. That they were able to come and go allowed their continued participation. When only half the group showed up we would do activities and discuss with those present. The next time we were able to meet with the entire group those that were present before were given the responsibility to catch the rest of the group up. For instance, when we first distributed the cameras only half the group was present, so we taught them the first day and the next time everyone was together those that were there the first day taught the others what they had learned. In this way, they began to learn from each other and take on greater ownership for the project.

Since all the students self-identified as Coloured they wanted to show their reality of what being Coloured meant. Repeatedly, conversations with the students and their families showed positivity and hope for the future despite living with the realities of racism, stereotyping, poverty

and pollution. In their photographs the youth wanted to capture positive things in their communities so that they could share them with other people who are not familiar with their lives. They wanted everyone to view their communities in the same positive light they viewed Wentworth.

After reflecting on the questions, we asked the young photographers to take pictures revolving around the same themes. Being young and technologically savvy they would sometimes return with hundreds of photos. The majority of images were of the students and their friends hanging out and posing. However, they always managed to capture images that spoke to the themes we were exploring. Whatever images they captured every picture told a story about friendships, lifestyle, hardships, joys, and pains.



Figure 20: The Kids by Marcie Marais age 16

This is the future, the ones that might lead us and make a difference in the world. We never know what or how they would turn out to be, but they can always prove us wrong.



Figure 21: Untitled by Natasha Jasson age17

These are some of my classmates in ABET. We call the lady in the white [lower right corner] “Mouth” because she’s always talking and wants to go out for a smoke break. I found it interesting taking this picture because they were all like “Hey, no you can’t take it” and “we don’t want people seeing us old people still going to school.” It also shows no matter your age nothing can ever stop you from getting an education.

Both photos and descriptions show hope in the face of challenges. Chosen as favorites by the photographers, the two photos told similar stories. Both were chosen to be part of the community exhibit. The group liked the way the little boy in the center of the previous image was using his finger as if it were a gun, which showed the negative influences young children in Wentworth face. Marcie's description puts a twist on the image, however. By stating, "This is the future, the ones that might lead us and make a difference in the world," Marcie captures the belief that the future is in the hands of the youth. "We never know what or how they would turn out to be..." relates an ambiguity of a future growing up in a neighborhood ripe with gangsterism, pollution and marginalization. The boy's raised finger suggests the negative influences juxtaposed his playmate in pink sucking her thumb suggesting innocence. That Marcie makes the statement, "...but they can always prove us wrong" suggests multiple paths. That she uses the pronoun "they" takes the onus of the boy in blue and places uncertainty upon each of the youngsters.

Natasha's photo on the other hand, tells a story of hope. That these are her classmates finishing a high school equivalency course shows a spirit of determination. Natasha quotes one of her friends saying, "we don't want people seeing us old people still going to school" brings a realization that many might judge them for having not finished school when they were younger. However, Natasha's optimism shines through when she says "It also shows no matter your age nothing can ever stop you from getting an education." Both the image and description show closeness between the photographer and the subjects. Natasha's choice of picture also shows that education is valued by her and her friends.

EXHIBITS and REFLECTIONS

One of the main objectives of PEP was to give the participants an opportunity to show their view of Wentworth and Coloured people. It also gave them an opportunity to show the skills they

learned. In order to do this we had to come up with a way to go through sometimes hundreds of photos per student. A month before the show I sat with each student and had them pick out their favorites and give a brief explanation as to why they liked it. I met all but one student at the local library. Natasha had conflicts on the day we were meeting so I brought my little laptop to her home. We sat on her bed while she told me her favorites. After meeting with each photographer individually we met formally as a group one last time. The meeting was held at WOW. As everyone sat in a circle on the floor, Joe and I propped up his larger laptop on a chair and we went through each girl's favorite. The process took about two hours as photos were shown, hands raised and votes tallied. The students chose forty photos to be printed out and exhibited.

The next issue of business was finding a space. We approached the grandmother of one of the eThekwini students, who worked as a caretaker in one of the local homes for the aged. The facility had a large hall with chairs and tables. Also because of its central location everyone was familiar with it and had easy access. It was within walking distance of most people's homes. We also chose the facility because we hoped some of the elderly residents would come down to mingle and see the work of the youth. After getting permission to use the facility, establish a date and time, fliers were made and distributed around the community.

It was a Wednesday evening in May. Autumn was upon us and the evenings were getting colder and wetter. The weather made me very nervous because I feared the rain would prevent people from coming. We ran our errands and I tried to occupy my mind with other things. Joe and I went to the local mega store, Makro, now a subsidiary of Walmart, to purchase snacks for the opening. Since the woman that was supposed to help us backed out to attend her best friend's funeral, we were forced to seek other help. We went to Diane's Auntie Lizzie for help. We needed

to borrow her oven to bake the premade samosas and meat rolls and use her kitchen to cut up fruit. Joe volunteered to stay back with the family while I went to set up the space.

Earlier I asked some of the students to help with the set up. Marcie and Tatum volunteered. Because Marcie had the most gumption, I put her in charge of arranging the photos while Tatum and I hung them on the glass doors. Mr. Harry Potter arrived early with his son. Though he was not there to help, he assisted us with dividing the printed out descriptions. Years of ripping papers without scissors were put to good use. Just before the scheduled time, Joe and Natasha's family arrived with a ton of food and drink. Auntie Lizzy must have wanted the event to be as successful as we did because she decided to bake a couple of dozen scones with jelly for the event.

When putting up a show there is always anticipation. Wonder and doubt begin to creep in. Will people attend? What will they think of the photographs? Will it be successful? These are the sorts of questions that entered my mind each time a new exhibit was planned. But my anxieties were allayed when I saw the support of the community. Not only did parents of the participants attend but people from community visited. People who I interviewed and told about the exhibit attended, even some of my family members came. People ate, looked at the photos intently, talked about the images, and congratulated the young ladies on a job well done. The event brought the community together, so much so that two of the PEP participants found out that they were related. Natasha's grandfather, Phillip, was the uncle of another girl's father. The two had not seen each other in years, despite living less than a kilometer away. The two expressed great surprise and happiness at being reunited.

In general, the parents seemed to enjoy the show. All but one mother seemed to be enthusiastic about the photos. She did not know why there were no photos from their fishing trip presented. She was equally disappointed to see some of the photos depicting garbage or places of

rehabilitation. I informed her that we were trying to show people in Wentworth how these particular youth see their community and neighborhood. I explained that the vacation photos were not taken in Wentworth and in any case, the students were the ones that curated the exhibited. She reluctantly accepted this answer. Another of the mothers who responded “Interesting” in a slow lowered tone and then “Heeeyyyy” in an equally ambiguous tone when I asked what she thought of the photographs seemed to enjoy the pictures. I could tell from the smiles and laughter that emanated from her presence. Her husband Allen was unambiguous in his response. I approached him in front of one of the self-portraits. As he peered into the notebook size image he described what he saw. Things I had missed in my multiple viewings of this image.



Figure 22: Self-portrait by Michaela Ruiters age 16

To show that girls of Wentworth aren't Raw! We are book smart and strong.

Mr. Dunn pointed out the obvious items in the fore and background: the books, the dumbbell in the girl's hand, and the weights and calculator on her desk. He also noticed the awards and medals sitting in front of the mirror that reflected her partial image back to the camera lens. One thing he showed me that I missed was the mattress pushed up against the wall, behind the desk where the girl was sitting. The presence of that mattress, the bunk beds behind her and the lack of space between her seat and the beds meant to him that "Even in a cramped space we are strong and can achieve!" He was so excited by the photo and the way it represented the Coloured community full of tenacity and determination. The photo inspired him to relate his own struggles and his own steadfastness in the face of adversity within the new government.

At the final show we had in Central Durban an outsider viewing the same photo interpreted it in a very different way. Instead of focusing on all the items surrounding the young girl her attention was drawn to the armoire against the wall draped with a t-shirt reading "Destination Black!" When I approached the woman to get her opinion she analyzed the photo and immediately focused on the T-shirt's message. "Look they're all trying to be black!" She exclaimed. The woman, of British descent in her late 40s apparently missed the trophies and medals placed within view. She also missed the silhouette of a person doing a kick on the T-shirt and the black belt with white strip hanging beside it; all indicators that the young woman in the photograph was a martial artist. Instead, this White woman focused on the words and in so doing the mental dross of racial fear surfaced.

The photos amazed many because they showed new things and ways of viewing things often taken for granted. Michaela's mom, Helena, told me that she lived in Wentworth all her life but had never seen some of the places that were in these pictures. "I guess when you live in a place you just focus on the place that you live and where you go and nowhere else." In total about sixty

people attended the show. Both people from the community and people outside it attended. One outsider was Dr. Naidoo, a Rotarian I met when giving a talk at his club. During my visit to the Umhlatuzana Rotary Club, I mentioned the show. Graciously, he attended with his daughter and two British friends. The four complemented us on the show and the amazing images captured. They commented that the photos were “Thought provoking,” and “Open up so many discussion points and questions surrounding the community.” One of the British friends commented the images were “Stunning. It is wonderful to see ‘actual’ life in these pictures, not only from a photographer but from the people themselves!” Auspiciously enough, Dr. Naidoo’s daughter, Sayuri, happened to be a curator at a new gallery that opened in central Durban and it was later proposed the final show be exhibited there.

UMUZIWABANTU MUNICIPALITY: “It’s Hard in Harding, Eh?!”

It was June before we made our way to the next PEP location, an hour south and an hour inland from Durban. By that time winter set in in the southern hemisphere. Nights were cold but days were sunny. It was very dry. Unfortunately, the buildings were not equipped to withstand cold weather and frost so often it was much warmer outside than inside, unless you were near the fireplace.

Upon arriving in Harding, one of the first people I contacted was Pastor Roland from the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) church. Diane introduced me to Pastor Roland at a wedding we all attended over Easter. The two attended secondary school together. AFM was a multidenominational church that welcomed all people. Many of the Coloured folk attended his services along with local Zulu and Xhosa people. There were also a number of other African nationals in the congregation. Services were conducted in English while hymns were also sung in isiXhosa or isiZulu. AFM church ran a youth group, a good place to recruit. I visited the pastor at

his church to get the names of four teens to participate in the camera project. He agreed to round them up and have them meet with us during the designated time. He also offered us space to meet. Barbara also requested her niece, Izzy, be part of the project. I was reluctant at first because she was a couple of years younger than the other members and she lived out of town. In the end, however, we agreed to pick up Izzy and bring her home each time there was a meeting. The decision was made easier because we stayed on my grandparent's farm not far from her grandparents. It also afforded us time to spend with her family. To broaden my recruit pool I also contacted a teacher, Mrs. Carr, from the formerly Coloured school in town. Mrs. Carr's mother was a member of the same Umhlatuzana Rotary Club I attended in Durban. When her mother heard I was going to Harding she enthusiastically offered her daughter's contact information. We were both surprised that we each had connections in such a small, rural town. Mrs. Carr, she agreed to recruit a few students from her class.

At our introductory meeting, four of Pastor Roland's recruits came, and only two of Ms. Carr's volunteers showed. We had seven participants altogether. Izzy was the youngest at 14. The teens knew each other because they all went to the same school, some attended AFM, and others played on the same football team. Despite their familiarity, Izzy was visibly uncomfortable because she was not friends with any of the older youth. After introducing our project and gaging interest we sent the students home with permission slips to be signed by their parents. At the end, Izzy asked if her friend Patti could come. I told her we needed to meet Patti and get an okay from her parents. Izzy made arrangements and soon after Patti became a member of PEP. The parents in Harding were more challenging to reach. I had to meet and speak to everyone individually to explain the project and to answer any questions.

Meeting with the Harding group were very different from those in Wentworth. One difference was that we met four times a week. Since we were there during winter holidays the majority of students had nothing to do. Apparently when the opportunity arose for them to spend some time talking to some American researchers about their town, habits, family, and take pictures they jumped at the opportunity. Some were happy to get out of the house while others were excited for the opportunity to do something different.

This group consisted of five girls and three boys. When we finalized our members and had all students together, I requested the eight participants in PEP to describe their town, the same way I had done with the first group. They used words like “boring” and “dirty.” The majority of the descriptions were negative.

“Everyone knows everybody,” stated one boy.

“The bad thing about that is that everyone’s in your business,” followed Rene the daughter of one of the pastor’s assistants.

“Cuz if you do something everybody’s talking about it,” TyTy, a light skinned near six foot tall teenage girl answered in response to my question whether Rene’s comment was a good thing or a bad thing.

“They add their own spices,” continues Shanice, a pretty, brown-skinned teen.

When I ask about there being anything good in Harding, the space was filled with silence. So I continue my line of questioning, “What else about Harding?”

“There’s too many drunkards in this place,” TyTy blurts out as she shakes her head and laughs nervously. When I ask for clarification she responds, “There’s too many people that drink here”

Breylin, a young man of 17 counters TyTy with, “I describe it as just a friendly place.”

But while everyone awaits the answer of another young man called Leif, Breylin turns to his friend and says “It’s Hard in Harding eh?!” Everyone laughs and one person bemoans, “Awe!” in agreement.

After a few more comments, I ask whether Harding is a nice place to grow up. One of the girls, TyTy vigorously shakes her head. “Umm umm, umm umm!” she vocalizes while simultaneously making a slicing motion with her hand beneath her chin to signify her disagreement with my question. When questioned further she says, “There’s too many raw things in this town,” She continues to shake her head “No.”

The “rawness” TyTy refers to are the numerous bars on the main street and the crudeness of the languishing patrons outside for all to see. Joe then asks, “So what’s bad about it?”

Shanice pipes up, “They grow up in the wrong environment. They see all the wrong things being done, and people don’t hide it...”

This was our introduction to Harding as seen by the youth, a place of despair. After getting their opinions, we showed the group some photos from the group in Wentworth. The Harding kids were surprised that their peers in Wentworth produced such professional looking images. Another surprise was that a few of the Harding teens knew some of the Wentworth group. Both Joe and I inquired as to how, finding out that each party participated in the same math and science extracurricular clubs and had met on occasion. I think this appealed to those students. With this encouragement, we gave everyone a camera, instructed him or her on the operation and dismissed the meeting. As we said good-bye, the teens appeared reluctant to leave. We encouraged them to go home and start taking photos for our next meeting. Hesitantly, they departed.

SESSIONS

Over the next month, we met regularly with the group for an hour, or two, addressing the same themes we covered with the Wentworth girls. Most sessions were the same. We talked, looked at photos from the previous sessions, critiqued images, discussed new themes, and then went on a walkabout. The students were excited to take us to where they lived and worked, introduce us to their families, friends, and coworkers. They were also excited to walk around new place they usually avoid like the taxi rank. Because we spent concentrated time with the Harding group, we did more “walkabouts” with them. For instance after one of our discussion sessions, we asked them to show us around town. The students took us on the main street of Harding and showed us places where the young people congregate. We passed an arcade-like store and a rundown, locked up youth center.

As we walked and talked, students paused to take photos. They took us to a neighborhood called Ghost Town, where many Coloured families lived. On our way we passed by the local hang out spot “the container,” which was literally a corrugated metal shipping container turned into a small shop that sold sweats, soft drinks and other snacks. Many children of all ages patronized the shop. The older teens came to park their cars, smoke, and pass time.

During one meeting after the students had taken several photos I asked them, “What problems do you see in Harding?”

Rene: I think there’s too much garbage in Harding and they put signs saying “No Dumping” but it doesn’t help. I don’t think the municipality sees all this stuff so I would take pictures and show them. Or else start a campaign.

When asked who she would show them to Rene answered “I would show them to the municipal manager.”

Leif: My problem I saw was potholes. There’s dust all over. I’d take pictures of the pot holes. Because I don’t think the fat cat mayor sees all this here. All they do is

just sit there and drive on the main road they don't go into town so. I'd take pictures and show them how it's damaging our cars and the dust coming into the houses.

FTP: Have you ever seen the mayor?

Leif: I've seen the deputy mayor.

FTP: Does she live in town?

Leif: She lives in the rural area.

Patti: Can I just add to what Leif said about the potholes. It's bad when you walk to school especially when it's rained then you've got d... 'cause the cars splash you and they don't even care. They keep driving. So, that's a problem, problem!

The teens' concerns were common complaints heard from adults. Many adults similarly blamed the "fat cats" of the municipality like Leif. Many Coloured adults blamed the ANC for taking money to purchase fancy cars and big houses not caring for the people living in town. Ratepayers were constantly receiving exorbitant bills for water and electricity when at times they were not even receiving services. I confronted the students to see if they had photos of these things to which they affirmed. They were excited about the possibility of meeting with the mayor and getting her to see the photos.



Figure 23: Pothole by Shanice age 16



Figure 24: Untitled by Izzy age 14

BEAUTY: *“There’s more to Harding than dusty roads and potholes!”*

Another theme we explored was “beauty”. As usual, I gave the students a prompt to think about and jot a few notes. They obediently complied. At the end of around 10 minutes, I asked:

FTP: Who would like to start sharing? (30 second lag) Joe pick someone.

JS: Leif (30 second silence).

FTP: There’s no right or right answer it’s just how you interpret the question.

Leif: I done beauty in people. And ah, this is what I put. I describe beauty in a person, the way they look and dress. Basically the way they dress brings out some inner beauty... So if the clothes aren’t the one you don’t bother to know the person. You just lose interest. So I put dress code.

FTP: May I ask, is there a particular style or is neatness?

Leif: Both...

No more than 10 seconds went by when Breylin volunteered to read what he wrote

Breylin: ahemmm

Beauty, beauty is a water lily

A flame, a feather from a parrot.

Beauty is something you don't just see

Something that catches your eye.

Things that we do

Nature's beauty

The beautiful landscapes,

The lush of trees

The high clouds in the sky

The gentle winds the damns the gushing ocean

And the white snow

Everything has its own way of showing or revealing its beauty

That is why... (inaudible)

FTP: What did you guys think of what he said?

Rene: Woah!

JS: That was really nice

FTP: What was nice about his words?

Shanice: Wow, I mean WOW! I don't know what to say. I don't want to say mine.

JS: He had a lot of description.

FTP: Do you do poetry?

Breylin: No

FTP: Well you do now! Did you see Rene's face? Her jaw dropped. (Laughter)
So lemme ask you a question, can you find that in Harding?

Breylin began rattling off the things he said, all save the ocean. Shanice was next to share:

Shanice: Nature's beauty. I describe nature's beauty as being beautiful scenery and surroundings that catch our eye and grasp our attention. Nature's beauty is something that's really attractive. For example pretty colored flowers in the landscapes. Other beauty in people is not necessarily what we see on the outside. A

pretty girl can have a bad personality and people will look at her and not see her beauty but what type of person she is. Beauty comes from within.

FTP: What about you do you think you can find those things in Harding?

Shanice: Pretty flowers yes, landscapes yes, people, people have bad attitudes but you do see beauty in people in Harding. There are a few. Physical beauty but their personalities don't match.

Rene: Beauty in people, get to know them before you judge them.

Afterwards we walked around town to see if we could capture some of the sentiments they reported in their interpretation of beauty.

Reflections:

During our final meeting, I posed the question: "Has this project made you think differently about Harding?" I asked Joe to pick someone. He chose Patti.

Patti: Um, This project has made me see Harding in a different way because I normally wouldn't just walk around town and walk around the taxi rank looking at all the different things that make up Harding. Looking at how people, you know, go take animals or whatever they do to the animals and then dry the skins and sell it. It, it, it made me see that people make a living also in very different ways, cuz others have jobs and then you get the people that just sit in town and sell stuff and some days are good some days are bad. It's also made me see nicer parts of town like the picture that Leif took I didn't even know it was Harding. So, it's made me look at Harding in a different way.

FTP: Patti, pick someone

Patti: Leif

Leif: Ehy I don't like... Well anyway for me it's more or less done the same thing. Look at Harding in a different way. It also made me notice what I didn't see about Harding. That it's not only a dusty area. You can also have fun in Harding. Like I enjoy uhh I had fun looking around taking pictures. Something I don't do often. So, yah, this was an eye opener for me. That Harding can be a place to be.

FTP: Okay, good, your pick!

Rene: It was like there's more to Harding than just dusty roads and just potholes. I wouldn't just walk around and take pictures f people I don't know but now, the

place where we went to Shanice's area like that's a nice place. There's much
There's more to Harding than just dusty roads and Potholes

Lo: I still see Harding as the same place I grew up. Me I like walking. I always
walk around Harding. I see the same things nothing changes. But I enjoy staying
here because I have fun.

Shanice: This project has made me see Harding in a different way because I never
seen the beauty of it. The scenery and... whatever. (Laughter)

FTP: Okay

Breylin: Harding is a very boring place, very boring. But you can do things to
occupy yourself. I enjoyed it. Didn't you enjoy it?

Shanice: I like the way you've been speaking lately.

FTP: How is it?

Shanice: It's so...It sounds like he's a motivational speaker or something

Rene: He's changed...

Whether individual attitudes about the town changed or not peers saw a change in each other. They
also came to the realization that where they were could be improved. For some they saw new
places or saw the same old places with new eyes. In a sense, PEP gave them a sense of agency, a
sense that they could do something.

CHOOSING REPRESENTATION: Competing with funerals

When we finally decided on the images, school had begun, as did more demands on the
students. Just as we had done with the Wentworth group, we sat with each individual at the local
library and used the computers to view and pick out favorites. We also gave the students options
to alter their photos using Google Picasa software, mostly because of its ease and free cost. Once
complete, half dropped out altogether but a core remained. It was these youngsters, Izzy, Patti,
Leif, and Shanice, who curated the photos to exhibit.

After deciding on the photos, the next important thing was to set up a time. Again, Pastor Roland volunteered his church. We agreed Saturday would be a good day because it was everyone's day off. We gladly accepted since many of the students were congregation members. I met with the mayor to tell her about the program and invite her to the exhibit. When she accepted, I informed the students with hopes they would bring up their concerns. I also contacted the closest Rotary Club in Margate to invite members to join in the exhibit.

The last Saturday of July, we had our second exhibit at the AFM church. After much preparation, printing photos, baking cakes, and setting up we opened. My grandparents were the first to attend, looking sprightly right on time. The uncle and aunt who we were staying with in town arrived soon after. Other family members and attendees straggled in a bit later. Unfortunately, the reception we were hoping for did not come to fruition. It just so happened that same day there were two funerals taking place; One was for Mr. Baker a long established community member in Harding. The other was of a young Coloured man who had been stabbed by a Zulu man. Both were well known in the community.

Auntie Zee, Izzy's granny, confided how she was disappointed that more people did not attend. "This is something different and positive but the Coloured people are so closed minded!" she said in frustration. Those of the PEP youth that attended were impressed with how the show turned out. They commented on how good the photos looked, and were surprised they were the ones to take them. The fact that the mayor came was also an encouragement to them, assuring them their voices can reach people.

At first, I agreed with the grandmother who expressed her shame with the Coloureds. Although it was discouraging that the town's people chose funerals over the exhibit there was a deep realization. In this small town, Coloured people are intimately connected to one another

Likewise they are loyal to people within their community. Regardless whether the person who passed away was a respected elder, or a wrathful youth, respect was due for the life they lived. I also became aware that the relationships I had with the people in Wentworth might have been closer than those in Harding. Those that did attend the church exhibit were people with close ties to me and my family. This realization echoed a comment from Auntie Zee. When his two-year old grandson recognized himself in a photograph, Auntie Zee's husband said, "Perhaps if it was other people they would be more inclined to come see pictures of themselves." I disagreed at first but then realized this event was not necessarily part of this community's culture. They had more important things to worry about than kids taking pictures, like life, death, and community. It seems to me appreciation for art or philosophy can only be cultivated when people secure their basic needs. In a place such as Harding where life is indeed hard many people are struggling to make ends meet and find their places, sometimes photographs are just that. Mr. Anderson, Izzy's grandfather parted with words of encouragement, reminding us that this was just "a stepping stone."

Final Show

After months of interviews, driving, and preparation the final show was ready. Through Sayuri Naidoo the photos were displayed at The Collective art gallery on Durban's trendy Florida Road. At the unofficial opening of the show we invited Rotarians from Pinetown, my host club, people from the community, friends, and family. People were overwhelmingly supportive. Jean Choudree expressed how nice it was to see the positive nature of the photos, the family orientation, and that the pictures were coming out with the message "We are Coloured and we are here." She said it was very strong and each photo could be a story. Many people were surprised that the images on display were from high school students. Ms. Choudree's friends, a young Coloured

family with her expressed their enjoyment because the exhibit “Didn’t portray a bunch of stereotypes.”

A reporter from an independent newspaper covering the opening at The Collective commented, “Being part of this project was a great experience for these youth and they learnt so much about their communities and themselves as well.” One PEP participant confided to the reporter “that she used to be withdrawn and unfriendly but that has since changed. Her participation in the project made her open up to other people.” Another participant told the reporter, “People believe that when you come to Wentworth you will see young girls walking around pregnant, people drinking and smoking around every corner but it is not like that, there are some people in Wentworth that want to make a life for themselves.”

Upon reflecting upon the project Natasha said:

This project has made me learn more about myself as a Coloured and what other people think and expect of me. It has made me make new friends and learn more about other people. It has allowed me to go out and tour ... in a different way, both more creative and more seriously in the sence [sic] that I didn’t know a lot about ... The project made me look at everything and everyone around me in a different way.”

At the same time, they also wanted to make people aware that there are real life problems within the communities, problems that might parallel those in other communities.

The grandfather of one of the participants said that he really enjoyed the photos and that they brought him “a lot of happy memories.” I also learned some history about one eThekwini High School as he looked at the one photo from the classroom. He related the story of how the school had been moved from eThekwini road in Central Durban to Wentworth. Which lead him into a tirade about the ongoing name changes of streets, referring to the re-Africanization of place names after 1994. As a trucker, he complained how difficult it was to find places around the city. His daughter began relating her family’s connection to Harding and her familiarity with many of

the established Coloured families in the area. A self-proclaimed Coloured principal of a primary school I interviewed, Ian Africa, came to the show with his wife. Natalie Houston also attended the opening. I found out that Principal Africa was Natalie's teacher. The discussion turned to the merits of visual anthropology, and both individuals' endeavors.



Figure 25: Engen by **Claudia Nicole Dunn** age 16

The oil refinery is known 2 be lyk da ship dat neva sails. It is a true beauty 2 luk at,at night bcoz its full of lights. Many tourist come 2 dis community and admire the oil refinery 4 its beauty bt little do they know wat da people in dis community are going thru. It causes pollution in da air therefore causin' many ppl dat suffer wid asma 2 hav attacks quite often and it causes many different illnesses like lung cancer,asma and other unknown diseases. The advantages of livn near da oil refinery is dat it provides jobs 4 many of da unemployed in my society and elsewhere. It brings a wealth status 2

my community and it brings out the beauty of Wentworth because it's a stunning sight to look at especially at night. They give the schools in Wentworth a percentage (money) towards an education trust and they also give bursaries to those who excel academically. (sent via SMS)

Eve, our host Rotarian “mother” brought her daughter, a teacher outside of Durban. Eve said, “The exhibit showed diversity in culture in Durban” (Anne Eve August 25, 2011: personal communication). While viewing the photo of Engen and reading the description her daughter told us that, “It made her understand how lucky we are. Even on their worst day, it is still better than most people's.” I reminded her of something her mother had told us that her father worked at the ENGEN refinery years ago. While her father had left these people had to stay and live with it. On that same note, the grandfather after looking at Claudia's ENGEN picture asked his granddaughter if she knew what they called the Engen refinery. She answered “The ship that never sails” she responded. He then began talking about how beautiful the Engen is. I piped in “Yeah but it smells.” His daughter countered that, “We have got so used to the smell,” and would never leave because this was their home.

Conclusion: Connecting the Coloured Dots

Each exhibit showed the interconnectedness of multiple Coloured communities in KZN. In one instance after visiting the final exhibit, Diane Botha called me up to express her support. After complementing the efforts of the youth, she revealed her surprise at seeing her bridesmaid's photo hanging in the show. It was instances such as this that tangible evidence of a Coloured community was revealed. The photo exhibits and the interviews brought out stories and connections that were not readily apparent. In some cases, by attending or participating in the shows it reunited people and reconnected them with places of origin. PEP enabled the youth to be part of something they would not normally pursue. In other instances, it helped open students up to dormant talents.

In many cases South African education institutions are overburdened, teachers overworked, and are students under tremendous pressure from peer and familial responsibilities. Schools try to teach the basics and teachers hope for success. Coloured children see little representation in the curriculum so they look to family members and community for models. Some are positive, others negative. Whether the exhibit was in a church hall, a center for the elderly, or at a professional gallery when the youth and their family saw the photos up on the walls they were proud and excited to see their work printed out and on exhibition. They became their own models and creators.

The groups did encounter some difficulties in the project, especially with meetings due to clashes with school examinations. Sometimes it was a challenge to get all the group members together but we would proceed with the meeting. Their families were supportive to a certain extent because they felt it was interfering with their schoolwork and their curfews as well. One of the negatives that was expressed by a female student was “The fact that I couldn’t give it my all because of time and because I was scared to go out.” This was a common feeling especially of the female participants which most of the students were. Gangs, drugs, and crime in general were fears the students held and the few times we walked around the town with a few of them we could physically see the fear as they tensed their bodies up. Some were nervous about taking photos of people and worried for their safety but most were uninhibited. Their communities had mixed reactions about being photographed. They came across people who were willing to help and others that did not want anything to do with them. The youth’s enthusiastic attitude toward the project made it a success.

CHAPTER 6: South African Education through a Coloured Lens

According to South Africa’s Department of Basic Education Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement Grades 10-12, education is essential to realizing the goals set forth in the

preamble of the democratic Constitution. The present curriculum is offered up as a culmination of “efforts over a period of seventeen years to transform the curriculum bequeathed to us by [A]partheid” (Department of Basic Education 2011:2). The statement includes attention to “human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice: infusing the principles and practices of social and environmental justice and human rights as defined in the Constitution of the Republic” (Department of Basic Education 2011:5) as part of the values they seek to promote in students. South African education strives to be “sensitive to issues of diversity such as poverty, inequality, race, gender, language, age, disability and other factors” (Department of Basic Education 2011:5). Of these, race is one of the more paradoxical issues presented in this statement because South Africa bases part of its success on being “non-racial.” On their official website, the ANC government lauds the present Constitution as upholding the Freedom Charter’s (1955) commitment to “non-racialism.”³⁵ Despite the affirmation “that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, *race*, sex or belief; And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, *black* and *white* together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter...” The use of racialized terms, including “Black” and “White,” however, reinforces race rather than eliminates it and sets up a racial binary. As such, the system of education struggles with how to deal with the impacts of race and the effect on students’ lives.

This holds especially true for mixed-race or Coloured students and their parents living outside of the preconceived “homeland” of the Western Cape. The struggle for non-racialism

³⁵ For further reading see: “The Freedom Charter” online at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72>

leaves teachers in precarious positions as they attempt to deal with the legacy of racialism in the classroom. For the nation and institutions race remains a factor despite the strides the country has made in the last twenty years. Teachers and principals are required by South African law to collect demographic information on students; this includes race. For students who are Coloured self-identification can be a traumatic experience. The classification of people can negatively or positively impact children to the point that they begin to observe and project difference between themselves and their fellow students. Codification can also create or solidify affiliations that were once non-existent or precarious. In this way schools subtly reinforce racial identities. These occurrences have very real impacts on the outside lives of students and real consequences for a society in its stated goal of achieving a non-racial society. According to Anderson (2009:45) “what is signified by the term Coloured is varied, heterogeneous and intricately intertwined with the social location.” Differences reflected amongst individual families are demonstrated in their historical backgrounds, phenotypical characteristics, and cohesive, though troubled, identities, yet South African educators have yet to find a way to unpack the history and policies that lead to a creole people. “The specific cultural context of Coloured determines and defines certain character traits and behaviours, and the way in which space and identity are mutually constitutive provides a backdrop for understanding the distinctiveness” of KZN Coloureds (Anderson 2009:45).

Louis Althusser (2006) defines the State as an explicitly conceived repressive apparatus, or a ‘machine’ of repression. The State allows the ruling classes to dominate the working classes who are then subjected “to the process of surplus-value extortion (i.e. capitalist exploitation)” (Althusser 2006:90). However, Althusser (2006) differentiates between repressive State apparatuses and ideological State apparatuses (ISA). The former operate predominantly through violence whereas the latter ISAs function predominantly through ideology of the ruling class

(Althusser 2006:93, 95). And if school is indeed as Althusser (2006) put it an “Ideological State Apparatus” why aren’t more Coloured people sloughing off the limitations of this “fictional” grouping of heterogeneous people with little in common for a larger black or South African national identity?

If as some scholars argue, the Coloured category was an imposed grouping of heterogeneous people with nothing in common, why does the identity persist? What makes a person Coloured? Can a person cease to be Coloured? I addressed these questions three groups of high school youth (in total twenty-five students) ranging in ages between fourteen and twenty-one. Their backgrounds varied as much as their physical appearances. Yet, they all shared a common Coloured identity. I also posed these questions to members of their immediate families (when possible) to understand if intergenerational opinions of Colouredness filtered down. The majority of my participants were students of traditionally “Coloured schools” and formerly White schools that have now since fully integrated. At the time of the research (2010-2011), all participants lived in formerly Coloured areas and all but two individuals were from multi-generational Coloured families. This chapter explores two main themes revolving around formal education. The first is KZN Coloured identity formed as a result of *Othering*. I show how school policies and curriculum unintentionally omit the histories and traditions of this minority group. Secondly, I address the reactions of parents and students to school policies that sometimes reinforce differences and how this sometimes results in an identity of self-marginalization.

Coloured Identity in Schools

Schools are centers for nation state’s enculturation of young people where they are educated to conform to societal norms. During Apartheid schools were segregated. Over a span of twelve years, under the Apartheid government the South African education department that was

once a national system was broken up into seventeen different bureaus. The first change came with the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Ten years later, despite strong protest from the communities the Coloured Person's Education Act of 1963 was legislated, and in 1965 Indian's Education Act was established. Whites alone remained under the Department of National Education (Pedro 1996:42). Monies were distributed unequally between the groups with the lion's share going to White schools. During a private interview with Mr. Moore (June 20, 2008: interview), a retired principal from a former Coloured primary school notes that:

The blacks were neglected for forty years educationally speaking. They give-you see-the curriculum was so tailored especially the blacks so they could become hewers of wood and drawers of water. They wanted them to be subservient to the White man baas. If they had allowed the Blacks to uh, if they gave them equal education, allow them to be admitted in the White schools, they'd be far advanced than what they are today. So, the new South Africa comes with a lot of baggage of the past.

In the mid-1960s when Josef Botha (aka Joe) was ready to go to school segregation was firmly in place. Living on his parents' farm north of Durban Joe had daily interactions with Zulu people. He often played with the children and communed with the elders. During an interview (October 14, 2010) with Joe I asked him about his personal language acquisition. "I grew up amongst the Zulus and played with them different games that they do play and felt that I belonged in that culture until it was made known to me that I wasn't part of them." Joe distinguishes himself from the Zulu people through his pronoun usage. Despite his childhood belief that he "felt that he belonged in *that* culture," Joe assured that a differentiation was made.

Joe: And then school time came.

FTP: Oh okay. And so what exactly happened?

FTP: Well I couldn't understand why my friend or the people we were growing up with were not attending the same school as I was. And when we questioned that we were told by our parents it was the law. Which I felt was quite strange, why

must my friends not able to go with me to school? At that stage [school time] one wasn't looking at color. You know if you're white you were just white, there was nothing about it. If you're black you're black if you're half-Coloured-half and half (laughing). Then this was it you looked at the human being, not the color. I thought it was quite strange. I felt I was being shoved into a specific channel. You've been channeled in this direction and the Blacks were channeled into another direction. And that's the first time I started to realize that this is then how it is, you know?! Everyone seems to accept it. That's why there's so many here where I am and I don't see people of different color where I am happened to be coming from a similar background.

FTP: So after a while you just...

Joe: ...well you begin to accept it. But of course when you go back home, that's in the school environment. That was for school and that was for home now you have two different categories that you belong to. You can sit together and eat together but when you go to school you were separated.

Joe's story is not unique. His observation that "at that state one wasn't looking at color..." referring to his childhood innocence about race consistently arose with adults with similar backgrounds. From Joe's story, as well as others, it is apparent that differentiation based on race is not an issue until others "educate" for it. Many children living in integrated urban areas prior to the Group Areas Act and on farms experienced similar dislocations from their friends and sometimes family. George D. Spindler's (1997) notion of "discontinuity" posits that individuals (especially children) go through an emotional process of separation from family, or in this case friends, acting as a pinnacle point between one phase of life and another. This is an important aspect in examining transitions from how family and schools indoctrinate(d) Coloured youth to accept certain morals and beliefs regarding race. Discontinuation helps us understand how peers educate each other about the norms of a culture in the shift from childhood to adulthood. The dislocation that occurred, as exemplified by Joe Botha, had deep and lasting effects on communities and individuals. It often created dysfunction in people's abilities to empathize with different people. During Apartheid schools divided young children and educated them to

difference and the hierarchy of race. Sage a working class Coloured woman 50 years old reflects on her own education and realizations during our interview. She says:

When I was younger and like in school, it never really dawned on [me] that the Black people were treated very much more harshly than we were. It wasn't something that I thought about, you know, actively thought about. These are our schools we attend these schools we're not allowed to attend the White schools... um...you know it, it didn't dawn on me until very much later in my life. No... maybe... when I got married at the age of 19, 20, because by that time you don't have to go ask your mom to go do something and that's when I started to see things differently and that was like 1973. And... uh... then I, then I, then I really took notice of the fact. (Sage interview, June 6, 2008)

Many of the older people I spoke with in the small towns, including Sage, admitted that they never really knew there was any difference between the amenities of the different races because as youngsters they never entered the other racial areas and their parents were not political. In another conversation, a Zulu woman, who grew up in a Zulu area near Durban, said she never realized there was anything wrong with the Apartheid system, because she was never exposed to the disparities or differences. Similarly, an Indian woman from one of Durban's Indian neighborhoods stated that it seemed "natural" that everyone was Indian and there were no other races or ethnicities around. She never went into the other neighborhoods and so she was oblivious to the differences in accommodations. The more we talked the more Sage began to remember certain occurrences from her youth that did speak to the inequalities present.

Ah wait when we were little still in junior high Little Flower school, we had a Coloured school, Little Flower here in Eshowe. Then we had Sunnydale High School that was also just for Coloured people. And Eshowe High school was for the Whites and Eshowe junior school was for the Whites primary school...When we were little in the holidays we would go to that school and clean the classrooms and scrub the desks, and that kind of stuff. And that's when I saw that their schools were better equipped than ours. There was like a separate desk for each child. And ok the Coloured schools we also had desks but they weren't as nice as those and then we never had a whatchu-call-this?! Kitchen and stuff where you teach domestic science or laboratory. There was no place to do, where you could test science experiments and stuff like that. Sometimes the teacher would have to put

the pipette and the what and the what on his desk and show you whatever experiment. No place where you could do science experiments. But in these schools, the White schools, they had all these facilities and our schools didn't. Yeah I noticed it when I was little, but I suppose I just accepted it because it was the way it was. You know I didn't think anything more about it (Sage interview, June 6, 2008).

Sage's reflection shows that while youngsters schooled during Apartheid were aware of the differences they accepted the differences. Later in the interview, Sage and her sister note that as primary school children they were brought out to see the "parades" of army tanks driving down the street. They interpreted this as the way the government instilled that "we can crush you!" instilling fear and rendering many to accept the status quo.

Oliver Meth (2008) suggests that many challenges remain in South Africa despite the Constitution's commitment to equality and human dignity. Meth, who works at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) and with the Coloured community in Wentworth stresses how many institutions continue the "racialization of education." He paints a picture where Europeans are valorized through the prominent display of the portraits of past educators and founders, the European authored books in the libraries, and "the complexion and repertoire of the school or university choir." In the online article, Meth examines "who continues to gain access to institutional contracts, and who remains marginalized. Whose language dominates a public meeting and event and whose is excluded" (Meth 2008) are all signals bolstering the value of Whiteness. Over the past five years since, efforts have been made to reverse this trend. For example, though UKZN requires all first year university students to take a Zulu language course,³⁶ government institutions have made efforts to hire people of color in top positions, and the history

³⁶ "South African university makes Zulu compulsory" online at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22552505>

and literature has become more inclusive. Critics point to the failure of South African schools to produce viable citizens that are critical thinkers and have the ability to appreciate diversity or globalization. Many parents and educators at the public primary and secondary levels who participated in my study fear for the future of South African schools and students. With the current standards to matriculate from high school at 40 percent the question whether the quality of education students receive will be sufficient to meet the demands and challenges of the new nation remain in the background of government acknowledged matriculation rates. The low bar set by the national public school system together with the legacy of OBE initiative brought into question whether a “dumbing down” occurred to maintain the status-quo of Apartheid race-based legislations (Jansen 1999:10-11).

According to Eduardo Pedro (1996:40) that the matriculation results were published in the newspapers allowing for race-based comparisons continued to propagate the racist notion that Whites were superior amongst all four recognized race groups. For instance in 1994 the rates at which each group matriculated were: Whites 97.3 %, Indians 92.6 % Coloureds 88 % and Blacks 48.5 percent. For critics these patterns reflect the Apartheid legacy of unequal preparation for teachers, school funding and legal departmentalized segregation of race based education.³⁷

In the years following ANC rule, simply eliminating formal structures of Apartheid was inadequate to provide a clear model for the New South African citizen who required integration at

³⁷ “Oh Shucks, there’s a Zulu in my curriculum” online at: <http://constitutionallyspeaking.co.za/oh-shucks-theres-a-zulu-in-my-curriculum/>

White, Indian, and Coloured schools and an appreciation for the diversity of the nation.³⁸ In post-conflict and transitional societies, like South Africa, education is seen as a means for progressive cultural (re)production leading toward a more equitable and equal nation and nationalism. To foster an understanding and bolster the construction of a cosmopolitan citizen education's role was, and continues to be, at the forefront. In order to be effective, educating for citizenship must be meaningful and relevant to avoid cynicism and accusations of indoctrination (Hammett & Staeheli 2013:310-311).

Coloured parents, who came through a very different education system than the current generation and have children who are on a math or science track, believe that the new education system advocates its own Afrocentric agenda. The incumbent ANC government is accused of displacing all other parties and peoples involved in the peaceful overthrow of the former regime. According to Carol Anne Bertram (2008:207), one textbook publisher admitted that provincial deadlines do not take into consideration the time to write, edit, and publish quality texts, because the ANC is politically motivated and less concerned with the accuracy of content. While tight timeframes may be a common occurrence around the globe regarding textbook publication the result is that students may be institutionally conditioned to favor the agenda of the incumbent political party. The belief that the South African curriculum bolsters the idea of struggle politics, South Africa as a multicultural Rainbow Nation, civic engagement and reconciliation upsets some KZN Coloured parents who feel that their voices and actions are left out. Many Coloureds feel that

³⁸ Integration at Black African schools remains very low based on district designation and language of instruction. Most minority students are socialized at home in English or Afrikaans and would be challenged to learn subject areas in a language of which they lack knowledge.

alternative stories of the political struggles against racism and Apartheid are ignored in favor of the continued promotion of the ANC as the lone savior from Apartheid. As a result, Coloureds remain suspicious toward many branches of the government.

The older participants expressed distress by the way Coloureds are discussed in school. On numerous occasions people voiced concern that conversations focusing on Coloureds usually revolved around propagating the stereotype that this group's origin was through illicit affairs. Furthermore, the ideas that the Western Cape is the Coloured homeland and that Afrikaans is somehow the language of the people further negates the histories and realities of "mixed-race" people in other parts of the country. These preconceptions were points of contention among many people I interviewed. Troy Biggar-Meyers (February 12, 2011), a prominent researcher in KZN, asks during our interview:

Africans now are better educated. They have more resources. Now there is a new group who is defining who Coloureds are. When will be the time for Coloureds to define themselves? Will it come from a "leader" or is it up to each individual? Are there any benefits to a larger redefining of this group of people?

The non-racial metaphor denoting a place where all people have a space within the national boundaries is an idealized version of a reality. Yet the term creole is not widely applied in South Africa. People's lived experiences differ in that many citizens feel polarized because of their racial designation. When people are discriminated against or made to feel less than that of other groups marginal identities usually come to the forefront (Jansen personal communication, March 7, 2014) as is often the case with Coloureds living in KwaZulu-Natal.

I repeatedly heard complaints from parents and students that Coloured people have limited representation in schools and that Coloureds are marginalized by reverse Apartheid. When

presenting questions about Coloured representation in high school history classes. Lilly, a long standing resident of a Wentworth, Coloured area in Durban responded:

Well, when we did history the Coloured man that always came up was Adam Kok, and the only thing that came up about him was his drinking (laugh). So ...it's always been a stigma, and that's one of the stigmas we fight that Coloureds are prone to go to the bottle for everything. And we're not all like that. We're not all like that...

Lilly (interview, February 23, 2011) stresses the point that Coloured people should not pigeonholed. She maintains that schools, in part, reinforced stereotypes of being primitive and degraded:

So that was our history about Coloureds and obviously being the Hottentots; those that were in the dessert and stuff. It was always the thing of the fact that they had no clothes on. It was I think the Coloureds history at that time you know was always very degrading about Coloureds. But mostly I'd say of the people I mean Adam Kok himself it probably wasn't even the way it was put, it was probably was a one occasion...

I asked the members of the youth groups I worked with the same question. Elle, a seventeen year old, responds how she learned, "...we used to live in caves. Khoisan people (giggle). And we used to speak a funny language I dunno what it's called the clicking language (explosive laugh) The San people. Because that's what I can really remember" (Elle interview, July 6, 2011). Another student from the same school, Izzy, related the way this history affected her personally: "I used to be called a Khoi San in primary school. They used to tease me and say I'm Khoi San because I'm Coloured. But there's never really been Coloured history that I've learned about" (Izzy interview, July 16, 2011). When asked, "So how did that make you feel?" she responded, "I knew I wasn't Khoi San so I never really worried." The fact that Coloureds in KZN are conflated in people's minds with Khoi San creates a mythical connection between a people with whom they share no connection. Often, because people share a name they are then in Elle's words "painted

with the same brush.” Around 90 percent of the students I worked with did not study history as part of their curriculum. The reason for this is that majority of the adolescent participants were on electrical engineering or math/science tracks and, as a result, there was no history requirement for graduation. According to the National Standards history, geography, and economics classes along with life sciences are optional courses. History is only a required course until grade nine. The USA Embassy report on *The Education System of South Africa* (2010:1) supports this following up with, “The notion of a Liberal Arts and Sciences education is very foreign to most South African students, and thus they often focus early on in their high school years on a particular set of subjects.” The social sciences are the product of a leisure class with disposable income. The US possesses a large population of people that occupy their time with pursuits beyond meeting basic survival needs of food, shelter and water. South Africa, on the other hand, is emerging as a nation, and students that study the “softer” arts and sciences come from wealthy families. The rest are pushed to study subjects that will give them the skills to find jobs and solve problems. This is similar to the American “tracking system”³⁹ which was almost entirely abandoned because of the racial and classist implications it promoted. Upon review, it was noted that racial and ethnic minorities and people from lower socio-economic classes in the United States were being pushed towards vocational tracks, whereas their more affluent White counterparts were encouraged to pursue higher education (Loveless 1998:5-6, 14; Loveless 2013). Rather than require courses that foster

³⁹ The term tracking refers to the practice where secondary schools used IQ and achievement based tests to place students into distinct curricular tracks based on their scores. The tracks were binding across all academic subjects and predetermined student destinations after graduating. These destinations followed the tracks. High level tracks were destined to college, mid-level tracks were a catch all for students unsure where they wanted to go, and low-level track was for students geared to vocational school or who would drop out to work (Loveless 1998:8).

<http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/03/18-tracking-ability-grouping-loveless>

critical thinking and the ability to participate in the new democracy South African public, secondary schools struggle with how to prepare their students to meet the demands of a global national economy.

The citizen is imagined as a product of local histories and aspirations as well as the product of negotiated demands within a global political-economic imperative and neoliberal logic. Governments shy away from contentious histories in curriculum that exacerbate conflict and divisions according to some critics (Hammett & Staeheli 2013:312). Discussions surrounding the multiple, complicated origins of Coloured people are often avoided. That the classification of this racial group is never unpacked within classes also creates misunderstandings and misrepresentations. The popular layman's theory that mixed-race people were the result of illicit affairs between powerful White men and powerless women of color or a monolithic people originating in one place stigmatizes the resulting offspring and their descendants (Luker 2008). Today's Coloured youth are aware of these stigmas and the stereotypes that follow them. During our first meetings a few of the youth who participated in the group consultations described their neighborhoods and communities with words like: gangsterism, violence, teen pregnancy, and dirty. Many participants have little firsthand knowledge of the effects of former racial restrictions where they live, but they are continuously reminded of the persistent Coloured stereotypes. For those who live in more affluent areas they can afford not to care. For example, Principal Africa (interview, February 22, 2011) refers to the generational difference between him and his teenage son who attends a private boy's school in Durban.

My son doesn't know anything, but he knows who Jabbawockeez (a US hip hop dance group) is. He likes dancing he can dance. Hey, don't tell him about politics. He's not interested. But, maybe we come with our baggage as well. As much as we might put it as a badge of knowledge, it's baggage. He sees it as baggage.

Perhaps it is baggage, but without unpacking the luggage that burdens individuals and discarding what is no longer needed (like racism) internal strife within individuals will ultimately come forth in society in the form of hatred and racism. Acknowledging the useful things (such as family histories and examples of global blended cultural practices) that can teach understanding and compassion allows people to appreciate diversity in humans in the beliefs, without judgment. Perhaps it is because the youth volunteers came from working-class neighborhoods and saw struggle they cared about challenging the stereotypes. It could also speak to the desire to engage and have their voices as young people heard. That they participated in the PEP despite the sometimes, long meetings spoke to their commitment. This is apparent from the descriptions of two photos by the same student photographer:



Figure 26: Untitled by Tatum Lambert age 16

I took this picture of a boy, his uncle and his dog that he loves so much. This boy should be or is an inspiration to many Coloured boys. He has tried smoking drugs and drinking. He realized that if he continues this way he would end up looking like his uncle and decided to change his life for the better even though he looks like a gangster.



Figure 27: Untitled by Tatum Lambert age 16

Talent! I know I'm talented when it comes to doing hair, this picture shows a family chain in the sense that I've learnt how to do hair by my family and will probably teach my children this trade. It shows that Wentworth is not only a place where girls walk around pregnant but also do constructive things."

I learned that many youngsters were unfamiliar with the Apartheid-era mass student protests to reverse inferior race based education. If they knew anything it mostly came from their parent's stories and history classes. But most students do not take history after grade nine. Likewise, they were unfamiliar with individual actions of resistance at the start of Apartheid and the mass movements by Coloured and Indian people in the late 1970s and 1980s to shake off imposed

identities for a collective, non-racial black political identity of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), United Democratic Movement and the Labor Party (see Jung 2000:172-176). “Youth and young adults no longer feel constrained by the politics of — the struggle, which obscured internal differences while people from all racial backgrounds faced a common enemy, [A]partheid. Young people now express their identities in ways starkly different from the ways older people, who came into their political maturity at a time when rejecting [C]olouredness in favor of blackness meant one was aligned with progressive politics, expressed theirs” (Yarwood 2011:245). Yet, their eagerness to discuss and unpack the racial baggage speaks to the need of all South Africans to address race instead of denying it. While these subjects are covered in South Africa’s secondary history classes, they are only covered in grades eleven and twelve.

If students do choose to study history in the higher grades there is the possibility of understanding the deeper implications of race. For instance, *Topic Three* in grade eleven focuses around the question “What were the consequences when pseudo-scientific ideas of Race became integral to government policies and legislation in the 19th and 20th centuries?” (Department of Basic Education 2011:21). The curriculum encourages educators to address race as a nineteenth century theory and note how different nations applied race theory and eugenic practices. They stress that race was a social construction despite being regarded as natural. The result that prejudices, stereotyping and dehumanization were used to justify colonialism, discrimination, genocide around the world. This approach is supported by numerous examples from around the world and South Africa. With regard to eugenics the example used is the Australian policy of “breeding the best with the best” to “breed out blackness” resulting in ‘half-caste’ children (Department of Basic Education 2011:21). The curriculum focuses on the “stolen generation” and the treatment of “mixed-race” children as prescribed by Dr. Cecil Cook and A.O. Neville. Through

examining Australian “assimilation programmes for ‘breeding blackness out’” (Department of Basic Education 2011:21) South African students have a chance to examine their own histories of assimilation tactics, eugenics, and treatment of “mixed-race” people. To what extent this is done in schools and classrooms requires more research. One thing is certain from examining the curriculum, however. Focusing on assimilation denies the reality that multi-ethnic people created agency and separate, creole communities that embraced settler and indigenous cultures. One way to draw more balanced, positive comparisons for Coloured students would be for the curriculum to examine Creole in Louisiana, Metis in Canada, or Mestizos in Mexico. Furthermore, embracing the concept that cultures and people are not static and are constantly evolving reinforces global exchange and what Nicholas Spitzer (2003) calls *Monde Créole*.

Dealing with race

Bertram’s (2008) study on teacher development workshops – specifically addressing social science curriculums – found that the National Curriculum Statement makes “radical” declarations. One such statement declares that “history should support democracy by fostering an understanding of identity as a social construct” to bolster Human Rights and address prejudices revolving around issues such as race, class, gender, ethnicity, and xenophobia. These divisionary social categories represent the very things education is meant to address because they continue to exist in South Africa. Bertram laments that teachers are not given the opportunity to unpack the definitions in teacher development workshops. Explanations on how to meet goals are not discussed and teacher inquiry for further understanding is absent (Bertram 2008:205). Daniel Hammett and Lynn Staehali (2013) in their cross national study in South African schools noted that teachers often have a difficult time addressing topics that involve race. They observed that teachers are often wary of confronting topics of race into the classroom for lack of “alternative language and

guidance from the government” that doesn’t reinforce “racialist attitudes and divisions” (Hammett & Staehali 2013:326). Furthermore, they observed that teachers fear accusations of being racists and any consequential persecution as a result of being perceived a racist (Hammett & Staehali 2013:327).

Elle: one of the high school students participating in PEP observes:

Elle: When it’s time speak about Blacks, the Blacks get offended.”

FTP: Why?

Elle: I don’t know. And they expect us not to get offended when people speak about Coloureds. Ya. I don’t know why but they get offended. Because they say Black people, they usually got bad things to say about Black people. When Black people get offended then they start getting loud.

FTP: So what type of African or black history do you learn about?

Elle: That Black people are always loud and raw...and that. Black people never used to wear a lot of clothes, and Black-Black people use *muthi* [traditional herbal medicine]. They just get really offended. Like we’re not all like that!” (interview, July 6, 2011:).

Representing Culture

Because of the conservative nature of the broader curriculum and reluctance of some teachers to address issues of race, it is understandable that discussions around the emergence of a Coloured identity are avoided. If this is the case where do young mixed-race South Africans learn about who they are? What informs their identity?

Overwhelmingly, working class Coloured people living in KZN feel marginalized and long for a time when South Africa will truly be a nation where race doesn’t matter. Simultaneously, Coloureds are highly racialized, being aware of the phenomena in every aspect of social life. It is often a point of conversation among people in their thirties, forties and older. Ultimately, these conversations filter down to the younger generations and the high school aged students are

educated on race at home. Schools are perceived to further the racialization process through events promoting multiculturalism and ethnic diversity. For instance, culture week where students are encouraged to dress in their traditional garb, bring ethnic dishes, and perform according cultural conventions becomes a point of contention to Coloured families who do not claim any part of their own culture as uniquely their own. Such events create challenges for schools and people in the Coloured communities. Principal Africa (interview, February 22, 2011) makes the point that:

It's not a bad thing to be a half-caste. But when we have these cultural days and heritage days it's hard for Coloured people to-to-to have, because really what is your culture? Is it dancing? So, very, its, one of my teachers said they must do these Cape Town jazzy skips. I said no. It's a real challenge, for this, this creation. It's a big challenge...Culture Day we, we do different culture through the lessons. We do Hindu culture. Muslim culture but we do. Nobody can pinpoint Coloured culture.

Principal Africa stresses that his primary school fosters togetherness in that all his teachers embrace the children so that they can just be children regardless of race. This is a big difference from when Joe Botha was a child. Yet, the challenge remains with the parents who hold certain beliefs due to their personal experiences with other races. However, Principal Africa fails to mention that often the realization of difference does not manifest until later; with more experience that reproduces difference that is sometimes based on race. The messages portrayed outside of school and in the media can undermine belonging that schools try to foster. This can further self-marginalization as portrayed by Joe's interview (October 14, 2011):

Joe: There's no particular culture as a so-called Coloured person that can identified as such. Right even up to cultural shows that have been shown on TV. You see the Indians have their culture. The white culture and the Zulu have their culture and the Xhosa have their culture. But they didn't have a show for Coloureds because they ain't got no culture! They're a mixture of different cultures there's nothing specific that pertains to them or they don't feel that belonging to that specific culture.

FTP: So you as an individual how do you feel you fit in to the, the whole system?

Joe: As a misfit. You don't really fit, as a misfit. That that sort of thing you're confronted with that type of situation. One learns how to blank it out. Um, although in this place where I am the so called Coloured people are perceived to be people that are nomads, they have no fixed abodes, they drink too much, and they're regarded as low lives.

A Change in Demographics

After nearly twenty years of “fully democratic” rule and “accessible” education for all groups, many people hold onto old labels. Local residents still refer to the schools I visited as “the Coloured School” or “former Model C School.” Today these schools cater to an overwhelming (90%) majority of students classified as Black Africans, not Coloureds and not Indians (Bertram 2008:10). According to Principal Henna (interview, July 30, 2011) based on the former “Coloured” designation of his rural school and the historical site of limited privilege over location schools these institutions do not receive increased national funding. Although the expenditure for education is relatively high in South Africa with 4.5 percent of the GDP and 17.5 percent of total government expenditure, the national government responded to poor facilities by providing the poorest schools additional monies as measured by a matrix of indicators: connection to running water access by paved roads, etc. (Hemmett & Staeheli 2013:315, 317). In theory, because the infrastructure and teachers in Coloured schools were slightly privileged during Apartheid, the incumbent ANC government today invests more heavily in schools that were once ignored. These schools, most of which were on locations and catered to Black African students, are seen as operating from a deficit. The result is schools, such as Umuziwabantu High School, in Harding, KZN, and eThekweni High School and Bechet College – in Durban's working class areas – fall to disrepair. While the number of students increase and the number of students “in need” also rises, government support does not.

The lack of sufficient funding for education places all public school pupils at a disadvantage. In some instances, students have access to computers but they are kept under tight lock and key for fear of thieves, they lack teachers that are technologically literate, or they have no internet. Books and space come at a premium. There are limited free lunch programs meaning many students remain hungry throughout the day unless they have cash to buy nutritionally void sugar or salt laden snacks from the “tuck shop.”⁴⁰ While many teachers sit in the staff rooms dwelling over performance, many of their students dwell on how to make it through the day.

New students, Old teacher hang-ups

To the South African education system’s credit, curriculum developers attempt to cater to all ethnic groups. Unfortunately, for Coloured learners, the ambiguous cultural and racial distinction of their group disadvantages them from learning about their place(s) in South African history and the current social fabric. The degree to which the cultural characteristics of the pupils are taken into account depends on the perception and the appreciation of the cultural differences, but also on the understanding and cultural sensitivity of the instructor (Ogbu 1990). As a minority with a history of oppression, Coloured learners could benefit from what Eldering (1996) calls the disadvantage approach – intended for pupils from ethnic/cultural groups that are in a low socioeconomic position; the motivation of which is aimed at removing disadvantages. Eldering (1996) posits if there is a positive attitude toward the group then the language, culture, and learning style of the people will be taken into account and will be used as a point of departure for the transfer of knowledge (Eldering 1996:319-320). Unfortunately, outsiders perceive young Coloured men as male-chauvinist, testosterone driven gangsters and young women as victims of teen pregnancy and

⁴⁰ Tuck shops are tiny kiosks run usually by private entities on or near school grounds.

abusive relationships; all are subject to alcohol and drug abuse (Anderson 2009; WOW group meeting 2010: personal communication).

When asked what other groups think of Coloureds many young people claim that “they are afraid of us.” The “they” implied the Whites, Blacks, and Indians. How many teachers hold this as a stereotype is up for debate and opens up new paths of research. During my fieldwork when asking teachers to help recruit students for my study I came across this attitude. A teacher who responded to my request for five Coloured students wondered about the success of the project claiming that, “most of the Coloured kids are not motivated. They have no aspiration” and “are generally like their parents who are non-motivated, get pregnant early, and drop out of school” (May 5 2010: personal communication) She stereotyped the youth and justified her statement with, “And I have a Coloured husband!” As if, this privileged her – a woman of Indian descent – with insider knowledge and the permission to tout long held stereotypes. In fact the irony of her statement, had she paid attention, was that the top student in accounting and mathematics was one of her Coloured students. The student ended up leaving her over crowded underfunded school with the help of her auntie to attend a private boarding school not far away. A few of her Coloured friends ended up following the exodus from Umuziwabantu School for greener pastures. The majority of Coloured youth in working class communities are bound by the space they live and burdened by the histories they embody. In the case of these few students, though the support of successful extended family members, friends and bursaries to attend better schools that these Coloured students were able to excel. With the increase in the emerging professional class of Coloured people post-Apartheid, many that hail from Wentworth (Anderson 2009:33) Coloured youth have an increasing number of role models that counter the master narrative of Coloured

dysfunction. However, these models must make themselves visible as Coloured people and claim the identity if they are to assist the future generations.

Professional teachers are entrenched in the school system, often staying until retirement, while student tenure in secondary schools is four to six years. Thus, teachers who are trained and have become accustomed to working with a specific demographic of children often experience immediate changes when political power or socioeconomics of the nation shift. Many teachers and administrators who face changing demographics and curriculum argue this presents major challenges for school's critical thinking and moral values. Because many teachers I encountered were hired under Apartheid legislature there were definite opinions on why students fail, often stemming from poverty and disadvantaged backgrounds. In the post-1994 South Africa with its ever-changing ethnic demographic, good manners need to be explicitly taught because schools no longer can rely on families and communities to socialize children in the dominant culture of the school (Chick 2002). And the teachers, for their part, often harbor prejudices or misunderstand the social contexts in which they work. For instance, teachers at Greenwood Secondary made it abundantly clear that what they saw as the "traditional" nuclear family structure where parents lead and guide children is no longer the norm in South Africa. At many of the formerly Coloured schools, many of the Coloured teachers do not understand Zulu culture and language of the Zulu children (who are now the majority of students). Out of ignorance, teachers assume there is something wrong with the children or their families when they do not conform to perceived traditional nuclear family behaviors. Additionally, most of the teachers in these schools are of another generation where technology and media was not as ubiquitous as it is today. South African public school teachers compete with media, overcrowded classrooms (on average 50 pupils per class in the schools I visited), drugs, sexuality, and HIV/AIDS.

TEACHER OBSERVATIONS

My first visit to Riverdale High School in Durban, I sat at the table writing my observations. I was the only one present until the familiar sound of a bell notified everyone to switch classes. The once quiet halls became noisy. A sea of white, grey, green, and black (the school colors) undulated like waves as the uniformed students passed each other moving to their next class. One by one, four teachers took their places at an adjacent table. The teachers began speaking about moving to another country, perhaps New Zealand, possibly Germany. They commiserated about being “mixed” (Coloured) and feeling as though they lacked power in South Africa. The conversation then switched to the recent history of Zimbabwe’s farm invasions and land grabs away from white farmers. Europe was also discussed no doubt because many non-Black Africans fear South African politics turning against non-Natives and using race as the logic to disenfranchise. Prior to Jacob Zuma’s election I heard smatterings of White and Coloured people jokingly state that if Zuma was elected South Africa would become “Zumbabwe.” The pun brought to light the underlying fear that many minority populations felt about Zuma being a Zulu, and the anxiety his election would create tribal nationalism that would override democracy and thrust the country into warfare against the other minority “tribes,” but more so against Whites, Coloureds and Indians with money and land.

During the lunch break, Mrs. Charleene, an English teacher, referred to the “not normal” family situations of students. When I inquired as to the meaning of “not normal,” Mrs. Jody and Mr. T explained “child headed households” and “single parents.” According to the teachers, “students have no common sense,” “they don’t read,” and “they have to travel one hour plus to get to school.” These complaints were all too familiar to me as a former high school teacher in New York City and their complaints were all too common in public schools with low income students

in industrialized nations. Mrs. Charleene continued “No parents, the children have to act like the parents, cook, clean, etc.” They told me the students are more focused on the here and now. Reflecting upon my teaching years I often had the same thoughts. Mrs. Charleene said with a positivity that fades with many teachers over the years, “We see their future for them. They don’t” (July 14, 2008: personal communication). Unfortunately, by continuously looking to the future some teachers fear the direction of the nation under the ANC government and envision a great escape to greener pastures. The threat of a complete meltdown of society is always looming around the corner.

Despite the school’s problems its infrastructure is better than other schools. The grounds are meticulously kept. The brick structures are well maintained without a brick out of place. This is not the case in some of the other formerly Coloured schools, such as Betchet College in Sydnham, a working class Coloured township where students learn in temporary facilities in the form of trailers that three years later were still standing. The surrounding neighborhood around Riverdale High School is tidy. Set in a northern suburb that was designated during Apartheid for middle-class Coloureds the school received more funding than other schools similarly designated by race. Because many of the Coloured residents retain their professional service careers and own their homes the school is able to retain a sense of pride. There’s no peeling paint in the Riverdale classrooms, desks and chairs are clean and the halls are free of debris and the students and teachers maintain high standards.

For Principal Africa, the problems of the students do not seem to affect the school or teachers, yet. He commends his teachers for being exemplary:

Our teachers embrace the children I don’t know whether it’s an inner thing that we are African. But yeah...I think if you have a progressive staff. We’re fortunate. If you look at my teachers each and every one of them are they’re remarkable people

with their own stories. So we're, we fortunate that our kids can learn from, from all their teachers, and yeah, and as much as we've grown up in Apartheid era and all that and others not being educated and taught to think cause every one of my teachers they're strong in their own individual rights (interview February 22, 2011).

It is easier to empathize with the younger students than with older students who look like adults and seem to have adult problems.

Tables Turn

The principal of Umuziwabantu High School, Principal Henna, describes his town's "situation" when I inquired as to how the area changed.

Harding is a rural town with a mixed population, with a little bit of dark history. Growing up here I think we didn't understand; we didn't understand the divisions, why there were different schools and different cemeteries.

As a member of the Coloured community, Mr. Henna lives in town and describes a dramatic shift in the demographics in Harding as well as in the school.

...I think the change after 1994 has been quite great, [a] serious influx of all groups dominant [are] Black because of the access to jobs [and] wealth. They've sort of swamped the town. It used to be a town where all race groups could live, except the Blacks had to leave the town when the siren sounded at 9 [pm].

Though Principal Henna self-identified as "black" in the struggle ideology of anti-Apartheid movement and BCM, by directly contradicting himself claiming "all race groups" lived in town but excluding Black-Africans illustrates the depth former racial hierarchies remain in the subtle psyche of South Africans, even those who were in the anti-Apartheid struggle.

If one understands the history it gave people a sort of preference...that 'it's our town.' Now, there's a competition. They [Coloured parents] feel aggrieved if their students are not admitted. Registration, a Coloured person's view, was that they shouldn't be in queue if they're socialized in English schools. With [the] Coloured community they cannot access other schools except for private school. We try to discourage learners who struggle with language (July 30, 2011: interview).

Principal Henna's phrase "learners who struggle with language" indirectly points to Black-African students. While Coloured students in the area are typically socialized in English at home Black Africans are socialized in isiXhosa and/or isiZulu. The principal mentions school choice as being more limited for Coloureds than Black-Africans because of Coloured language proficiency (or lack thereof). Since the indigenous children are proficient in isiZulu or isiXhosa and there are larger numbers of public schools in closer proximity to their homes, they have more options. In his 1996 article on race in South African education institutions, Eduardo Pedro (1996:43) notes that while South African schools are integrated and open to all races no pupils from "other races" enrolled in the all-Black schools. "Demographics [in the Coloured school] has a dramatic shift," says Principal Henna as he moves to retrieve files from the walk-in safe in his office.

One percent are Coloured. I think that is a bit of a cause for the feeling, for feeling disgruntled. It's a real shift. It's not because of anything else [but] policy shift, and feeder schools.

[The] Coloured population is fairly small and because of [a] lack of employment opportunities many move out of town where I think the competition disfavors them because of affirmative action access. You tend to go to places where chances will be better (July 30, 2011: interview).

The opening of schools to all races coupled with South Africa's version of affirmative action places Coloureds lower on the racial hierarchy of disadvantage. As a result, their opportunities for scholarship, recognition, and employment decrease. This furthers a collective self-marginalization for Coloureds.

In response to my question, "Do schools do an effective job teaching the young people of this nation?" A daughter of Percy Fynn, former chief of Zulus in Izinqolweni on KZN's "south coast," responded:

They [schools] do but they are also in crisis. As far as the number of children they have in their classes. Due to the fact that in the rural areas as well or I should say not even in the rural areas they've got no options they go to the schools that are close to them but maybe in the cities you'll find that with schools are being deserted and they want to go to the better schools and I mean parents look at it in that light (interview, January 18, 2011).

Ms. Fynn's use of "they" is in direct reference to Zulus and Xhosas. Her use of pronouns, like Joe Botha, distinguishes her "in group" (Coloured) from the "out group." The irony of her statement was that earlier she professed her strong belief in Christianity and her belief that all people are the children of God. "I want my children to grow up refined," she says, implying that Xhosas or Zulus cannot be refined like Europeans. "And you want them to know specific language, which is going to be good for them in the near future." Again, implying that English has more value than African languages.

So you'll find they'll move them out. I mean we don't really go to the Black schools, maybe if I lived there or if my children had no other options... if schools were built in their communities for them to actually occupy, but you find that because...uh...they don't have maybe English speaking teachers that are really and truly going to teach the children in a way that satisfies the parents and satisfies the children they leave their schools and come and-and-and-and fill up in schools where they're going to get what they're looking for. As a result it almost pushes out the people who are rightly supposed to be in those schools." (Petunia Fynn interview, January 18, 2011).

Again, Ms. Fynn's uses pronouns to distinguish herself from those she perceives as the other. Her assertion that integration "... almost pushes out the people who are rightly supposed to be in those schools" coincides with Principal Henna's observation about Coloureds being disgruntled. Her use of "rightly" harkens back to the Apartheid segregation rules. "I mean Newlands is actually supposed to be a Coloured community. But you find that it's actually filled with more Black children, than, than Coloured. You'll find that Coloured people can't get their children in, You

know, [you] have to put your children in a school that's far and pay transport because you can't get them into the school" (Principal Henna July 30, 2011: interview).

Here lies one of the main issues that continue to separate people and exacerbate difference. The scarcity of resources in South Africa, such as education, jobs, and political representation, shows a nation in crisis. The mentality of competition amongst the "so-called" races will remain until the divisions of Apartheid are addressed by everyone. CJ, a student from a private, formerly White high school two hours north of Durban, acknowledges real cultural barriers keep people apart. While he might have black friends at school "It's just like you know, they have differences in their culture that-and stuff that actually make a barrier with who you sit with, and stay with actually, ya". Later, in response to the question if someone can stop being Coloured, CJ responds, "What I think is that people keep on reminding you. People around you remind you that in this country you are a Coloured guy, you are a Coloured guy, this guy is a Coloured guy!" (October 28, 2010: interview).

Student Views of Integration

While some educators and students see school's efforts to integrate as positive efforts to bring people together, some students see the problems associated that administrators and teachers are not often privy to observing. Patti, a first year secondary student at Umuziwabantu High, explains the challenges schools face in fostering harmonious relationships between different groups:

I don't think so. Even if they were trying to do uh anything about it, I don't think it will ever come right because this is when there was still Apartheid the Coloured schools were just for Coloureds. So the Coloureds most of the Coloured children still have that mentality that this is actually a Coloured school, you know, and that there's not supposed to be Muslims and there's not supposed to be Blacks, there's not supposed to be whites in there because this was supposed to be a Coloured school...Ok let me say about my class because I dunno know about others. In my class the black children some of them have that mentality that even if this was a

Coloured school they're taking over. You know, and stuff like that and so I don't think that it will ever come to a point where everyone is one in reality (Patti interview, July 17, 2011)

Patti's bleak outlook is reiterated by her best friend, Izzy (interview, July 16, 2011), "Dunno about schools, but not my school!" Perhaps because both girls were just starting high school, the novelty of integration subsides once students attend school together for a few years. Though both girls expressed a lack of enthusiasm for how the school runs they both acknowledged having African friends and being able to communicate with them regardless of their ability to speak the "vernacular" (meaning isiZulu or isiXhosa).

During free periods there is less self-segregation and more free movement across racial and ethnic lines. Leif for example, an upper classman from Umuziwabantu and PEP participant, notes his ability to "straddle both worlds without problem" (July 15 interview, 2011). However, Leif, who looks Zulu, admitted that Zulu people did sometimes have a problem with him because of his Coloured leanings. Despite any problems he has in school or outside of school, he maintained his relationships with Coloureds primarily because of his church affiliation. Many of the parishioners are Coloureds, Indians and other African nationals. In this way Leif is able to expand his associations. Leif's classmate, Elle (interview, July 6, 2011), shares her opinion about the school's efforts to maintain a harmonious relationship between the students:

My school? Well, it's like that at school. Well, not everybody, you get stuck up people, everybody interacts with everybody. I think you just have to. It's just, only the Muslims, they're just on their own, it's just, aghhh! Umuziwabantu I get so irritated!

Elle's irritation with the Muslims stems from her perception that they present themselves as being superior to everyone else. Both Leif and Shanice's reflections of their school experiences seems to be more independent representations of their high school experiences in integrated schools in Harding than their younger counterparts.

eThekwini High School in Wentworth

Ethekwini Secondary is sprawled across approximately four city blocks. Situated in southern Durban's "Industrial Basin" the school is bordered by chemical factories on one side, neighborhood houses, and a public park on the other side. Less than a mile down the road the Engen refinery⁴¹ puffs fire and smoke into the atmosphere night and day. The neighboring industrial plants fund the two local high schools in the area. The plants provide students with limited bursaries and fund special programs to promote the sciences; Engen's flagship program is the Saturday school program at Park East High (the other secondary school in the neighborhood). At eThekwini there is a plaque denoting funds received from the companies. Conversely, in one classroom, a poster entitled "Smells That Kill" warn young residents about contaminants in the air from the very same factories.

⁴¹ Engen refinery is the largest oil refinery in South Africa. When it was established in 1954 it was the first refinery of its kind in the country. It injects Rands 1.5 billion into the Durban economy. It is able to refine 125,000 barrels of crude oil per day. <http://kzntopbusiness.co.za/site/top-business-sector/Engen-Refineries/page/163>



Figure 28: eThekweni High School classroom ""

SMELLS THAT KILL

How to Identify Odours in South Durban

South Durban Community Environmental Alliance

Type	Source	Potential Cause	Effects
Burnt Eggs	Hydrogen Sulfide	Refineries/ Crude Oil Refinery	Cough, Nausea, Headaches
Burnt Matches	Sulfur Dioxide	Crude Oil Refining/ Burning	Asthma, High sensitivity
Carbox Gas	LPG, Butane, Propane & Propane	Gas Storage Depots/ Refineries	Drowsiness, dizziness
Cat Urine	Ammonia	Fertilizers/ Cleaning Agents	Dryness, Light headaches
Bleach	Chlorine	Water Treatment/ Bleaching Agent	Skin Irritation, Headaches
Petrol	Petrol Fumes	Storage Depots/ Petrol Stations	Cancer
Sweet Almonds	Benzene	Industrial Solvent/ Paints	Nausea, Sleepiness
Glue	Toluene	Paint & Resin Manufacture/ Paints	Intoxication
Corrosive/Sugar	Cane by products	Sugar Cane Processing	Nausea
Pungent Acid	Polystyrene	Packaging/ Insulation Manufacture	Fatigue, Depression
Alcohol	Ethanol	Fuel Refining/ Medical Industry	Light headaches, Intoxication
Bitter Cabbage	Methanol	Fuel Refining/ Anti-Freeze Agent	Respiratory Failure, Blindness
Vinegar	Acetic Acid	Chemical Product Manufacture	Digestive damage, Skin Irritation
Hokey/Suffocating	Chloroform or Formaldehyde	Chemical Manufacture	Eye Irritation, Lethargy

REPORT ALL ODOURS IMMEDIATELY TO STOP THE CONTINUED EXPLOITATION OF OUR COMMUNITY AND ENVIRONMENT

SDCEA OFFICE: (031) 461 1991
eThekweni Health Department
(031) 361 0000

Figure 29: Smells That Kill poster. Source:

<http://www.sdcea.co.za/images/stories/pdfs/smellsthatkill4.pdf>

As a result of the pollution many residents suffer pulmonary-respiratory damage and high rates of asthma. The medical school at the University of KwaZulu-Natal found children living in these suburbs south of Durban are up to four times more likely to develop and suffer from chest complaints than children from other areas of the city (Maguranyanga 2003). According to a study done by the University of Michigan, the levels of benzene recorded in the areas closest in proximity

to the Engen Refinery were up to fifteen times higher than World Health Organization guidelines recommend. The report states that investigative studies by local journalists show the levels in these areas are up to twenty-four times higher than they are in other areas of the nation

Ethekwini Secondary is located in Wentworth, a Coloured suburb of Durban. According to the school's Facebook page, in 1989 the school opened with 180 students and sixteen staff members. Today there are 1,124 students and forty staff members. The school was originally built in 1924 on eThekwini Road when that part of Durban was a White area (see Chapter Two discussing urban planning in response to race division). Wentworth became a working class Coloured ghetto in the 1960s. Upon the creation of Wentworth old army barracks were repurposed as government sponsored apartments (or flats) for poorer residents. Wealthier residents purchased one story houses with fenced yards. In 1984 the school began admitting its first African students. Five years later the physical edifice of the school was relocated to Wentworth, replacing Wentworth High. Due to the dilapidated conditions of the former school's facilities, eThekwini School was again moved to a WWI parachute factory with prefabricated classrooms. This time only the buildings remained.

The repurposing of military facilities pushes the city's development from residential to schooling. Recently, the barracks were torn down and new apartments built for the residents, however, these flats are still referred to by their old designation. Families with standalone houses rent their granny flats (guest houses) to supplement income. Most residents are still blue collar workers. Men work as mechanics (or panel beaters as they are called), welders, and boiler makers; while women stay at home or work in nearby factories. There are professionals such as teachers, doctors and lawyers but recently they tend to move away to places once forbidden during

Apartheid. Former residents, however, often return seeking the sense of community that is lacking in their new upscale neighborhoods.

Wentworth has several well attended churches of various denominations and one mosque. There is one community library attached to a community hall and a computer center. A hospital overlooks the neighborhood and an HIV/AIDS clinic below is funded by American singer Alicia Keys. Several Community Based Organizations run by local women attempt to address the challenges of the community. These act as safe spaces for children after school. One such organization Women of Wentworth (WOW) served abused women and children, welcomed us by facilitating our group meetings with the teens. The unemployed are highly visible and a high percentage of Coloured men of all ages can be seen during regular business hours walking in the streets. Marijuana and alcohol use is prevalent, but more dangerous drugs such as *Tik* (methamphetamine) and *Whoonga*⁴² (a combination of cannabis sativa, the anti-retroviral drug Stocrin, rat poison, and detergent) are popular forms of escape. During the 1980s Wentworth had a national and international reputation for its gangs and gang warfare that forced the community to live in fear. Today people complain about “freelance” drug dealers who according to residents “get younger and younger” and have no connection to the community, whereas the gangs of the 1980s did.

Coloured not by choice: South Africa’s involuntary minority

Wentworth (and other Coloured working-class areas in South Africa, such as Harding) suffers the global trend of young men disengaged from school, while in some cases their female

⁴² *Whoonga* puts hundreds of thousands of people infected with HIV/AIDS at risk because the anti-retrovirals are being stolen from patients leaving the clinic (Pumza Fihlani February 27, 2011).

counterparts continue their education and establish careers. Schools do not speak to the Coloured experience, which some respondents claim to be a reason youth (especially the males) do not feel motivated to achieve. Inequalities of the past racist Nationalist rule continue to plague working class Coloureds exacerbated by a many members within the community that places little value on academic performance. Alternatively, many are disillusioned with the prospects of achievement in the employment sector based on the principles of BEE. Coupled with high drop-out rates (often a result of their suspension from school) and young men in particular being compelled “to ‘get a job’ sees many of the boys in this community [Wentworth] leaving school prematurely, thereby limiting their chances of securing gainful employment” (Anderson 2009:57). Without models that look like or act like them in the communities and value placed on education, young people tend to lose interest and seek occupations and success outside of school.

John Ogbu’s 1974 ethnography of African-American high school achievement “[t]hat the racial legacy of involuntary minorities left them with a ‘negative model of folk success’, and a pessimistic view of the labor market as having a racially stratified job ceiling (Foley 2004:387) reverberates in the commentary of KwaZulu-Natal’s working-class Coloureds. The job ceiling concept including formal statutes and informal practices employed by members of the dominant group to limit the access of minorities to desirable jobs. These practices limit opportunities and the potential returns minorities can expect from their education and skills (**Ogbu 1992:10**). Even after the dissolution of the Apartheid state, the racial hierarchy continues to put Coloureds at a disadvantage. Their historically marginalized, liminal position “perpetuated in the new dispensation...worsens the struggle they [Coloureds] face in a fast-changing political, economic and social South Africa” (Anderson 2009:235). Coloureds conclude that their difficulties stem from the fact they were “not white enough” during Apartheid and are now “not black enough” in

the New South Africa. This has the effect of exacerbating a deprived socio-economic status of unemployment and poverty amongst working-class Coloureds. “In response, many boys challenge authority, use violence, and engage in rampantly hypersexual behaviour to cope with their sense of social exclusion” (Anderson 2009:235). However, Anderson’s observations are not unfamiliar responses to oppression that can be seen in economically and socially depressed communities around the world. Ultimately, these behaviors affect the self-worth, achievement and mobility of the community as a whole.

The idea that people’s collective histories and the histories of the society in general, coupled with issues of political economic mobility, affect success in institutions and social situations dominated by those seen as the oppressors is relevant in South Africa. Though many scholars criticized Ogbu’s theory for implied focus on static identity, his work sheds light on the reasons why some members of previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa (like Coloureds and certain classes of Indians and Black-Africans) fail to achieve. The historic implications of Apartheid creating political and economic policies transformed the majority black population into minority stakeholders in the governing system. The transformation of South Africa in 1994 further alienated many Coloureds from their Black-African counterparts: many interpreted the BEE policies as “reverse Apartheid.” That some Coloured students lose interest achieving in institutions that do not seem to value them as individuals or as members of a particular groups gives credence to seeking alternative means of success, such as gangsterism or establishing families early. In this sense, Ogbu’s insights answer why some Coloured youth do not achieve in school. Bronwynne Anderson (2009:4) notes being Coloured in South Africa was associated with being poor and marginalized under Apartheid despite their placement above Black-Africans in the racial hierarchy. Anderson (2009:4) shows the way the new democratic and economic dispensation

continues to amplify displacement and feeling of “not belonging” by Coloured people. The marked material disadvantage of Coloured communities in the present is a result of social and economic disadvantage in Apartheid. The continued marginalization experienced by community members has varying consequences of single parent households, poverty, crowded, underfunded schools, and disenchanting youth. Yet it is important to note that these are symptomatic of oppression rather than a racial proclivity to dysfunction. These attributes are not seen exclusively in Coloured communities, they are equally occurring in poor and oppressed communities in all societies. In her ethnography, Anderson shows the way drugs, alcohol, gangs and sexual promiscuity sweeps up males in Coloured communities who lack role models. Like their adolescent counterparts in the United States, some Coloured youth do not see alternatives to living out stereotyped lives because they are the most prominent. Unemployed men are much more visible lingering in public spaces than their working counterparts who spend most of their time at home or at work. Visits to Wentworth during “normal business hours” found small groups of young and middle-aged Coloured men congregated on corners chatting or languishing at *spaza* (corner shops like NYC bodegas) shops. Many older women that acted as the neighborhood school matriarchs also complained about youngsters getting involved in gangs and drug dealing. The stereotype seemed ingrained in the Coloured community. One informant from Umlalazi municipality, north of Durban, noted how when helping his brother set up for a meditation class in Umhlanga Rocks (an affluent suburb of Durban) many of the White women in attendance were taken aback by his appearance. The young man’s long hair that curly cued into a sort of “halfro” put people off he said. “They looked at me as if I were a gangster from Wentworth and moved away” he said. Some of the middle aged informants spoke about the parties they used to attend in the Coloured Township and the resulting violence. But these things were not particular to Wentworth specifically or

Coloured people generally. People partying on weekends are louder and gain more attention than their sober counterparts or those that can afford to take vacations and party indoors. However, living in particular areas with histories of violence and dysfunction, forces others to embrace alternative codes of ethics and values as ways to survive. “Emancipation is not something that one person can confer on others. It is an ongoing practice” that requires hard work, support, and the visibility of success (Anderson 2009:5). Additionally, it requires time and open education. The public education systems needs to adequately unpack the inequities within their curriculum and encourage students to strive. Morrell (1998) notes that schools are critical sites in the process of identity construction (Anderson 2009:7). It is necessary then for communities to take institutions to task at how they educate their children.

Conclusion

Some multicultural education theorists like Asumah & Hlatshwayo (1995), LeRoux (2000), Nicole Carignan, Roland G. Pourdavood, Lonnie C. King, and Nosisi Feza (2005) argue that multicultural education maintains the status quo without addressing the real problem of racism. They maintain that multiculturalism promotes divisiveness and ethnic polarization rather than national or local unity. The mere presence of diverse groups of students does not qualify as multicultural education. Likewise, addressing multiple cultures in the classroom does not necessarily qualify as multicultural education. However, many educators believe that effective multicultural education puts forth efforts to extend the learner’s knowledge of their own culture as well as learning about the customs, habits, and characteristics of other cultures in diverse nation. The aim is to produce mutual respect, acceptance, and to dispel prejudices that come in the form of racism, sexism, or stereotyping. (LeRoux 2000:23).

The definition of multicultural/intercultural education differs between nations as well as within them. Carignan et al. (2005) note that the practice of multicultural education and how culture is understood as either traditional, liberal, or radical. From the essentialist Apartheid standpoint, culture is understood as being fixed, essentialist, and predetermined. Furthermore, proponents of this viewpoint assume the existence of a universality of culture in the manifestation of Western-centrism and assimilation is promoted for others. The consequences of such thinking is that established groups' hegemony is perpetuated in schools and segregated or disadvantaged groups are further marginalized, even if they have access to the same institutions and provisions as the dominant groups. Furthermore, the traditional viewpoint does not question the processes of racism, ethnocentrism, Occidentalism, or Eurocentrism. The liberal viewpoint promotes cultural pluralism and views culture as fluid and dynamic. This notion interrogates social constructions of superiority and inferiority, discrimination/exclusion based on difference and ethnocentric biases. It supports diversification of curriculum, cultural content, adapting teaching styles, considering differences without folklorizing or trivializing cultures in the curriculum. People with this mindset interpret difference as empowering. Finally, the radical perspective resists capitalist values relating to blind mass consumption and hegemonic power that supports inequity. The aim of this perspective is the elimination of inequities and oppression of specific groups in the system and that education should reflect the concerns of diverse cultural groups. Supporters believe students should be involved in democratic decision making, that low income and minority parents should be involved in action projects in the community with the support of schools, and that diverse racial, gender, and ability groups should interact in non-traditional roles (Carignan et al. 2005:382-383).

One myth is that a diverse student body constitutes a multicultural educational environment regardless of curriculum. A true multicultural education program takes into account ethnic/cultural

differences between pupils and incorporates the differences into the curriculum. According to Eldering (1996), multicultural education can be limited to ethnic/cultural group pupils (particularistic approach) or directed at all pupils (universal approach). The degree at which the cultural characteristics of the pupils are taken into account depends on the perception and the appreciation of the cultural differences. If a deficit approach is taken then the cultural features of the pupil will be ignored. However, if there is a positive attitude toward the ethnic group then the language, culture, and learning style of the students will be taken into account and will be used as a point of departure (Eldering 1996:319-320). Under the disadvantage model the removal of the disadvantage is the priority with the culture playing a secondary, temporary role.

In today's global nations diversity implies enrichment of society as a whole and should be reflected in education. Diversity allows for the marginalized and dominant citizens to come an understanding about their common humanity. Diversity of background, opinion and thought process fosters new solutions to old and existing problems. Through diversity new solutions to future problems arise. Including all people allows for a greater diversity of ideas and perspectives. This approach can be used for both specific ethnic/cultural groups as well as with all pupils. The method is known as the *human relations approach* or *intergroup approach*, in which students growing up in these types of inclusive environments are taught to learn how to relate to one another (Eldering 1996:320). The assumption of this approach is that knowledge of different cultures will foster mutual appreciation and understanding. Topics covered usually concern language, literature, history, geography, religion and culture of various groups who often receive marginal attention in most cases especially if there are numerous ethnicities represented in the school. Ntshoe (1991) points out that in post-Apartheid South Africa this approach was essential to build a common national identity in order to do away with choosing one culture over all others to represent the

nation. However, it becomes more challenging when one group of people are part of many cultures it is hard to “pin-point” the moments of representing all cultures. While multicultural education is usually recommended by many governments the courses typically do not become integral parts of the general curriculum (Eldering, 1996:320; Foley et al. 2000:54). In South Africa teachers need adequate training to engage students and commitment to unpacking race and what it means for South Africa to be a non-racial nation if it truly seeks this as part of its nation building scheme.

Through interviewing and interacting with this core group of twenty-five high school adolescents and elders in various Coloured communities a common theme of Coloured identity arose. In response to my question “What are some things that make you identify with the specific ethnicity, nationality or religion you chose?” Josie, a 17-year old participant answered, “The community I live in and my friends and family” (February 25, 2011: interview). Josie who lives with her mother and step father in a small stand-alone house deep in Wentworth, classified herself as a typical Coloured girl. “I’m not any particular race I am mixed from all different races.” For many this was a definition of Coloured. Although many youngsters and older people were challenged to define their ethnicity the common thread of family, discussing family history, and being marginalized because of their backgrounds seemed to tie many of these people together. Being from a specific place and suffering the effects of stereotyping by Blacks and Whites pushed many of the people I interviewed to strive for more than what others believed them to be. However, it often drove them together; as Principal Africa observed, “People go with what’s familiar” (interview, February 22, 2011). Despite setbacks many older Coloureds that claimed a non-racial identity of “South African” or “black” many of their children youngsters pushed back opting for a South Africa’s creole classification. Though many Coloured youth do not feel a draw to being “black” since the struggle against Apartheid is over this is not to say their identities may change.

For the older politically active generation, blackness was a moral identity against a racist regime. In today's new South Africa, many Coloureds (and some Black-Africans) embrace a creolized identity and see themselves as separate from the Black-Africans. Though youth today live and learn together with these other ethnic groups they are aware of the differences in language, religion, style, and history. They are subject to the differentiations as pointed out by family, media, and other people. They learn these things from their keen human sense of observation and classification. They learn from their socialization at school and from listening to their elders.

As racially segregation practices fall out of favor in the post-modern world and people begin to move freely between cultures and geographical spaces, different people and cultures come in contact, resulting in both parties being influenced by the other and educating each other through their interactions. In multi-ethnic nations, such as South Africa, culture contact often times results in a new type of people, who are neither completely subjugated nor liberated as a result of their undefined liminal status. As more and more people begin to "mix," how they define themselves will remold the manner racial discourses are discussed. Thus, identity will become increasingly complex and ultimately revolve around issues yet discussed in academic literature.

Creole experiences and individuals must have a place in cultural and educational curricula to show the diversity and commonalities between human beings and our life experiences. South Africa's racial policies have haunted individuals and families' secrets kept, lives torn apart, and wounds left unhealed. By addressing Coloured peoples' experiences through mainstream media and educational material, perhaps South Africa and its citizens can release and overcome some of the stigmas carried with the term "Coloured." If this can occur then maybe all people who are classified as culturally or racially "mixed" may lead by example in new post-racial societies.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The ways in which KZN Coloureds undermine their own identity through self-denial, self-marginalization, and adherence to racial constructs can at times harm their ability to recognize their Africanness. This is especially true of elders that endured the bunt of Apartheid legislation and brutality. However, the creole nature of their history and existence enables a creative element of their identity to rise in the face of their ambiguous racial, ethnic, and cultural positions. This is especially true among the youth who are raised beneath the “rainbow” of a freer and open South Africa that are no longer chained by the limitations of Apartheid. My aim in this dissertation was to reject an essentialist interpretation of the category Coloured.

From my fieldwork in three separate locations I established that: 1) Many Coloured people in KZN strive to be included in the larger national scheme of South Africa from a perspective of self-determination and non-racialism. Since this is not necessarily occurring, alternative forms of citizenship are constructed through everyday lives of community members and community based organizations; 2) Historical memory for youth is important in establishing this alternative form of citizenship and 3) Colonialism and traditionalism are often amalgamated into the reference points within Coloured communities and within individual ideas of belonging and identity.

Perceived racial and cultural differences result in the continued distinction of Coloureds from other groups (Indian, European, and Nguni peoples). Though working-class Coloureds claim marginalization by the government they create agency through grassroots organizations. How other subaltern peoples navigate racial and ethnic processes and to what extent Coloured people claim blackness versus creoleness is still determined by past prejudices and current practices. The colonial and Apartheid legacy of race reflected in the communities and embodied by Coloured people ponders in what ways will these issues be resolved in the future? To recognize the Coloured

history in its entirety and not just dealing with one group means that South Africa will have to come to terms with its past and current prejudices, policies of inclusion and exclusion of Coloureds and smaller populations. Whether Apartheid or Black Economic Empowerment race and identity still matters in South Africa.

My research paints a view of Coloured youth and adults striving to find their place within a society and world that often looks past their existence. In this respect, these young adults are attempting to express themselves in a post-Mandela South Africa. I found perception of identity amongst the majority of my participants was the opposite of assimilation and complete integration into the majority Zulu life-style or European-descended peoples. The majority of the teenagers I interviewed strongly identified as being Coloured. This perspective differed from their elders, some of which were attempting to reestablish their connections to African ancestry, culture, and history. Others, who were part of the struggle politics of the 1970s and 1980s identified with the non-racialism UDF and ANC propaganda. These older people held positions of political power, such as school principals, municipal workers, and people with multiple political and business affiliations. Despite this, most participants who drew on multiple genetic and cultural backgrounds positively identified as creole. The few KZN Coloureds I interviewed who have lived abroad claimed they did not identify with the Coloured categorization; rather they preferred to identify as “South African.” Ironically, these individuals saw similarities within their own experiences at home and with other marginalized peoples (both indigenous and people of color). In a sense, some of these people did not realize they were oppressed until seeing their situations from outside as reflected by other peoples. Yet during observations, I heard and witnessed some of these same people self-identify with the Coloured category and, or speak disparagingly of the other oppressed

groups when in the presence of other Coloured people. Some even told stories of being Coloured, or different when paired with non-group members.

Within the world of South African and international anthropology, politics, economy and international affairs there remain an underlying binary that dominates society and literature. While this is changing with ideas of multiculturalism and the increased heterodoxy of nations, the point remains: those in between the spectrum are still marginalized in mainstream scholarship and society. This goes for indigenous struggles and people of mixed-race, especially as they exist outside the typical areas of the Western Cape. To a degree, these are stagnant comparisons and scholars working in these areas continuously highlight these relationships.

Taking care of the Past Now takes care of the Future

In discussing the rise in identity politics Williams (1997) inquires into the ways people determine authentic membership into a group. Is it by birth, blood-ties, phenotypical resemblance, kinship organization, or geographic upbringing? Is authentic membership affected by cultural socialization and the presence or absence of one parent's heritage? What combination of these variables determines whether someone is authentic and who determines who belongs and who does not (Williams 1997:168). For all "mixed" peoples in South Africa, the answers to these questions are fluid and constantly changing. Coloured identities are a matter of becoming instead of being. It is through examining the creole identities of Coloured people living in KwaZulu-Natal province and how these individuals place themselves in larger national discourse of Black and White that these questions are addressed within my dissertation.

Ang (2000) notes that identity is not about who we are or where we are from, rather identity is about what we will become (Ang 2000:1). Through acts of "memory work" and the examination of visual culture we begin interrogating the past in ways that we are able to imagine our futures

(Ellapan & Jyoti 2010:59). Whether through examining what we observe in individual and group physicality, through how we see people represent and present themselves or through what we create, human beings are constantly assessing and adjusting ways of being in the present, which ultimately affects our futures. Working through the photo-voice methodology allowed my participants to examine their own perceptions of place, people, time, and memory. Thinking through concepts such as “home,” “family,” “the other,” and “beauty” (to name a few) ushered in streams of consciousness that when coupled with creating a visual representation of the concept spurred imagination. Knowing the images would be on display encouraged a sense of future representation. Furthermore, the exhibits enabled the audience to recall memories and make their own connections. In this sense, PEP gave a creative outlet for both the creators of the images and those viewing them. For instance, during the group youth meetings and individual interviews, picking apart personal family histories, revealing, sometimes, painful memories, and confronting the “ideal culture” of the Rainbow Nation’s non-racialism with the personal experience through a Coloured lens reveals the continued racialism of the Apartheid legacy. The exploration of these issues, as well as the public display of them in post-Apartheid South Africa created new spaces for the assertion and creation of Coloured identities in ways that seemed impossible in the past. Working on this project revealed that KZN Coloureds are equipped to use varied levels of cultural competency to navigate the new South Africa.

KZN Coloureds choose to employ the resources at hand to form identities, both individually and collectively. These identities are not static, a point I make throughout my analysis. They shift in relation to place, activity, and the people with which one interacts (or does not interact), as well as classification. The more someone lives in the globalized world the greater the shifts and the presence of multiple identities. Throughout this dissertation, I make the argument

that KZN Coloureds are global by their historical backgrounds and their being able to draw on their multiple ancestral lines. South Africa as a nation was not isolated. Rather the events leading up to the use of race and Apartheid were part of a larger colonial project. In these pages I have shown how contemporary South Africans navigate multiple worlds between home, school, and work. My research demonstrates that people do think deeply about issues of race even as they go about their daily lives. Issues of racial and individual belonging come to the forefront anytime people are confronted with the *Other*. Political ideologies media and educational institutions continually remind people of the challenges that come with living in a multiethnic, multicultural, globalized nation. In this way, KZN Coloureds are hyperaware of their sometimes tumultuous family histories and ideologies of race in general. While they understand that people outside their classification look at them in ways that stereotype them as a rootless people, ever wandering and seeking legitimacy from the groups that created them and many attempt to create counternarratives. Ultimately, many fall victim to essentializing Coloureds as being “mixed between Black and White” and lacking a unique culture. In so doing in their attempts to strive for non-racialism they racialize themselves as well as others. Therefore, those “rooted” ethnic groups look at their hybridity with a sense of pity and sometimes fear. It is partly because of these reasons I decided to conduct this research on race and identity. Coming from a “line of Coloureds” deeply rooted in our family history and in the land and culture of those *others* that surrounded us, I dispelled the myth that Coloured people are “less than” groups that use contentious terminology like “tradition,” “authenticity,” and “purity” to bolster their legitimacy.

The Race against Race

Under European rule, race was perceived as a biological reality maintained by the existence of “mixed-race” (Coloured) and “pure race” people. Though initially through perceived

(phenotypical, cultural, and familial) difference, KZN Coloured identity was bolstered as a result of colonial and Apartheid legislation which ultimately created a separate consciousness. Because of their liminality, adherence to “racial loyalty” was broad and varied across the communities. While some chose to “pass” or blend into the surrounding dominant cultures (Black, White, or Indian) others found similarly ambiguous people to join. The multiplicity of the instances of these individual and familial joinings of heterogeneous peoples that make up Coloureds spurred the creative nature of creolization of which the word implies.

I chose to work in KwaZulu-Natal as opposed to the Western Cape because of the unique effect space and history had on this particular people. My motive to encourage greater attention to groups often overlooked by national and international discourse was simultaneously motivated by a need to challenge the Western racial theories and racial binaries. Many participants that were active in “the struggle” claim Coloured to be an imposed identity by agents of Apartheid. My emphasis on youth perspectives and education, however, show that identities concerning struggle politics and non-racialism against Apartheid are no longer markers of identity in this new era. Identities amongst contemporary South Africa are expressed differently from their elders through media, consumerism, friendship affiliations, and spatial determinants. Coloured youth maintain their creoleness just as elders that add the disclaimer “so-called” to the Coloured category often maintain their creoleness, even if they do not acknowledge it by name. Regardless of the name and despite being forced together by de jure segregation, creole people in KZN succeeded at establishing separate communities and identities through familial ties, shared space, and shared histories.

This dissertation is a culmination of observations, archival research and interviews examining race, place, and belonging. My research involved a public-anthropology component

that expands the idea of what it means to be African and Coloured in South Africa. The photo-voice component to this dissertation aided in helping Coloured youth, specifically, to dismantle outsiders' stereotypes about both the people and their areas. The photo-ethnography project also gave these youth a venue to honor their voices as well as their creativity. My research calls into question the history of colonization, power relationships behind race and the emphasis of authentic culture that could have implications around the world.

Future Research

Ideas of racial and ethnic minorities are often dictated by national discourses on authenticity and representation. Often minority and indigenous groups have limited opportunities and venues to speak back to hegemonic portrayals perpetrated by the media and scholarship. Sometimes these groups are forced to assimilate damaging mindsets, like the hierarchy of race, which adversely affects the identity and cultural constructions of individuals in ethnic communities. When comparing the modern human rights violations and associated mobilized struggles in South Africa and the United States scholars, such as Hermann Gilliomee (2003), Paul Gilroy (1993; 2000) Fareeda McClinton and Tukufu Zuberi (2006), Fareeda McClinton (2008) and Janette Yarwood (2006, 2011), continuously compare the struggle of African-Americans with those of indigenous Africans. The comparison is made against similar White supremacy policies based on a common racialization of a continental and racial connection.

However, scholars in the social science fields have yet to adequately address the experiences of creole people around the world. They fail to address the central question of how concepts of Western racial hierarchies contribute to the creation of new hybrid identities and affiliations in relation to national and long established ethnic identities. Despite much excellent work on themes of human rights struggles, history, education, and ethnic studies scholars

examining identity formation have not fully explored how racial hierarchies influence claims based on the importance of status and resource allocation in creating and sustaining minority communities. Additionally, scholars have not adequately moved away from comparing the African Diaspora experience with that of Black South Africans. I propose to expand the discourse between these South Africa and the United States that go beyond conversations dominated by the Black and White dichotomy.

My academic goal is to extend our knowledge around the implementation of policies and ideologies by State-sponsored, race-based social hierarchies. By achieving this goal, I contribute to the corpus of South African and Creole research. In addition to continuing work on KZN Coloureds I seek to expand my research to the Griqua people and the ties they have to other creole and indigenous groups. As a similarly creolized, colonized group that faced similar racialization processes, segregation, and educational policies that influenced many individuals and communities to deny their native roots. Inquiry into the ways post-WWII decolonialization movements across the Third and Fourth Worlds and the indigenous activism of the United States' along with Civil Rights Era are important aspects of the historical underpinnings that allowed once marginalized communities to reclaim their cultural roots and mobilize communities. Despite the social and political victories that turned in favor of human rights these under-represented communities are still plagued by poverty, prejudice, and disenfranchisement. Without a complete story, we are left with an inadequate analysis privileging hegemonic narratives thus creating the condition for ill-informed policy decisions and perpetuating a cycle of misunderstanding and resentment. We, as scholars, also miss the opportunity for alternative perspectives. This comparative study will ameliorate this gap in the scholarship by examining the classist and racial politics of other creolized

communities in South Africa to elucidate on previously unacknowledged relationships between settler groups and indigenous hybridized communities in similarly highly contested racial contexts.

My dissertation on South African Coloureds living in KwaZulu-Natal examines how Western conceptions of race as once promoted by Apartheid influenced the formation of a separate identity. Focusing on this community challenges the notion that all creole people in South Africa are the same. Yet, it shows the interconnectedness of various creole groups around the country. Furthermore, through their narratives, I encourage the notion of creolization. Coloureds claim, based on their historically documented genesis, their sanguine, linguistic, and cultural relationships to Africans, Asians, and Europeans. The primary objective of my new project is to expand on the conversation of creolization to include southern Africa as well as to expand what it means to be “African.”

The prejudices that certain Coloured families hold against other people of color (Indians or Africans) as documented throughout my research, in the past was an attempt to solidify ties with a more affluent or socially mobile group. Their discrimination points to an opportunistic mentality of Coloured people and a desire to differentiate themselves and the unique attributes of their communities. In my research I acknowledge that one’s cultural progenitors consciously selected specific cultural practices to conform to societal pressures from the dominant culture.

Perhaps looking to other communities within South Africa can assist in healing the open wounds of racialism and marginalization that persists, especially amongst these groups of “so called mixed-race” people. Other creole communities might share similar feelings of *diasporization* since they share similar histories of disenfranchisement, familial mixing, resettlement, gender bias, adjustment to the colonial scene, and political (dis)organization. Research should continue to address the connections between creole peoples throughout South Africa, together with

notions of belonging. While there is research concerned with connecting the experiences of African-Americans with Coloured people, I feel there needs to be greater discussion of Coloureds as creole people and how the experiences of Coloureds, especially those that are directly descended from indigenous groups empower their sense of self. Research should also move in the direction that takes into account cross-cultural comparison with other “mixed-race” groups with indigenous roots in Australia, New Zealand and North America. Since governmental policies concerning “mixed-race” people in former British colonies were similar to South Africa a lot of valuable information could be garnered concerning how individuals attempt to reclaim their individual and communal sense of self-determination in the face of settler-governments and assimilation. Whether the outcome of identity politics is a process of re-indigenization or a process of recognizing indigenous roots in a new creole identity is yet to be determined. It is important to note that identities are constantly shifting depending on time, space, historical underpinnings of contemporary events, and resource distribution. My dissertation represents a moment in time and particular space, drawn from past events and generations and their hopes for the future.

If you could miraculously combine the “races” on earth,
As an extra-extraordinary people would be birth.
To code them by colour, just wouldn’t be right,
They could be anything from black, brown, to white.
A splendid array of shades, and hues,
So well represented, they could look just like you.
A fusion of traditions, cultures and food,
No stereotyping, their life sure is good.
Such a beautiful, mysterious, talented people.
How is it done?
This masterpiece is created when many people are blended in one.
Yes! Coloureds are truly,
“*COLOURED*”

By Homer F.J. Smith, as seen in Mtunzini Museum

Glossary

Apartheid – the Afrikaans term meaning “separate.” The capitalization of the word is used to refer to a specific moment in South African history and a distinct government policy of separation. It is not unlike capitalizing the “h” in the word Holocaust to refer to the specific genocide that occurred during Nazi occupation of Europe during WWII. The capitalization of Apartheid distinguishes other uses of the word that have come to be used throughout the world to describe other policies of separation, example the separation barriers, dubbed “Apartheid wall” of Israel or the United States to control the influx of Palestinians around the West Bank and undocumented workers from Central America, respectively. In 1948, Apartheid became the governing policy of the White supremacist National Party that brought Afrikaners to power in South Africa.

African National Congress (ANC) – the political party formed in 1912. During Apartheid it became the banned party of Nelson Mandela. In the 1990s with Mandela’s release, the ANC became the ruling party of the newly democratic nation. Its platform was one man one vote and non-racialism.

Bantu – a word in isiZulu meaning human being or people. During Apartheid Black African groups were designated in this way until its meaning became altered to reflect inferiority and low quality especially regarding Apartheid legislation – such as Bantu education.

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) – Formed in the 1970s by Steven Biko, who at the time was studying medicine at the time, decided to forego his education in light of the racial disparities encountered at Natal University. Biko was influenced by the Civil Rights Movements taking place in the United States. The basis of the group was a policy of non-racialism and to unite all non-White people (Indians, Africans and Coloureds). The movement sought to inspire activism and unity in fighting second, third and fourth class citizenship in the oppressive state.

Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) “Since the year 2007 government moved away from a narrow form of advancing economic transformation by broadening the scope of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), resulting in Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE). The B-BBEE policy, which was legislated under the B-BBEE Act No 53 of 2003, aims to broaden participation in the economy of the country to result in an equitable society through the creation of opportunities for those people who were previously excluded from meaningful economic participation. It seeks to address issues such as the ownership of enterprises, management and control of those enterprises, procurement, enterprise development, skills development, employment equity and socio-economic development.

<http://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/BEECharter/Pages/default.aspx>

Boer – Afrikaans word for farmer.

Biryani – a type of rice pilaf influenced by Indian cuisine, a staple at KZN Coloured weddings and funerals.

B(b)lack - the term “black” with a lowercase “b” signifies a political identity that is not necessarily represented through phenotype and “Black” with a capital “B” to differentiate people of African descent who are members of an indigenous African nation reflected in their phenotype.

Braii – South African BB-Q.

Bruino – an Afrikaans slang meaning brown man in reference to Coloureds.

Coloured – during Apartheid Coloured person meant any person who did not appear to be or was not accepted to as a White person or a Native. Coloured people of South Africa were distinguished from colored people in the Americas, which referred to members of the African Diaspora (this point was highlighted in various Apartheid legislations. The Coloured category was an overarching umbrella for seven subcategories: Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Chinese, Griqua, Indian, Other Coloured, and Nama.

Creole – the result of formerly distinct ethnic cultures merging over time to create a separate and distinct group from the original, distinct contributing peoples. The active form of the word is creolization, or creolizing. Though it is commonly used to discuss instances of mixing within the Americas I use the terms to challenge South African notions of racial and cultural purity associated with the term “mixing.”

Democratic Alliance – one of the ANC party’s main contestants. Currently they control the Western Cape and Cape Town. The head is former journalist and anti-Apartheid Activist Helen Zille.

Freedom Charter – was a document adopted by the Congress of the People in Kliptown South Africa on 26 of June 1955. The core principles were to establish a non-racial democracy focused on human rights, land reform, labor rights, and nationalization. The South African Congress Alliance adopted these ideas. The alliance included the African National Congress, its allies from the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress.

In 1955, this system was designed to give all South Africans equal rights. Demands such as “Land to be given to all landless people,” “Living wages and shorter hours of work,” “Free and compulsory education, irrespective of colour, race or nationality” were synthesized into the final document by ANC leaders including Z.K. Mathews and Lionel 'Rusty' Bernstein. See: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72>

Griqua – a subcategory of Coloured people listed under the Apartheid definition of Coloureds. Griqua are a distinct culture of creole people descended from Dutch, Khoisan, and Bantu peoples that formed an independent nation in the 1800s under the leadership of Adam Kok III in the northern Cape. After 1994 a move to claim indigenous rights began to strengthen the groups cultural heritage.

Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 – under Apartheid law all people were segregated into specific areas according to their race. Anyone designated as Native was relegated to bantu homelands,

Indians were relegated to Natal area, Coloured designated homeland was the Western Cape, and prime farming land and urban areas were reserved for European-Whites.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) – the dominant party in the northern areas of KwaZulu-Natal province, the territory that used to be known as Zululand. During the 1990s it was a major rival of the ANC. Members of the IFP were engaged in violent battles and intimidation of ANC supporters. Their support base consists mostly of ethnically Zulu people although members of other ethnic groups opportunistically gained membership to gain support from the Zulu people.

Immorality acts – various legislations by European settler governments (both British and Afrikaner) to prevent miscegenation, pollution, and mixed-race off-spring that would undermine the philosophy of segregation.

Induna – a Zulu chief's headman.

Inhlawulu – isiZulu term referring to a type of “fine” placed upon a male that had out of wedlock intercourse with an unmarried woman. The fine is meant to reimburse the woman's family for a loss in the amount of *ilobolo* or bride price if the couple do not get married.

Ilobolo – isiZulu term referring to a type of bride price, typically paid in cattle. Today, the payment can be made in cash or other luxury items.

Kwaito – popular style of South African pop music, influenced by R&B, Rap, and Zulu music. Mostly consumed by Black-Africans and Coloureds.

KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) – the eastern most province in South Africa. During British and Afrikaner rule the territory was divided into Natal province and Zululand. It was combined after Apartheid ended.

Labor Party – originally called The Coloured People's Representative Council, the party adopted the name in the 1960s to present a unified stance against repressive Apartheid policies.

Maskandi – a popular type of Zulu folk music. Performers are men and women who often wear skins or beaded cloth skirts that are reminiscent of older styles of pre-colonial adornment. The music has an upbeat tempo. Singers are often accompanied by guitar, accordion and percussion. Lyrics usually tell a story and accompanied by synchronized dances.

National Freedom Party – a political party that splintered from the IFP in 2010.

Nguni – refers to a groups of indigenous African people that are believed to have originated in central and east Africa. After migrating north in to West Africa they are believed to have migrated south into Southern African region. They are related to the Bantu group. Cultural attributes include patrilineal societies, the herding of Nguni cattle, and linguistic similarities between languages.

Population Registration, Act 30 of 1950 – the Nationalist Party legislation that registered and classified all people in South Africa according to four designated racial groups – Bantu (Black), European (White), Asian (Indian) and Coloured (people of mixed-race).

Reserve/location – designated spaces “reserved” for natives. The system was based on the United States reservation land system for Amerindians.

Rondavaal – an Afrikaans word denoted a circular cinderblock structure with a thatched roof, usually used as a domicile or a storage area. The style of architecture replaced many of the grass, beehive structures used by Zulus before Westernized houses were adopted.

Shembe – a syncretic religion founded by Isaiah Shembe in the early 1900s. It is the oldest indigenous church in South Africa and is largely practiced by Zulus. Practitioners are called amaNazarites. <http://people.ucalgary.ca/~nurelweb/books/shembe/s-index.html>

Tricameral Parliament – began in 1980 under P.W. Botha's reforms. The Tricameral Parliament granted a space in South African political system for Coloureds and Indians. However, the new positions were powerless. In 1983, the National Party (NP) Apartheid Government introduced an amendment to the South African constitution legislating this new government structure. The new Tricameral Parliament was made up of three Parliamentary chambers: The House of Assembly (White representatives), The House of Representatives (Coloured representatives), and The House of Delegates (Indian representatives). <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/tricameral-parliament>

Tuck shops – are tiny kiosks run usually by private entities on school grounds.

Uitlanders – the Afrikaans word for foreigner.

Umlungu – the isiZulu word for a White or Coloured person, not Black-African or Zulu.

United Democratic Movement – foundations for the party were laid in the 1970s. In 1983, UDM formed as a coalition of anti-Apartheid organizations in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. Under the urging of Reverend Allan Aubrey Boesak, an amalgamation called for unified action of churches, trade unions, community organizations, student organizations and sports clubs against Apartheid. The UDM became the largest anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa. It was a “non-racial” and non-violent movement with two million members, with over 700 hundred sub-groups unified beneath its umbrella. For more information see <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/reverend-allan-aubrey-boesak>

Volkekunde – German-influenced study of peoples adopted by Afrikaner scholars and nationalists to justify segregation of people based on culture and race.

Western Cape – the southwestern most province in South Africa. It is the beginning point of colonialization and point of contact between Europeans and indigenous Africans (Khoi and the San peoples amongst others). It is believed to be the point of ethnogenesis for Coloured (mixed-race) people based on the practice of White men taking non-White brides and/or concubines.

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EDUCATION

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, Bloomington, Indiana	2015
Ph.D. in Anthropology minor International Comparative Education	
Dissertation: <i>South Africa through a Coloured Lens: Post-Apartheid Identity Formation amongst Coloureds of KwaZulu-Natal</i>	
Committee: Dr. Paula Girshick (chair), Marvin Sterling, Daniel Suslak, & Margaret Sutton	
UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa	Summer 2007
Coursework in isiZulu	
LAGUARDIA COMMUNITY COLLEGE, Long Island City, NY	2005– 2006
Coursework in Modern Chinese Literature in Mandarin	
PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY of Portland, Oregon	2003 – 2004
Coursework in Mandarin Language (oral and written)	
LEHMAN COLLEGE, New York City Teaching Fellows Program	2003
Masters of Arts in Social Studies Education	
CITY COLLEGE UNIVERSITY of New York	1999
Bachelors of Arts in Anthropology and Fine Arts, Minor in Asian Studies	
NORTH WEST UNIVERSITY of Xi'an, China	1997 – 1998
Coursework in Mandarin Language (oral and written), Chinese Culture	

APPOINTMENTS & AFFILIATIONS

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON RACE AND ETHNICITY STUDIES	2014
Affiliate, Indiana University Bloomington	
CENTER FOR CRITICAL RESEARCH ON RACE AND IDENTITY	2010 – 2011
Visiting Scholar, University of KwaZulu-Natal	Visiting Scholar
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ISSUES & RESOURCES	2009 – current
Contributor	

FELLOWSHIPS & AWARDS

FORD MINORITY DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP	honorable mention	2013
FORD MINORITY DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP	honorable mention	2012
Women in Science Conference, 2 nd Prize Poster Presentation		2012
FULBRIGHT-HAYS DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP		2011
ROTARY AMBASSADORIAL SCHOLARSHIP district 6580		2010
SKOMP TRAVEL AWARD		Summer 2009
FULBRIGHT GROUP PROJECT AREAS (GPA), for the study of isiZulu at UKZN		Summer 2008
FOREIGN LANGUAGE AREA STUDIES AWARD for the study of isiZulu		2008
FOREIGN LANGUAGE AREA STUDIES AWARD		2007
NEW YORK CITY TEACHING FELLOWS PROGRAM		2001 – 2003

PUBLICATIONS

Palmer, Fileve Tlaloc (Forthcoming chapter). Fissures in the Rainbow Nation: Coloured Identities beyond Black and White *In* Local Cosmologies. Bloomington, Indiana: Trickster Press

Palmer, Fileve Tlaloc (2012). Review of Michael Wessels *Bushman Letters: Interpreting /Xam Narratives*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. (2010).

Palmer-Stahlman, Fileve (2011). Review of Maddy-Weitzman, Bruce *The Berber Identity Movement and the Challenge to North African States*. University of Texas Press (2010).

Palmer-Stahlman, Fileve (2011). Review of C. Shackleton, M. Pasquini, and A. Dreshcer, eds. *African Indigenous Vegetables in Urban Agriculture*. Indigenous Peoples Issues & Resources. Boulder, Colorado.

Palmer, Fileve Tlaloc (2010). Review of Mwenda Ntarangwi *East African Hip Hop: Youth Culture and Globalization*. Urbana, IL, University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Palmer, Fileve; Julie Smith; Elisha F. Hardy; and Katy Börner. (2007). "Hands-on Science Maps for Kids." *Places and Spaces: Mapping Science*. Original artwork and design of World Map: Inventions and Science Map: Inventions and Portraits. <http://scimaps.org/exhibit/kids> (accessed June 10, 2008).

ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

"Racialism and Representation in the Rainbow Nation" American Anthropological Association National Meeting, Washington DC December 06, 2014.

"South Africa through a Coloured Lens" John Waldron Ivy Tech Art Center September 26, 2013

"Youth Portrayals of Coloured Identity and Reactions in South Africa" African Studies Noon Series, Indiana University-Bloomington, October 1, 2012.

"Rupturing the Rainbow: Family Stories of Post-Apartheid South Africa" at Paul Lucas History Conference Indiana University-Bloomington, March 24, 2012.

"Racing the Rainbow Nation" Women in Science Conference, Alumni Hall, Indiana University Bloomington, March 1, 2012.

"Madiba's Babies: Life through a Coloured Lens" at Indiana University Bloomington, Anthropology Graduate Student Association Symposium, February 24, 2012.

GUEST LECTURES

"Sticks and Stones and Funny Bones: Ethnic Humor and Race in America" Lecture: American Studies 100: What is America? Course, Indiana University-Bloomington October 28, 2013

"Race in South Africa" Lecture Ivy-Tech Bloomington September 17, 2013

"Sticks and Stones and Funny Bones: Ethnic Humor and Race in America" Lecture: American Studies 100: What is America? Course, Indiana University-Bloomington January 21, 2013

"The Hunger Games: Ancient Rome, United States, and Panem as Empire." Lecture: American Studies 100: What is America? Course, Indiana University-Bloomington September 18, 2012

PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS

"Building Bridges" Niagara Falls Rotary Club, Niagara Falls, New York October 24, 2011

"Coloured Identity in New South Africa" Durban North Rotary Club July 28, 2011

"Building Bridges" Rotary District 9270 (KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa) Conference June 11, 2011

"Exploring Coloured Identity in KwaZulu-Natal" Pietermaritzburg Azelea Club June 9, 2011

"Coloured Identity in New South Africa" Pinetown Rotary Club, South Africa May 12, 2011

"Exploring Coloured Identity in KwaZulu-Natal" Berea Rotary Club, South Africa May 10, 2011

“Exploring Coloured Identity in KwaZulu-Natal” eThekweni Rotary Club, South Africa April 13, 2011
 “Photography as a means of exploring identity” Umhlatazana Rotary Club, South Africa April 7, 2011
 “Exploring Coloured Identity in KwaZulu-Natal” Chatsworth Rotary Club, South Africa March 10, 2011
 “Exploring Coloured Identity in KwaZulu-Natal” Amanzimtoti Rotary Club, South Africa March 1, 2011
 “Welcome to the project” Izandla Zinkosi community meeting, South Africa February 17, 2011
 “The Significance of Stomping Boots” Rotary District 6580 (Southern Indiana) Conference May 1, 2010

EXHIBITS

“Stirring the Pot: Taking the Wannamaker Photos Home” (Forthcoming) December 2015
 Mather’s Museum for World Cultures Bloomington, Indiana
 “South Africa through a Coloured Lens” September 6, 2013
 John Waldron Ivy Tech Arts Center Bloomington, Indiana
 “Madiba’s Babies: Life through a Coloured Lens” August 6, 2011
 The Collective Art Gallery Durban, South Africa
 “Harding Stories” AME Church, Harding KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa August 1, 2011
 “This is Wentworth” John Dunn House Wentworth, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa May 25, 2011

FIELDWORK

Tuscarora Indian Nation July/August 2014
 Fieldwork for Mather’s World Museum examining memory, and ancestors
 KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa September 2010 – September 2011
 Dissertation research for ethnographic fieldwork on informal education and Coloured youth
 identity formation
 Durban, South Africa June-August 2007
 Pre-dissertation fieldwork for ethnographic project on Coloured identity in schools

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Adjunct Professor Spring 2015
Introduction to Archaeology
 Ivy Tech Community College Bloomington, IN

 Associate Instructor Spring 2015
What is America?
 American Studies Department, IUB

 Adjunct Professor 08/2014 – present
General Anthropology
 Ivy Tech Community College Bloomington, Indiana

 Associate Instructor Summer 2014
Critical Thinking and Problem Solving: Louisiana culture and the effects of Hurricane Katrina
 Student Academic Center, IUB

 Associate Instructor Spring 2014
Academic Booster Shot: How to be the best college student
 Student Academic Center, IUB

 Associate Instructor Fall 2013
What is America?

American Studies Department, IUB

Associate Instructor Summer 2013
Critical Reading and Reasoning: McDonaldization of Society
Student Academic Center/GROUPS, IUB

Associate Instructor Summer 2013
Socio-cultural anthropology
Anthropology Department, IUB

Associate Instructor Spring 2013
What is America?
American Studies Department, IUB

Associate Instructor Fall 2012
What is America?
American Studies Department

Associate Instructor Summer 2010
Critical Reading and Reasoning: McDonaldization of Society
Student Academic Center/GROUPS, IUB

Associate Instructor Spring 2010
Academic Booster Shot: How to be the best college student
Student Academic Center, IUB

Associate Instructor Summer 2009
Critical Reading and Reasoning: McDonaldization of Society
Student Academic Center/GROUPS, IUB

Associate Instructor Spring 2008, Fall 2009, Spring 2009
Academic Booster Shot: How to be the best college student
Student Academic Center, IUB

Public School History Teacher 2001- 2005
Global Studies, American History, Asian Art and Culture, Visual Arts
Park East Alternative High School

VOLUNTEER WORK

Yoga instructor	MAXWELL HOUSE YOGA	Bloomington, IN	2014-current
Yoga instructor	TIBETAN MONGOLIAN CULTURAL CENTER	Bloomington, IN	2013
Volleyball Coach	GIRLS INC.	Bloomington, IN	Spring, 2012
Photography coordinator	TUSCARORA INDIAN SCHOOL	Tuscarora Nation	Fall, 2011
Graduate Emissary	INDIANA UNIVERSITY EMISSARY PROGR,		2009 – 2010
Dancer	INDIANA UNIVERSITY GUMBOOT TROOP		2006 – 2009
Dive maintenance	NEW YORK CITY AQUARIUM DIVE TEAM		2005 – 2006
AMERICORPS			2001, 2002

LANGUAGES

Mandarin (Advanced intermediate)
Spanish (Advanced intermediate)
French (Intermediate)
isiZulu (Working knowledge)

CERTIFICATIONS

Commercial Driver's License Class B (passenger endorsement)	2014
Yoga Teacher Certification (Institute for Holistic Yoga) 500 hour training	2013
PADI SCUBA Rescue Diver	2006