

**THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDENTITIES
OF COLOURED WOMEN IN THE NORTHERN AREAS
OF PORT ELIZABETH**

C. H. BARKER

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**THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDENTITIES
OF COLOURED WOMEN IN THE NORTHERN AREAS
OF PORT ELIZABETH**

Celeste Heloise Barker

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Supervisor: Dr Wendy Isaacs-Martin

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ABSTRACT

This treatise explores the social and political identity of coloured women in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro (NMBM) with the intention of understanding why some stereotypes of coloured women's identity have endured since colonialism in South Africa.

Topic selection was stimulated by heated public response to a newspaper article ("*Jou Ma se Kinders*" (Your Mother's Children), (Roberts 2011: <http://www.lifeissavage.com/>) which negatively labeled and pigeon-holed coloured women's identity. With the notable exception of the Saartje Baartman story, most text selection in the Literature Review (Chapter 2) was informed by research in the Western Cape because studies have a patriarchal bias and there are scant records of coloured women's lives and identity in the East Cape, Port Elizabeth and the NMBM.

The study includes select readings of literary theory and South African fiction from which examples were chosen to illustrate the longevity of stereotypes attached to coloured women's identity. Commemorative narrative highlights the role coloured women played and continue to play as their alternative histories or counter narratives embed alternative histories in group identity.

A comparative historical analysis of racist and gendered policies and practices contextualises the social construction of coloured women's identity from the colonial period to the present time and a focus group discussion among ten female evictees from South End and Richmond Hill in Port Elizabeth (PE) generated rich details of coloured women's lives and experience in Port Elizabeth and the NMBM.

Findings are captured in four themes: *Living, Loving and Laughing*; *Religion and Resistance*; *Hardship and Trauma* and *Identity and Ambivalence*. These themes highlight nostalgia, courage and humour; the special role played by religious affiliation and coloured people's successful resistance to the demolition and deconsecration of places of worship in PE together with pride and a sense of achievement which continues to influence coloured women's political identity in the NMBM. Police brutality, everyday racism and sexism, the impact of apartheid on matriculants and the influence of petty apartheid on coloured women's lives and identity, as well as participants' contradictory perceptions of their post-apartheid

social and political identity which continue to be defined by a deficit discourse, are discussed and described in Chapter 4.

Focus Group findings locate coloured women's identity in a milieu of racist and gendered laws, policies and practices. It is suggested that sexualised stereotypes of coloured women's commodification and second class status persist regardless of the South African transition to a constitutional democracy. Evidence is presented of coloured women as bounded storytellers who create a counter narrative to apartheid justification of forced removals. It is suggested that the counter narrative is a vehicle for group support, affirmation and the recovery of roots, identity and post apartheid heritage including records and memorabilia displayed in the South End Museum.

As the field is under-researched it is recommended that further research should be conducted to include studies of the social and political identity of an expanded sample of coloured women representative of diverse ages and backgrounds in the rural and urban areas of South Africa.

Key Words

coloured women

social and political identity

stereotypes

commodification

legislation

policy and practice

CAATJE KEKKELBEK

My naam is Caatje Kekkelbek
I kom van Kat Rivier
Dere is van water geen gebrek
Maar scarece van wyn en beer.
Myn a.b.c. at Phillip's school
I learnt ein kleene beitje
And left, with wisdom just as full
As gekke tanta Meitje.
With my tol derol etc...

But A.B. ab or I.N. ine
Ik dogt, met uncle Plaatje,
'Snt half so good as Brandywyn
Or vette Karbonaatje.
So off we set, ein heele boel
Stole a fat cow and sack'd it
Then to an English settler fool
We had ourselves contracted.
With my tol derol etc...

His va'slands sheeps was plenty vet
Zyn Brandywyn was sterk ook
Maar we hombogged him out of bot'
For very little werk ook
And wat he voud not give, one took
For Hottentot is vryman
We killed his fattest ox and ook
Ons drained his vatjes dry man
With my tol derol etc...

Next morn dey put me in blackhole
For one Rixdollar stealing
And knocking down a vrouw dat had
Met myn sweet heart some dealing
Maar I'll go to the Go'vnuer self
Dat's groot onrecht by jingo
I've as much right to steal or fight
As Kafir has or Fingo

(Bain 1838 in Lister 1949: 196)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Motivation

The first draft of Bain's nineteenth century charade "*Caatje Kekkelbek*" (Kate Cackle Trap) (Bain 1838 in Lister 1949: 196) and Roberts' post-apartheid "*Jou Ma se Kinders*" (Your Mother's Children) (Roberts 2011: <http://www.lifeissavage.com/>) as well as public reactions to both illustrate the early birth and longevity of dehumanising stereotypes of coloured women's identity. Bain and Roberts wrote their skits 173 years apart, yet both rely on the same stereotypes of coloured women as illiterate garrulous drinkers, thieves with white aspirations (Caatjie wants to speak at Exeter Hall and Robert's subject is described as using skin lightener), who are violent, promiscuous "*naai masjiene*" (sex machines). This moral and sexual stereotype is repeated in "The Slave Book" (Jacobs 1998: 25). February (1981: vi-viii) comments that stereotypes are typically used to control and repress. Repression and control are evident under the conditions of stigmatisation and social distance illustrated in Bain and Roberts' texts.

Shaw's article (2009) relies on a version of the text of "*Caatje Kekkelbek*" used during the first production of the satire at the Grahamstown Amateur Theatre on 5 November 1838 (Shaw 2009: 5). This version of the skit is longer than the text quoted in Lister's (1949) book and includes the words of the spoken interludes between each stanza. Differences between Lister and Shaw's texts are that: Shaw appends "Or Life Among the Hottentots" to the title of the play; the words of the spoken interludes include political references to Dutch and English settlers as well as descriptions of "Hot'not ladies" (Bain: 1838 in Shaw 2009: 17) who are complimented because they look as good as English women and a conclusion in which Caatje states that regardless of whether her face or back is turned to the English she would steal English hearts with her looks. Shaw argues that the conclusion, which refers to Caatje's back, is a comparative reference to Hottentot women's different and inferior sexuality and to Saartje Baartman's steatopygia and display as evidence of Hottentot women's bestiality. As Saartje Baartman died in 1815 and *Caatje Kekkelbek* was first performed in 1838 this plausible argument reinforces the longevity of stereotypes and prejudice based on physical differences between English women and coloured or Hottentot women.

In a controversial newspaper article Roberts' (<http://www.lifeissavage.com/>) lists nine stereotypical reasons why "Coloured girls are the future" and seven generalisations about

why “Coloureds are nuts” (Roberts 2011). The article provoked intense emotion, a flood of heated public debate and much correspondence. So much so that Wally Mbele, the editor of “The Sunday World”, apologised to his readers and fired Ms Roberts. Jimmy Manyi (www.mailandguardianonline.co.za), the South African presidential spokesperson at the time, commented that there were too many coloureds in the Western Cape. Trevor Manuel (<http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/>) - a respected government official in South Africa - replied to Manyi in a public letter in which Manyi was denounced as a racist and likened to Hendrik Verwoerd who was the architect of apartheid in South Africa. Manuel’s letter provoked open censure from the ANC-led government, the public petitioned the Human Rights Commission to censor “*Jou Ma se Kinders*” as racist hate speech and a lively debate about coloured women’s social and political identity flourished in the media.

The treatise is a response to the persistence of shared racial and gender stereotypes of coloured women’s identity over the 173 years that separate and link Bain and Roberts’ works and a desire to understand the origin, longevity and influence of these stereotypes. This study will explore select racist and gendered colonial, unionist and apartheid policies to see if there is a link between such policies and coloured women’s current social and political identity in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro (NMBM). This study will not investigate socio-economic issues because it concentrates on coloured women’s social and political identity in the knowledge that their social, socio-economic and political context was determined by race. It is acknowledged that socio-cultural dynamics did not support working women, that when women did work away from the home it was before marriage and that legislation like the Job Reservations Act of 1926 is not being investigated in this study.

This research is intended to supplement existing research into coloured women’s social and political identity and to break new ground as the first project to concentrate on the influence of racist and gendered policies on coloured women’s social and political identity in select suburbs of the northern areas of the NMBM. It is also intended that findings will contribute to reconciliation and local and provincial policy development. Findings may also inform the Women’s caucuses of the NMBM and the Bhisho legislature of the East Cape Province in South Africa.

Names and naming have a pain filled history in South Africa. The term “coloured” was used to refer to Sub Saharan black people until the 1960’s in the United States of America (USA)

and the United Kingdom (UK) but in South Africa the descriptor has been differently applied to categorise people of mixed race origin. The use of the term “coloured” as a generic racial label is the result of the impact of miscegenation legislation in which coloured people are described as a “... residual category of persons whose sole common feature is negatively defined” (Whisson 1872 quoted in Lewis 1987: 12). Before legislation such as the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts of 1950 were promulgated people of mixed race were variously identified by heritage and origin in terms including “‘Mixed’, ‘coloured’, ‘St Helenian’, ‘Malay’ and ‘Griqua’...” (Agherdien et al 1997: 2). Under apartheid legislation Chinese and Indian people were also classified as “coloured” and, with the passage of time Chinese were re-classified as white and Indian people were classed as Asiatic (Agherdien et al 1997: 2)

Jewish people symbolically transcribe their God’s name as G-d as a sign of respect. A similar adjustment to the written form of “coloured” could be used to symbolise recognition of historical injustice and perhaps shift racial consciousness in the direction of heritage consciousness. It is possible though that such emphasis may defeat its purpose by unintentionally highlighting a humiliating and unpopular term (Ross: 1999).

In an attempt to avoid dehumanisation and transcend the discourse of apartheid race classification the terms “coloured people”, “coloured women”, “black people”, “black women”, “white people” and “white women” will be used in this treatise. These labels recycle the vocabulary of race classification by using racial descriptors as adjectives instead of nouns. This change and use of the terms “people” and “women” decrease racial emphasis and increase the impression of a shared humanity. Inverted commas are not used because they would highlight race-based labels instead of taking the spotlight off one dimensional race classification by pigmentation.

It is intended that a more human nomenclature will resist derogatory myths of coloured women’s identity linked to skin colour and the connotations of ugliness, animal appetites and inferiority used to justify the social and economic exploitation of coloured women in South Africa since slavery. The use of a humanising discourse may also contribute to the redefinition of coloured women’s social and political identity in the East Cape Province and in South Africa.

1.2 Study Field and Research Title

This treatise in South African Politics will investigate the influence of gendered and racist policies on the political and social identity of coloured women in select suburbs of the northern areas of the NMBM that were designated coloured by the Group Areas Act (Act 30 of 1950 Eloff 1990: 36). Identity formation will be studied as a social and political construct in the context of coloured women's narratives, a literature review and a comparative historical analysis.

Efforts have been made to rely on Southern African writing and there is intentional synergy between the proposed research and recent South African post-apartheid research (Adhikari 2009, 2006, 2004 & 1992, Agherdien et al 1997, Crais and Scully 2001, Erasmus 2001 & 2000, James et al 1996, Gibson & Gouws 2000, Macdonald 2006, Salo 2005, Reddy 2004, Scully 1995 & Van Der Ross 2005, 1986 & 1979) because in South Africa the term "coloured" is fraught with contradictions and emotions. Its subtextual references are fluid, ambiguous and unique to Southern Africa (Erasmus 2001:14). Policies such as a decision by the Dutch East India Company to install fifteen thousand slave women in slave quarters that doubled as a brothel in the Cape (Hendricks in Erasmus 2001:35) imposed a racist, gendered element on coloured women's social and political identity in Cape Town.

Research is also informed by readings of pre 1994 South African texts (Biko 1978, February 1981, Goldin 1987, Lewis 1987, Lister 1949, Van Der Ross 1988 & 1979) that concentrate on narratives of slavery and colonialism, stereotypes of coloured identity, historiographies of gendered identity and the spaces occupied by coloured women since the seventeenth century. In a postmodern spirit select international sources, (Essed and Goldberg 2002, Jarrett-Macauley 1996, Ratcliffe 2004 & Van Dijk 1987), South African fiction (Jacobs 1998, Jooste 1998, Rive 1986 & Wicomb 2006) and literary and narrative theory (Eagleton 1990, Selden 1990, Waugh 1994 & 1990, Wicomb 2012 & Zerubavel 1995) have been used to add reflexivity and enrich the research with an interdisciplinary flavour. South African fiction (like the examples selected from Bain (in Lister: 1949: 196) and Roberts (2011) abounds with representations of racist and sexist stereotypes; art has been used throughout history to expose and lay bare injustice and discrimination and, in Nadine Gordimer's (1989:1) words; writing is the "essential gesture".

To date no studies on the impact of racist and gendered policies on coloured women's social and political identity in the NMBM have been found. With the exception of Erasmus 2000 and 2001, Scully 1995, Ruiters 2009 and Hendricks 2001, most South African research studies coloured identity generally and this research is located in the Western Cape (Adhikari 2009, 2006, 2004, 1992, Erasmus 2001, Trotter 2009 & Van Der Ross 2005, 1986 & 1979). This silence validates the research topic as it suggests that coloured women in the NMBM occupy a doubly disadvantaged space as an under-researched minority population group in the city and as an under-researched minority in the coloured population of South Africa.

This treatise makes no claim to authority or absolute knowledge of its topic. Research into pre-apartheid, apartheid and post-apartheid church congregant history in Richmond Hill appears to be ground-breaking because no written records could be traced and most information was gathered orally. It should also be noted that although an attempt is made to avoid the discourse of race classification it is not entirely successful and that forced removal from South End and Richmond Hill to the northern areas of the NMBM was a harsh and emotionally crippling experience.

Most of the built environment in South End was bulldozed. The then Port Elizabeth (PE) Municipality radically re-planned the layout of the suburb and replaced free-standing homes with cluster developments, gated communities and a massive fire station. This re-imagined town planning exercise successfully prevents land restitution in South End because land has been sold and developed and roads have changed. Evictions from South End in PE therefore continue to have a crueler long term effect than evictions from District Six in Cape Town because land in South End has been occupied and District Six remains poignantly vacant.

If the effect of forced removals in Cape Town (including the Southern suburbs region and the Northern suburbs of Parow and Bellville) is compared to the effect of forced removals in Port Elizabeth South End evictions were the worst. Ex South Enders are unable to return to South End because apartheid town planning and the cost of the new homes in South End perpetuate the exclusion of relocated residents and prevents freedom of choice and movement. The Richmond Hill experience in Port Elizabeth is similar to evictions from the Southern Suburbs region of Cape Town (Christopher 2001:104-106) in which homes were left standing and sold to white buyers who gentrified them.

1.3 Problem Statement

White settlement in South Africa has paralleled the enslavement and marginalisation of coloured people described by Switzer in Adhikari (2009:2) as "... a marginalised community-marginalised by history and even historians". This is illustrated by a racist denial of citizenship to all coloured people (MacDonald 2006) based on the adoption of The Population Registration Act of 1950 and a process that generated a schizophrenic insider/outside identity variously described by Adhikari (2006:475) as "White in Mind and Spirit and Achievement", "Less than White but better than Black" (2006:477), and by Marike de Klerk in Adhikari (2006:480) as "... the Leftovers".

Despite South Africa's democratic transition and the abolition of racist and gendered policies like The Group Areas Act of 1950, The Immorality Act of 1950, The Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and The Population Registration Act of 1950 in 1991, coloured people continue to be the targets of negative racial and sexist stereotypes (illustrated by Bain and Roberts) and most coloured people in Port Elizabeth still live in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth previously designated coloured by The Group Areas Act of 1950 (Christopher 2001:47,136 & 217).

As illustrated by Roberts' article (<http://www.lifeissavage.com/>) the problem is that despite the democratic process applied since 1994 stereotypes of coloured women's political and social identity do not seem to have changed from those popularised during the colonial, separatist and apartheid eras. Instead, coloured identity remains trapped in a deficit discourse of "everyday racism" (Essed: 2002 in Essed et al 2002:176-194) in which coloured women's identity appears to suffer the additional burden of sexual stereotyping as "bad women" (Mostert 2011:1) who personify the negative in binaries of sexual purity/impurity, quiet/loud, submissive/controlling, helpless/powerful, young/old and sober/drunken.

1.4 Research Aim

The aim of this study is to understand why some stereotypes of coloured women have endured since colonialism.

1.5 Research Objectives

- To research, summarise and compare theories of coloured women's social and political identity.

- To explore the overlap of select racist and gendered acts including colonial policies, policies enacted under the Union of South Africa and policies legislated by the Nationalist Party led government.
- To analyse and place the stereotypes of coloured women.

1.6 Thesis Statement

During South Africa's colonial, union and apartheid periods coloured women were marginalised and stereotyped by a patriarchal discourse that linked policy to white supremacy as well as binaries linked to gender, race, sexuality, status and difference. Despite the collapse of the apartheid state deficit discourses, stereotypes and binaries based on race, gender and sexuality continue to impact negatively on coloured women's social and political identity in NMBM.

1.7 Research Question

What impact have racist and gendered policies and acts, from the colonial period to the current time, had on stereotypes of coloured women's social and political identity in the apartheid designated "northern areas" of Port Elizabeth?

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW & COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

2.1 Literature Review

This research is located in the paradigm of race critical theory and rests on a foundation of postmodernism, feminism and social constructivism. Implicit in this statement are rejections of essentialism; the notion that identity is fixed and immutable as well as racial or gender studies that focus on biological determinism (Adhikari 2006 and Essed et al 2002:11). Identity is affirmed as unstable, fragile, socially or interactively constructed and fluid (Waugh 1994:8). Contingent on this is the agency and power that coloured women have to constantly shape, refine and own their identities.

Bain (1838) and Roberts (2011) rely on stereotypes of coloured women's identity similar to those described by Van Der Ross (1979) who explains how white supremacist myths support the notion of a separate, different coloured identity. Such myths or stereotypes are dehumanising and reference promiscuity, excessive drinking, theft and bad behaviour against a yardstick of white women's identity.

Feminist Perspectives

In her study of black women's sexuality in Britain Anneck Marshall (1996 in Jarrett-Macauley 1996:5-35) explores the history and current impact of stereotypes of black women's identity. This exploration of black women's identity applies to both "coloured" and black South African women because in Britain the term "black" is inclusive. There is no other descriptor or category for mixed race or 'coloured' women.

Marshall finds that stereotypes of black women's identity include their representation as bestial, immoral, dirty and promiscuous. These images are seen as a means to dominate and deny respect to contemporary black women as well as to legitimise their social and sexual exploitation. It is also argued (Marshall:1996) that perceptions of coloured women's identity as unequal to white women legitimised the British slave trade as well as coloured women's economic exploitation after manumission. Reference is made to Jordan's theory (1996 in Jarrett-Macauley 1996:5-7) that the English linked black skin to original sin and ugliness and that Africans were considered uncivilised heathens and ape-like beasts with animal-like sexual potency. Jordan also argues that sexual indulgence was regarded as a sign of

inferiority and that the image of black women was used by the English to mirror their own depravity or what is also known as the white man's burden. At a time when self-control was a sign of morality and civilised behaviour black women personified an immoral sexual appetite and white men could transfer responsibility for their impropriety to stereotypes of black women's over-sexed identity.

Initial stereotypes of black women were followed by social Darwinism - and a so-called "scientific" obsession with otherness - as well as a denigration of black women's bodies and a reduction of slave women's bodies' to a reproductive function for their owners' benefit. Marshall argues that common sense knowledge of stereotypes remains intact because black and white people's identity and self-identity are contingent on each other. She also suggests that black women have internalised the stereotypes attached to their identity and therefore collude in the maintenance of the stereotypes.

Marshall concludes with suggestions that black women should; resist stereotypes with positive self-identification as "... a means of counter-acting controlling images" (1996 in Jarrett-Macauley 1996: 3) to assert their right to define and transform their identity and sexuality as well as to deconstruct the historical binaries which scaffold their identity.

Commemorative Narrative

Yael Zerubavel adopts an interdisciplinary approach to her historical study (1995) of Israeli collective memory. She argues that a nuanced understanding and an intertextual analysis of memory and commemoration is useful to scholars ranging from psychologists to political scientists (1995: xvii) because the most meaningful history lies in "... the context of everyday life..." (Zerubavel 1995:3). Such history is accumulated and articulated via the national narratives of groups such as the Israelis or the forcibly evicted coloured people of South Africa, who reconstruct the past with select images that highlight their unique identity, origin and development.

Zerubavel finds that the commemoration of historical events is a "powerful means" (1995: xix) to reinforce social solidarity and that the Jewish experience of death and defeat relied on immigrant recollections to transform a negative history into heroic stories. Collective memory is described as an organic response to the past (history) and the present (social and political agendas) in which interpretation, supported by suppression, addition and reconstructions of

history, influence memory and storytelling. Commemorative rituals associated with festivals, memorials, holidays and religious rites support collective memory because they are regularly repeated and become entrenched patterns of being and storytelling.

The socially constructed relationship between history and memory is described as collective memory. Collective memory is negotiated between historical records and the social and political agendas of the time. It changes the interpretation of history by suppressing or elaborating memories, is based on the historical knowledge of ordinary people and informed by formal and informal commemoration including festivals, memorials, literature and music. Collective memory is dynamic and shared rituals can revive, affirm or change its contents. Repeated rituals create a commemorative narrative described by Zerubavel (1995:6) as "... a story about a particular past that accounts for ... ritualised remembrance and provides a moral message for the group members." Commemorative narrative is selective and fragmentary as it concentrates on a specific segment of the past.

The dominant master commemorative narrative focuses on a group's social identity, its historical development and an event that marks its emergence as independent. The commemorative event that celebrates the group's beginning (such as the Jewish Holocaust experience) gives the group a unique, legitimate identity and often has its roots in a distant past. The plot is basic and highlights extreme contrasts between images of past setbacks and triumph. Descriptions of these images suspend linear time and often rely on cyclical rituals connected to religion, holidays (such as New Year's Day and the Cape Town Carnival which is colloquially known as *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* or Second New Year) and traditions.

White (1987:20 in Zerubavel 1995:6) argues that there is a fictional, poetic element to commemorative narrative and that this element supports a master narrative or a shared story in which history is manipulated, suppressed and imaginatively embellished to show case social identity and group history. Commemorative narrative can be suspended by cyclical tales of recurrent rituals. These rituals disrupt the predictable rhythm of linear storytelling to emphasise beginnings, a group's special identity and its roots in a distant periodised, chunked past. This makes it possible for complex events to become simple storylines in which group ideology is reduced to sacred tales like those of apartheid's "chosen people". In this story the white Afrikaner people of South Africa believed they held exclusive, sacred stewardship of South African soil. Such storylines justify the political hegemony in which collective

memory portrays select events or turning points. Turning points represent the creative point at which the relationship between history, memory and the role of commemorative narrative and rituals in society and politics will change. History and tradition are selectively evaluated to build a commemorative narrative in which historical events become political myths. These myths re-shape past meaning and single events such as the bombing of the twin towers in New York. They then become historical turning points in commemorative memory around which nation-building rituals and memorials like the celebration of Heroes Day and Ground Zero are constructed.

Collective memory selects particular events as symbols of change and turning points. As the turning points are on the cusp of change they are set in a liminal space with an ambiguous identity which can be variously interpreted. This means that turning points such as the return of Saartjie Baartman's remains (a Khoi woman who was exhibited live in Britain and France as evidence of African women's inferiority) can evolve into political myths. If a different interpretation of the turning point is supported it can develop into a counter memory which challenges the hegemony of the master commemorative narrative. When counter memory challenges the master commemorative narrative it becomes a political act. This can lead to suppression of counter narrative because it is seen as a subversive challenge to the hegemony of the elite master narrative. Counter memory thus denies the validity of the master narrative to represent the interests of marginalised individuals or groups. Commemorative narrative can therefore be challenged and contested as groups battle to promote their stories for political dominance.

Commemorative narrative and the lore of commemoration is a powerful means to consolidate social cohesion around memories and symbolic meanings that define events or times. Zerubavel (1995:11-12) notes that tension is created when an alternative record of history or a counter memory opposes and subverts the political status of a hegemonic commemorative narrative. Such counter memory is considered a powerful tool for the oppressed for whom an alternative history is created in which the validity of turning points and myths is questioned and the elite narrative is challenged. Commemoration thus becomes a site of struggle in which alternative historiographies challenge the dominant narrative. Regimes therefore attempt to censor and silence counter memory and its re-imagined history by denying space or opportunity for supporters of counter memory to perform rituals attached to their memories.

Dynamic tension between commemorative and counter memory changes the storyline of commemorative narrative and can supplement, relativise or - when there is regime change - completely re-write the contents of national commemorative narrative. When this happens counter narrative becomes the dominant narrative and the previous commemorative narrative loses status, power and validity. This theory is illustrated by failed right wing resistance in South Africa when ex homelands (so-called “independent states” based on questionable tribal classification and racial identity that disenfranchised and marginalised black South Africans geographically and politically) were legitimately incorporated into the newly democratised state.

Application: Commemorative Narrative

Henry Trotter’s article in Adhikari (2009:49-78) uses a qualitative approach based on interview transcripts, hermeneutics and Zerubavel’s theory of commemorative narrative to explore the impact of forced removals on coloured people’s identity in Cape Town. The researcher aims to explore coloured identity and the impact of forced removal at a deeper level than South Africa’s explicit, empirical race classification system under apartheid laws because “Essentially, they do not probe coloured self-understanding.”(Trotter in Adhikari 2009:50).

This comment foregrounds a fundamental difference between quantitative study that focuses on explicit signs and categories of identity and qualitative study that concentrates on coloured understanding of identity and “... the tacit, dispositional, emotional and non-instrumental aspects of coloured identity that are negotiated and reinforced implicitly through the circulation of narratives.” (Trotter in Adhikari 2009:50). Trotter analyses the effect of the Group Areas Act on coloured identity and uses commemorative narrative (Zerubavel 1995: 3-12) to foreground the role of storytelling in sense-making and coping with trauma, loss and forced relocation.

Trotter aims to lay bare implicit aspects of coloured identity which are revealed by a commemorative narrative. He suggests that grand and petty apartheid legislation was motivated by a government narrative that argued that segregation and removal to new, modern suburbs was necessary because mixed areas were over-crowded unhealthy slums, buildings were poorly maintained, infrastructure was decaying and crime and gangsterism

were rife. Scott (1990 in Trotter 2009 in Adhikari 2009:53) explains that when elites use a public narrative or transcript to rationalize domination subordinates create a counter narrative or transcript to tell their truths and longings and to resist domination. This transcript is hidden and private while elites are in power. Subordinates appear to endorse the transcript of power when in the company of the powerful yet, when separated from the powerful; the powerless strengthen and embellish their counter narrative in hidden spaces.

Commemorative narrative maintains that a community of the oppressed or dispossessed is shaped and supported by shared storytelling and by circulating a counter memory of how life was lived before dispossession and forced relocation. This counter transcript restores dignity, pride and self-worth to subordinates whose narrative assumes dominance when power is transferred.

Ironically forced removals and relocation to racially exclusive townships united a community who often shared little more than pigmentation and the diasporic experience. In the battle to create new homes in barren, peri-urban areas in Cape Town, coloured people supported each other, telling and re-telling their counter narrative, adding to a commemorative narrative built on shared memories of a golden past and fostering a narrative community. Trotter comments (Adhikari 2009:56) that such "... memory production is driven by three moral intentions ...", these are: counter memory or the need to counter government reasons for forced removal; comparative memory in which a golden past is positively compared to a harsh present and commemorative memory in which select stories are told to honour and remember past homes, communities and identities. Selection of all memories is subjective and personal unlike quantitative research which is objective and impersonal.

Trotter (Adhikari 2009: 56-57) explains that despite the demise of apartheid, counter memory in Cape Town continues to be reproduced and to re-state values such as interracial harmony, better homes, respect for the aged and community-minded gangsters who were not real criminals like modern gangsters. The repetition of rose-tinted memories - like those honouring pre-apartheid coloured gangsters as Robin Hood-types who were essentially community-spirited and kind when they stole from the rich to help the poor - is juxtaposed with tales of gangsters in new neighbourhoods who are mean and unkind. This opposition and repetition entrenches a binary which honours and favours the past at the expense of the present. Each value nostalgically recalls a better quality of pre-removal life than post-removal

life. As the commemorative narrative develops from counter memory to comparative memory binaries of a good past and a bad present become more entrenched and nostalgia increasingly influences idyllic, selective recall in which the evictions of coloured people in Cape Town represent a narrative turning point.

Coloured people's commemorative memory was nursed and rehearsed between the racial buffer zones of apartheid geography in Cape Town. The Capetonian commemorative narrative highlights lost homes and the spirit of lost communities in nostalgic stories from which negative memories are erased or ignored and good times are idealised and remembered. This commemorative narrative binds communities, sustains good memories, records personal and group history, provides a satisfying vehicle for story-telling, helps victims to come to terms with injustice and, as “... a weapon of the weak” (Trotter in Adhikari 2009: 63), is a mutually acceptable vehicle for a group to cope with loss and trauma.

In Cape Town commemorative memories of forced removal contribute to the District Six Museum in which stories and images of pre forced removal neighbourhoods are permanently on display. After universal franchise counter narrative assumed public status. It influenced literature and the performing arts as that which was hidden and silenced became a mainstream public narrative in Cape Town.

Imaginative Geography and Second Order Knowledge

In a scholarly study of western representations of the Orient Edward Said (1985) argues that western scholarship is the servile political product of imperial societies because it is based on false perceptions that support western attitudes to the Middle East. In a discussion that lays bare the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised Said suggests that archetypes generate western knowledge of the Orient which perceives all eastern society as similar yet different from western society. Orientalism is therefore exclusively constructed by the west as a negative inversion of western culture. Said argues (1985:204) that “... Orientalism is fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West...” and that Orientalism as studied, perceived and interpreted by western scholars is prejudiced against Arab and Islamic people. This prejudice is illustrated in fictional and romantic images of Asia and the Middle East used to justify colonial and imperial exploitation of both.

Said (Essed et al 2002: 15-37) also claims that the field of Oriental study is located in a vast “imaginative geography” in which society, culture, language and histories have been eclectically selected and represented to create a mythological construct of second order knowledge described as “Europe’s collective daydream of the Orient” (Kiernan 1969 quoted in Said in Essed et al 2002: 18). The theory of imaginative geography and its representations, including second order knowledge, relies on a fiction. This tale is based on land occupancy and a deficit discourse founded on binaries that include; west and east, insiders and outsiders, familiarity and unfamiliarity, civilisation and barbarism, purity and sensuality and superiority and inferiority.

Said illustrates the theory with literary characters like Shakespeare’s Othello (a black man married to a white woman) and Caliban (a servant who has a combined human and animal form) as well as a cruel mimesis (Bhabha 2002 in Essed et al 2002:113-122) of Mohammed in Dante’s “Inferno”. These personae demonstrate an imaginative geography of the orient dependant on binaries and a self-reinforcing interpretation of Christianity to create a closed system. Psychologically such mythologising can be described as paranoia or schizophrenia (Said in Essed et al 2002:15-37).As Said’s theory resonates in much subsequent writing on bias and otherness it provides a touchstone for more recent research including Zerubavel’s theory of commemorative narrative which explores the fictional element of memory selection and myths generated by commemorative narrative and collective memory.

Assimilation, Intermediate Status, Negative Association & Marginality

In the introduction to his 2009 edition of *Burdened by Race* Adhikari describes coloured peoples’ identity as continuing to be influenced by European logic, apartheid race classification and South Africa’s transition to democracy in 1994. A feature of coloured identity is the unique, use of the label “coloured” which points to people of mixed race heritage. It should be noted that only in South Africa does the term denote a mixed heritage. The label lays bare an immediate difference between Southern African coloured people and mixed race people in the rest of the world with tacit reference to a history of domination, classification and segregation based on notions of purity, otherness, shame and inferiority. Adhikari (2006:475-486) describes four key characteristics of coloured identity as assimilation, intermediate status, negative association and marginality.

Assimilation

Assimilation is illustrated by coloured voters' support for the Nationalist Party (the party responsible for apartheid) in 1994 (James 1996:39-46) and a love/hate relationship with internalised whiteness as a yardstick for social success (Van Der Ross 1979:68 &78). The internalization of whiteness as a yardstick for social success is illustrated in Erasmus' (2001:13) comment that "Hairstyling and texturising were (and still are) key beautification practices in the making of coloured womanhood among young coloured women." In this instance Erasmus refers to a need to change the curly appearance of coloured women's hair so that it resembled white women's straight hair. The assimilation of white identity by coloured women is also captured in Zoe Wicomb's novel "Playing in the Light" (2006) in which the heroine, Brenda is bewildered and social isolation because her parents select to assimilate and present the appearance of white identity at the expense of family relationships. This includes pretence that Brenda's maternal Grandmother Tokkie was a black servant.

The concept of assimilation also reflects Said's imaginative geography and the benefits of elite whiteness attached to respectability and protected economic, educational, employment and residential opportunities. Under these circumstances assimilation illustrates schizophrenia (Said: 1985) as it references whiteness and silences blackness to secure membership in the body of white supremacy.

Intermediate Status

The intermediate status of coloured people in the range of South African populations is evident both in the assimilation ambition and a ranking in the middle of South Africa's colonial, segregational and apartheid racial and power hierarchy. Intermediate status is articulated in the Afrikaans term "*Bruinmens*" (brown person) - as if people can be described using the colour chart of wall paints - and exclusivity established by a deficit discourse based on blackness. The maintenance and protection of the privileges of intermediate status is described by Adhikari (2006:478) as the motivation for coloured separatism and membership denial to black applicants to the Teachers' League in 1913 and 1920. Adhikari therefore suggests that despite the demise of apartheid, the most stable element in coloured identity is identification with whiteness supported by external, biological evidence such as skin colour and hair texture. The analysis is supported by Erasmus (2001:1-28) who speaks of coloured identity either as privileged blackness or the failure to be perfectly white.

Negative Association

Negative association is produced by deficit and patriarchal discourses which refer to coloured identity in derogatory and undermining terms, such as the stereotypes in “Caatje Kekkelbek” (Bain:1838) and Roberts’(2011) generalisations about coloured women’s identity. These associations - created by racist and gendered colonial, segregational and apartheid policies and practices - are inherently linked to the suggestion that coloured claims to independent racial status are undeserved, invalid and inherently deficient as the group constitutes a dumping group for misfits. Coloured women’s identity is negatively associated with popular, or vulgar, receptions of Darwinian miscegenation, immorality, promiscuity, impurity and untrustworthiness, permanently stigmatized by racial hybridism and perceived as visible evidence of poor morals as evidenced by racist and gendered apartheid legislation like The Immorality Act (Number 21 of 1950) and The Mixed Marriages Act (Number 55 of 1949). Both Acts reinforced coloured women’s inferior, impure status and white women’s superior, pure status.

Marginality

Adhikari’s fourth indicator of coloured identity, marginality, exerts a powerful impact on daily life and is manifest in political, personal and social examples of “everyday racism” (Essed 2002 in Essed et al 2002:176-194). As coloured people constitute nine percent of the South African population, a lack of leverage contributed to - and continues to feed - political marginalisation. The removal of coloured men from the Common Voters’ Roll in 1956 and the fact that coloured women were not allowed to vote before 1994 (Erasmus: 2001) relegated coloured people, especially women, to second class status and added to political marginalisation.

During apartheid systemic social engineering relocated coloured Port Elizabethans from established mixed race communities (including South End and Richmond Hill re-zoned exclusively for the use of white people by The Group Areas Act (Number 41 of 1950) to barren, peripheral areas amongst equally displaced strangers. This experience consolidated political and personal marginalisation in spaces where the only common experience was the shared suffering and hardship caused by everyday racism and patriarchy. A daily experience of racialised political, personal and social marginalisation created nostalgia for the past and the idyllic myth of a perfect life in District Six (colloquially spoken of as the “District”) of

Cape Town described in Adhikari (2009:49-78), by Trotter and Beyers in Adhikari (2009:79-103) and by Field 2001 in Erasmus (2001:97-113). Such nostalgia is illustrated in novels such as Richard Rive's (1987) "Buckingham Palace" which articulates a communal yearning for a perfect pre-eviction life style in District Six. Agherdien et al's text (1997) and the Thomas text (2008) share this yearning in an interesting pastiche of historical, anecdotal and personal memories of a better quality of life before evictions.

History, too, tells of marginalisation based on a heritage of slavery, dispossession and oppression. Adhikari (1992) argues that the influence of slavery on the making of coloured identity should be noted and that Cape slavery and the assimilation of Khoi and Free Black people provided the foundation for a communal coloured identity in South Africa. This heritage, which saw coloured people adopt an incrementalist approach to accessing white power and privilege, contributed to the resentment and frustration articulated by writers like Van Der Ross (1979:13) who comments that:

"It is evidence of the paternalism and poor insight into the feelings and thoughts of Coloured people that there is so often reference to a Coloured preacher, a Coloured sportsman or a Coloured Educator. We would not dream of referring to Gary Player as a White golfer Why then this preoccupation with colour when the person concerned is not White?"

South Africa's political change during the early 1990's created ambivalence and confusion about coloured identity. As the racial hierarchy of power was discursively and politically inverted coloured people were awkwardly placed because of prior identification with whiteness and rejection of blackness. For those who chose to link their identity with whiteness instead of blackness – with the exception of those aligned to the United Democratic Front (UDF) and members and supporters of Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in the 1970's – this was like the Chinese proverb (*change presents threats and opportunities*) as it became a time of instability characterized by opportunities and threats.

The UDF was a South African collective of anti-apartheid and human rights movements and Steve Biko was an intellectual community leader who founded the BCM. The BCM focused on mental and psychological freedom for all black people in South Africa and on the

restoration of dignity and self-worth. Biko died at the hand of the apartheid security police in 1977.

Social Identities and Political Intolerance

James Gibson (Washington University) and Amanda Gouws (Stellenbosch University) rely on quantitative research to explore the topic “Social Identities and Political Intolerance: Linkages within the South African Mass Public” (Gibson & Gouws 2000:278-292). The researchers’ choice of a quantitative epistemology is illustrated by the use of an hypothesis that is tested with statistical data collected in surveys of the South African public (Gibson & Gouws 2000:278).

Gibson and Gouws test hypotheses based on Social Identity Theory and the influence of ingroup identity on political intolerance and democracy because “... little systemic, empirical research ...” (Gibson & Gouws 2000:279) had been done prior to their paper and scholarly consensus was based on assumptions, not empirical evidence and data analysis. Social Identity Theory (SIT) argues that individual social identity arises from personal knowledge based on a subjective, comparative assessment of groups to which individuals belong, how much individuals identify emotionally with the group and how much they value their group membership. Theorists Taylor and Moghadden (1994:79 in Gibson & Gouws 2000:279) maintain that it is important for individuals to belong to groups that are positively evaluated through social comparison and that positive social comparison feeds a need to achieve a unique identity different from other groups’ social identities. It is also argued that this process leads to increased self- esteem and psychological security.

Gibson and Gouws (2000:280) use Dahl’s analysis (1989:254 in Gibson & Gouws 2000:280) of the impact of group identity on politics, pluralism and democracy. Dahl argues that subcultural pluralism - the presence of many groups with strong, unique identities - is detrimental to democracy and can lead to subcultural clashes as pluralism threatens group and personal identities and vice versa. It is also suggested that strong ingroup identities enable the development of strong outgroup anti-identities, particularly when identity is largely shaped by ascriptive characteristics such as race.

Earlier research (Duckitt: 1989:70 in Gibson and Gouws 2000:280) maintains that there is a close link between the strength of ingroup identity, conformity and authoritarianism which

leads to political intolerance and threatens democracy. This perspective leads to conclusions that strong ingroup identities – particularly authoritarian and closed-minded ingroup identities – stimulate anti identities and the impression that outgroups are a threat and create us and them hostility or the ingroup and outgroup binaries typical of divided societies.

Gibson and Gouws motivate their study with a claim that prior research generated a largely untested hypothesis that strong ingroup positive identities create strong outgroup negative identities linked to antipathy, political intolerance and perceptions that political opponents are a threat. The hypothesis is tested by a survey using two samples of the South African population. The first sample was drawn using standard probability techniques and the second from minority population groups in South Africa.

Research data is based on six statistical tables which capture respondents' feedback to interview questions. In support or affirmative "replication" (Neuman 2003:73) of prior research Gibson and Gouws found that strong, developed group identities were linked to intergroup antipathy, threat and intolerance and that such group identities could impact on democracy in South Africa. It was also found that not all aspects of identity could be captured in the categories or "dimensions" of earlier works and, that while empirical research did provide some answers to aspects of social identity that generate intolerance, further investigation of "collateral attitudes" (Gibson & Gouws 2000:291) was recommended.

Gibson and Gouws' quantitative research found race specific identities and confirmed the assumption that ingroup members are disposed to group solidarity and attitudes that are the cause or effect of xenophobia. Research data also indicates that intolerance is the product of a social process as well as an individual choice and it is suggested that further research should locate human subjects in society.

Reimagining Coloured Identity

In "Re-imagining coloured identities in post-Apartheid South Africa" (Erasmus 2001:13-27), introduces "Coloured by History: Shaped by Place". This collection seeks to explore and contribute to "re-imagining" coloured identity in South Africa. Sexist power relations are implicitly rejected by substitution of the female pronoun "she" for the male pronoun "he" (Erasmus 2001:13-15) and of the subjective first person pronouns "I" and "we". Erasmus relies on values of critical theory and feminism to contribute to social, political and identity

transformation in South Africa as she pleads for “... a progressive, transformative politics” (Erasmus 2001:26) and, like Gordimer (1989:1), embraces the political function of writing because “This approach is partially shaped by changes in political and social science theory ...” (Erasmus 2001:15).

Critical theory describes a researcher’s role as catalytic and emancipatory. Researchers are expected to reveal underlying sources of social relations, ask awkward questions, expose hypocrisy and empower the powerless to transform the social order and confront social injustice. A feminist focus and the title of Erasmus article, “Re-Imagining coloured identities in post-apartheid South Africa” foregrounds her determination to “...contest these frames... to provide space that allows coloured identities to be part of a liberatory political practice” (Erasmus 2001:21) and to contribute to social transformation for coloured people, especially coloured women.

Erasmus criticises rainbow nationalism because it superficially assigns “difference” as a product of diversity to coloured people without examining founding and underlying power relations which reduce representation of coloured identity to one dimensional “... minstrelsy – a dance, music and dress understanding of culture.” (Erasmus 2001: 20) Similarly African Essentialism polarizes blackness and whiteness by linking blackness to Africanness, resistance, authenticity and subversion and whiteness to Europe, domination and collusion. Erasmus argues that this polarity excludes any form of creolisation or hybridism and therefore marginalises and alienates coloured people who remain a residual category belonging neither to blackness or whiteness and excluded from indigeneity or accommodation in the ANC’s pre and post liberation discourse of an encompassing black identity.

The terms of Erasmus rejection are typical of a Critical Social Science (CSS) argument because reification is condemned as a quantitative tool that gives social forces a separate identity and power. CSS also maintains that if that which is created is separated from its creator the creator is alienated from her creation which becomes external to her and she subsequently loses control over her destiny (Neuman 2003: 83) Erasmus aims to demystify and describe the structural conditions that shape identity. She depends on theory such as Glissant’s theory of creolisation, “... a process of infinite cultural transformation”, which relies on coloured history, slavery, creativity and agency to analyse and understand how

coloured identity has been shaped and influenced by context and structural conditions (Glissant 1992: 142 in Erasmus 2001: 22-24).

Erasmus acknowledges that reflexive political practice requires openness and an admission that racism and racialised identities are a reality in South Africa. She comments that if discourses of rainbowism and African Essentialism are projected onto non compliant “others” they become scapegoats who enable freedom from responsibility for “... the black or liberal self ...” (Erasmus 2001: 26). It is concluded that the way forward for all South Africans is to process the past and accept that all people have been influenced and hurt because transformative politics depends on historical denialism.

In her article about “Black Hairitage” Erasmus (2000: 380-392) uses hair texture to explore coloured women’s marginality and negative association. She comments that “Next to skin colour, hair texture was regarded as one of the most reliable markers of racial heritage.” and that racial hierarchy is a recurrent theme of South African women’s history in which whiteness embodies beauty, morality and social status and blackness and black hair embodies a devalued, painful opposite. In post structuralist terms black hair is a signifier of beauty and social status as it can be changed by beauty products to signify various levels of belonging. It is also argued that if straight, long hair remains a cultural norm of superiority white cultural practices are reinforced and all forms of black women’s hair will continue to be read as inferior whether afro, dreadlocked, straightened or ‘*kroes*’ (an Afrikaans word that means hair that is tightly curled and springy).

2.2 Comparative and Historical Analysis

The Slave Lodge, DEIC Practice and Slave Women’s Identity

Discrimination against coloured women by the Group Areas Act is foreshadowed - and may have been influenced - by discrimination against slave wives in the DEIC slave quarters in Cape Town. Shell (2002) describes how, between 1652 - 1808, slave women in Cape Town’s slave lodge were prostituted by their slave husbands to visiting Europeans and sailors and how half breed slave women were encouraged to marry white men who bought them from the DEIC. In both cases slave women were dehumanised and reduced to commodity status by men because their desirability rendered them trade worthy and inferior.

The development of coloured women's social and political identity is also the product of a numerical imbalance between thousands of settler men and hundreds of settler women in the Cape and the subsequent arrival of fifteen thousand slave women between 1652 and 1808 (Hendricks in Erasmus 2001:37). The Dutch East India Company (DEIC) encouraged sex between pale-skinned slave women and white men and set the women's slave quarters up as a brothel until the eighteenth century because it suited the political economy of the new colony. Once slave importation stopped white male slave owners spawned their own labour or hired studs to do so (Hendricks in Erasmus 2001:38). This history informed, and may still inform, the link between "coloured" women's identity, subordination, colonial desire, race and sex.

Structural power relations inside Cape Town's slave lodge between 1671 and 1795 (Shell: 2002) relied on the reduction of slave women's identity to trade-worthy sexuality as labourers who could do men's work. Half breed slave women were encouraged to marry Dutch men who bought their brides from the DEIC and slave women who married slave men were forced by their husbands to sleep with European settlers and itinerant sailors in Cape Town.

Colonial hierarchy linked colour to status and rank. White women, who were ranked higher than any women of colour, were expected to work at home. Slave Lodge women who were considered inferior to white women were judged capable of doing men's work including underground mining in the DEIC's Silvermine yet white women were employed only as midwives at the same mine (Shell 2002). The fact that white women and lodge women were differently placed in the Silvermine and that lodge women's conditions of service were harsher than those of white women is reminiscent of Saartje Baartman's treatment and affirms the inferior physical and social status of women of colour at the time.

The devalued identity of slave lodge women is echoed in fiction like Rayda Jacob's "Slave Book" (Jacobs 1998) and the slave girl Somiela's instant reduction to sex object status by the white women in the farm house. Scully's (1995: 335 -359) analysis of biased Western Cape colonial justice between 1823 and 1859 also illustrates the privileging of white women's identity above coloured women's identity and an assessment of coloured women's morals, chastity and sexuality against a yardstick of white women's cultural norms. These double standards in colonial justice foreshadow intensified racism in apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act.

The female slave body belonged in every way to her master. She was classified as property, inhabited, used and sold by her owner and dehumanised as a reproductive site for capital gain, labour and future servitude. “The Slave Book” (Jacobs 1998: 246) tells stories of slaves’ lives on a wine farm in the early 1830’s. The novel showcases different cultures and religions as well as tension created between slave owners and their slaves. Incidents of sexual harassment, cruelty and violence as well as slave women’s vulnerability are illustrated when Rachel tells Somiela that “A master gives no warnings. He does what he wants...” (Jacobs 1998: 246) Slave women’s lack of agency implicitly reduced their status to that of farmyard mares.

Legislation such as the 1754 Tulbach Slave code decreed that “Freed slave women are not to wear coloured silk or hoop skirts or any fine lace or any decoration on their hats or earrings made of gems or imitation gems.” (Jacobs 1998: Introduction: Unnumbered Page). Freed slave women had to adopt an ambivalent identity of simultaneous cultural assimilation and rejection. On one hand they were legally free but on the other hand they had to obey a code which undermined their freedom and status. Approximation to white women is reflected in centripetal and centrifugal regulations that required ex slave women to dress and behave like white women but did not allow them to approximate whiteness too closely in their dress, hairstyle or jewellery.

The Tulbach Slave Code undermined the concept of freedom as freed slave women’s identity was defined comparative to white women’s identity and it was required that the subordinate status of free slaves should be displayed by their clothing and jewellery. Domination and public humiliation based on a forced public appearance of inferiority in dress and adornment is illustrated in Jacob’s novel *The Slave Book* (Jacobs: 1998) when the fair-skinned slave Somiela’s clothes and jewellery are confiscated and her long, straight blonde hair is shorn upon arrival. Marieka, the farmer’s wife, regards the young slave’s white complexion and blonde hair as verging too closely on slave-holding white women’s identity. She therefore alters Somiela’s appearance to ensure that her looks approximate her status as a commodified slave woman.

The title of this novel is a pun. It refers both to a register known as the “Slave Book” which recorded slave auctions and sales in South Africa and to Jacobs’ work of fiction which tells the story of a slave family indentured to a wine farmer in the Cape. Jacobs’ novel lays bare

incidents of violence against slave women (Somiela is sexually molested by her owner Andries De Villiers whose wife Marieka pours boiling water on her after she finds them together) and the position of slave women who were used to divert men's attention from the conditions of slavery.

The Tulbach Slave Code is likely to have contributed to the genesis of a shame-filled social identity among free slave women who had to assimilate white cultural norms and simultaneously maintain an obsequious display of comparative inferiority in their dress and appearance.

Colonial and Separatist Policies and Practices

Mixed race children (Milner-Thornton in Adhikari 2009:185-207) who embodied interracial sexuality were a visible colonial reminder of shame, ambivalence and schizophrenia, simultaneously black and white but neither white nor black, the products of denial yet physically present. This is illustrated by a telling quote from the Northern Rhodesian Colonial Administration that,

“Compulsory registration of births of coloured children with the names of the alleged fathers is open to serious abuse. I think that Native Authorities might be instructed to note and keep a record of the births of coloured children without any reference whatever to the fathers...”

(Milner-Thornton 2009 in Adhikari: 2009:186).

Racist and gendered classification of mixed race children was designed to maintain white power and entrench differentiation. In Southern Africa this is demonstrated by a policy known as The Uterine Descent Rule of 1924 (Hendricks 2001 in Erasmus 2001:38) which preserved social boundaries, protected white fathers and negated their paternal responsibility. Mixed race children who were legally compelled to adopt their slave or coloured mother's status - not their father's freedom - were bound to service or peonage until they had earned their upkeep. The Uterine Descent Rule protected the identity of white fathers and ensured growth in the indentured population and “free” labour for white farm owners. This supports the claim that white power entrenched patriarchy and reinforced the inferior social status of slave women.

Scully's (1995:335-359) study of the relationship between rape, sexuality, class and honour in colonial and racially structured societies illustrates racial double standards in the administration of justice. Rape of a white woman by a black man was punished by death. No rape of a coloured woman by a white man is recorded and when a coloured woman was raped by a coloured man, the sentence depended on a colonial reading of her purity, chastity and honour. Sentencing was systemically based on a racist binary scaffolded by white women's superiority in opposition to coloured women's inferiority and measured by culturally loaded variables of honour, domesticity, chastity and class.

Rape cases were dismissed if it was assumed that a coloured woman had premarital sex, multiple sexual partners or appeared promiscuous. These claims are supported by Scully's (1995:335-359) study of reported rape cases in the rural Western Cape between 1823 and 1853, the example of the Anna Simpson and Damon Booysen case (Scully 1995:335-336) and descriptions of double standards in colonial justice. On 16 September 1850 Anna Simpson was raped by her husband's employee, Damon Booysen. Justice Menzies assumed that Anna was a white woman and sentenced Booysen to death. At the end of September when it became known that Anna Simpson was not a white woman Justice Menzies commuted Booysen's death sentence because, as a woman of colour, Anna was assumed to be of questionable character and respectability. Anna Simpson's inferior identity as a woman of colour was therefore the sole reason for Damon Booysen's reduced sentence to imprisonment with hard labour.

Race, gender and class dovetailed in a biased administration of justice that discriminated against coloured women and reinforced their second class status. When coloured women sought justice as plaintiffs in rape cases, a stereotypical reading of their sexuality was applied to assess the merits of their cases (Scully 1995:353-359). Under these circumstances women of colour were doubly violated; once by the crime of rape and secondly by the tunnel vision of colonial and segregational administration and justice policy.

A dependance on racist binaries to adjudicate cases in coloured women's experience of rape can be interpreted by Said's theory of Orientalism (pages 5-6 of this chapter). The bias illustrated by colonial justice (Scully 1995:335-359) suggests paranoia based on an imaginative geography in which second order knowledge of Europe's collective daydream of

African women (Kiernan 1969 quoted in Said in Essed et al: 2002:18) protected the status quo of those in power and silenced racial and gender differences.

Sara Baartman

The Gonaqua birth names of Sara Baartman, also known as the “Hottentot Venus”, are untraceable (Crais & Scully 2009:10). Hence primary references and meanings attached to Sara’s indigenous identity are lost and what remains are secondary references of European naming couched in subordination, service and sexual difference. Sara’s name Saartje, Cape Dutch for Sarah, indicates that she was a servant in a Cape Dutch household, that she began to work when she was young – hence the diminutive suffix- and that her employers were fond of her. The surname Baartman is also of Dutch origin. It translates as “bearded man” and has hidden meanings of wildness, roughness and barbarism, a stereotypical, paranoid European reading of otherness and African identity at the time.

Sara Baartman’s experience as Saartje Baartman included domestic service on a Camdeboo farm claimed from her family and given to a Dutch farmer by the Cape government, “eviction” from the Camdeboo area to Cape Town when she was sold as a young woman and where she worked “... in the interstices between slavery and freedom” (Crais & Scully 2009:40) for ten years as a domestic servant and possibly, (Crais & Scully 2009:50) also as an exotic exhibit, on show to entertain and distract sick sailors in Cape Town. It was in this final role that she was identified by her enduring, iconic name as the “Hottentot Venus” (Crais and Scully: 2009). While this title evokes neither paternalism nor service it is more negative and cruel than her previous colonial names. Classification as “Hottentot” or Khoikhoi was loaded with a subtext of deviance, white prejudice and implicit links with wildness, apes and a lack of civilisation and (western) religion.

On one hand the term Venus positively references the goddess of love on the other hand it speaks of sexuality, sickness and evil. Syphilis was commonly known during the nineteenth century as the “Venus Sickness” and condoms were euphemistically named the “Venus Glove” (Parker 2009:50). On the basis of her double naming and multiple historiographies of her life Sara Baartman, “The Hottentot Venus”, embodies marginalisation, negative association, assimilation and intermediate status. Her life in Africa, England and France was spent in servitude to European men. In England and France she was reduced to a sex object and displayed as a living example of African women’s inferiority. After her death her body

was dissected and her sex organs were preserved and publicly displayed in Paris. This abused woman personifies the othering and degradation of coloured women's bodies to physical specimens of "scientific" sexual enquiry in support of European superiority and dominance. Crais and Scully (2009:3) comment that, "The Hottentot Venus confirmed to all Europeans the inferiority of the Hottentot and people with dark skins. It also confirmed the inequality and unfitness of all women, for women were closer to nature, and the Hottentot Venus was closest of all."

The quote foregrounds a discourse in which Hottentot women, presumed to be at the lowest level of development in social-Darwinist perceptions of the nineteenth century, are implicitly linked to animals and a patriarchal worldview similar to the Elizabethan Chain of Being (Tillyard:1972) in which men are closer to heaven and more like God. Women, particularly women of colour, are situated on the lowest level in the chain which is one step above animals. Crais and Scully's text (2009) also underscores the dominance of sexuality in coloured women's identity and how vital it is to unpack and explore silent historiographies and the genesis of gendered and racial stereotypes in South Africa. Although sex and sexuality are recorded as evidence of difference it is clear that Eurocentric patriarchy and gender discrimination protected colonial status (Hendricks 2009 in Erasmus 2009:29-44).

February's 1997 study of the coloured stereotype in South African literature endorses Scully's findings that coloured identity has been negatively defined relative to white cultural norms and that this process enabled the social stigmatisation captured in women's titles like "The Hottentot Venus". Van Der Ross (1979:1-67) argues that there are many myths or stereotypes attached to perceptions of coloured people's identity which are invalid because they are the products of class differences, culture and a sub-culture of those whom he describes as "poverty people ... caught up in the almost pathological cycle of poverty." (Van Der Ross: 1979:36).

Miscegenation Theory

Sarah Gertrude Millin's novel, "God's Stepchildren", published in 1924, highlights the flaws "... in the blood of those of 'mixed' descent..." (Hendricks 2001 in Erasmus 2001:42) or miscegenation. Miscegenation is linked to the binary logic of racial purity on which the justification for separate development and so-called nationhood was premised during the colonial era of the British Empire (French colonies were slightly different) and under

apartheid in South Africa. The term “miscegenation” is pejorative, multi layered and fraught with a subtext of hope, fear and shame (Adhikari 2006:1).

Miscegenation theory is based on a perception that people of “mixed blood” are inferior, unequal and impure. This racialised reading - like the Biblical justification of slavery using Joshua and the book of Genesis - considered coloured and black people cursed with blackness as descendants of Ham. Ham was believed to have been cursed by his father Noah who condemned Ham’s children to be his siblings’ slaves (Adhikari 1992:95). From the colonial period onwards coloured people, including coloured women, were assigned only menial tasks as “... hewers of wood and drawers of water” (Van Der Ross 2005:13). This theory was so powerful that apartheid’s unequal, so-called “Christian National Education” policies (Verwoerd:1966) for black and coloured children were justified by same Biblical quote (Van Der Ross (2005:13 & Adhikari 1992:95). Van Der Ross (2005:91) argues that the outcome of discrimination is that “South Africans have become accustomed to leaving hard manual labour to persons of colour”.

Implications of this understanding of race reverberate through studies of identity in Southern Africa as coloured people were categorized as impure and, until 1994, coloured identity was ambivalent, black and white but part of neither grouping, and reinforced in South Africa by racist and gendered legislation including The Population Registration Act of 1950, The Group Areas Act of 1950, The Separate Amenities Act of 1944, The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Immorality Act of 1950.

In an article that describes prison reform in the 1940’s Gillespie (2011:499) remarks that the period of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation immediately preceding apartheid was characterised by “... destabilisation of the geography of belonging ... at which questions of race and difference entered ... into the public debate.” She argues that the threat of the wandering native, possibilities of miscegenation and challenges associated with the control of Africans in the urban environment linked race and crime to blackness and that this concern informed some of the thinking that informed apartheid legislation.

Winifred Hoernle (1943) argued simultaneously for commitments to western civilisation and Christian ethics as well as the need to protect and preserve individual cultures. Hoernle proposed a solution founded on the maintenance of racial purity, Christianity and western

civilisation under the banner of Christian Trusteeship articulated in the language of colonialism, paternalistic racism and “wardship”.

“Trusteeship recognises the backwardness of the non-White race and claims for the White man the position of trustee for them as his wards ... it recognises that the trusteeship must end, that the wards will grow up (though it often looks as though this process of growing up could be indefinitely delayed!) The wards will grow up and on the very basis of the principles we teach them will be treated as men among men with all that that implies.”

(Hoernle. 1943 quoted in Gillespie 2011:508)

Hoernle’s proposal appealed to Malan (the then South African State President) who, in 1944 (Giliomee 2003:397), proposed a solution espousing paternalism and trusteeship. The proposal rationalised separateness with the structural functionalist logic that cultural groups needed to be separated and united with their own people in exclusive spaces. This was supported by the Dutch Reformed Church which condemned miscegenation as “... a godless condition” (Furlong: 1983:9 & 15).

Apartheid Legislation

Researchers, including Agherdien et al (1997), Thomas (2008) and Van Der Ross (2005), cite The Group Areas Act of 1950 as the most harmful legislation to affect the coloured community in South Africa. Not only did the Act evict coloured people from their homes, neighbourhoods, churches, communities and schools but it “... caused untold hardship, frustration and anger ... large scale emigration ... and many cases of suicide.” (Van Der Ross 2005: 135).

The Group Areas Act (No.41 of 1950) divided municipal areas into “group areas” for the four official races of apartheid classification; coloured, black, Asiatic and white people. Power was entrusted to the Minister of the Interior who could proclaim exclusive areas for each of the official race groups. Once this was done all races who no longer qualified to live in such an area were forced to move out. This Act was responsible for immense suffering and hardship and is remembered by Agherdien et al (1999: Introduction: Unnumbered Page) as “... one of the most odious and devastating of the apartheid laws.”

Page 413 of The Group Areas Act, No.41 of 1950, provided a legal framework for the definition of a coloured person as:

- “(i) any person, who is not a member of the white group or the native group;
and
- (ii) any woman to whichever race, tribe or class she may belong, between whom and a person who is ... a member of the coloured group, there exists a marriage, or who cohabits with such a person; ...”

Foregrounded in this quote is racial discrimination in both points one and two, the use of the negative in point one and gender discrimination in point two. Such gender discrimination required that women assume their partners’ racial identity regardless of their own race classification. This privileged male status above female status and compelled coloured women - regardless of their personal race classification and identity - into re-classification, dependency and subordinate status contingent on the status of their male partners.

In an analysis of the impact of the Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950) Venter (1974) explores its impact throughout South Africa. He concludes that the Eastern Cape, particularly the area that is now the NMBM “... is something different” (Venter 1974:164). This conclusion is based on the Gelvandale (a suburb in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth) uprising highlighted in “On the Rampage” (2008) which he describes as the first coloured revolt in South Africa. Venter argues that the Gelvandale uprising was the result of Group Areas town planning and the close proximity of coloured group areas to black group areas in Port Elizabeth. He explains that although coloured people in the Port Elizabeth area spoke Afrikaans they totally rejected Afrikaner nationalism and felt economically betrayed by white English speakers. A German priest in the area who compared municipal services in coloured group areas in Cape Town to municipal services in coloured group areas in Port Elizabeth found that schools were built at the same time as houses in Cape Town but that in Port Elizabeth houses were built first and schools later. Although Venter’s text is dated and implies tacit complicity with apartheid, his research findings in the 1970’s that coloured people “...resent and reject ...” (Venter: 1974:164) government policy and white people, that they have been depersonalised by removal and long for the past, remain relevant.

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (No.55 of 1949) banned marriage between “...a European and a non-European” and stipulated that marriages would be valid if both parties: told the truth about their racial identity; demonstrated the physical characteristics of their race

and could prove that they were socially accepted by whichever group they professed to belong to. During apartheid marriages between a white male South African and a foreign woman of colour were not recognised in South Africa. Those who falsified their racial identity and Marriage Officers who accepted false statements related to race classification were liable to be fined and tried for perjury. Children born of a mixed marriage would only be classed as legitimate until such a marriage was invalidated by a court.

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (No.55 of 1949) demonstrates racist and gendered features. Its genesis is racist because it was applied only to the groups classified as black, coloured and Asian and because it targeted marriage between a white male South African and a foreign woman. Not marriage between a white South African woman and a foreign man or marriage within the “colour bands” of race classification. History is repeated as children born into a mixed relationship fall foul of the law and again, she who bears the womb, not he who carries the sperm, is held responsible.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 defined coloured people negatively as neither black nor white. This Act attempted to classify the coloured population into categories of Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indian, Other Asiatic and Other Coloureds. The names of these categories reflect a rigid perspective and terms such as “Other Coloured” and “Other Asiatic” indicate that the attempted classification was beset by ambiguity from its inception. The same law further invalidated itself by making provision for racial re-classification which suggests that racial mixture was probable and accurate classification impossible.

Sexual abuse of coloured women during apartheid is manifest in Hardies’ 1960 “Commentary on the Immorality Act”. With one exception all examples between pages sixty eight and seventy eight of the book illustrate that white men solicited coloured women and that coloured women’s bodies were used as bait or traps by the police. This abuse reduced coloured women, their identity and their bodies to tradable commodity status - with price tags to match their sexual desirability. Thus, like slave women, their bodies were perceived as merchandise which could be bought, sold and used to lure white men. Their identity thus assumed an inferior, dehumanised status as either broodstock or merchandise.

Field (2001:120 in Erasmus:2001) quotes an interview in which a mature coloured woman describes a childhood experience when she was growing up on a white farm and was given a

hiding by the “master” because she spoke the truth about blood being red regardless of pigmentation. The event highlights her rightless status, implicit ownership by her parents’ employer and the employer’s assumption that the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1841 gave him the right to assault a female minor who was not in his employ but did live on his farm. This legislation was enacted after slaves were manumitted. It is described by Western (1981:13) as a means to control mainly coloured servants who could be held criminally liable for breach of contract until the rather delayed removal of the ordinance from the statute book in 1975.

2.3 PORT ELIZABETH/THE NMBM

Passes and Places of Worship in Richmond Hill and South End

Abrahams’ thesis (1989) evaluates the educational role of various churches that educated coloured children in Port Elizabeth between 1803 and 1940. His work, as well as Agherdien et al’s (1997) descriptions of South End before it was bulldozed, Thomas’ (2008) account of life in North End in East London before forced removals and Christopher’s (2001, 1999 & 1994) analyses of political geography have fleshed out gaps in a somewhat scattered and incomplete history of the impact of forced removal on coloured women in Port Elizabeth and the NMBM.

The history of South End, the relationship between church, education and the state as well as the apartheid-mandated destruction of homes, businesses, churches and private or church schools is well-documented by Agherdien et al (1997), Abrahams (1989:30-287) and Christopher (1994, 1999 & 2001). South End and Richmond Hill were simultaneously laid out in the 1820s after the arrival of the 1820 settlers (Christopher 1999: 1) and are the oldest, mixed race suburbs in the NMBM. Nonetheless little has been recorded of the impact of racist and gendered legislation on the coloured women evicted from Richmond Hill by the Group Areas Act. This may be because the built landscape of Richmond Hill was not demolished between 1950 and 1980 as South End was. The Group Areas Act did, however, forcibly evict coloured women from their homes and sell their properties to white buyers for whose use the area had been rezoned.

Descriptions of the relationship between religion and identity in South End have been thoroughly researched (Abrahams 1989:30-287 & Agherdien et al 1997). However, with the exception of St Phillip’s Church Centenary Booklet (1972:1-3), there is no recorded

information about coloured women's lives or the impact of racist and gendered legislation on places of worship and the women of colour who were parishioners in Richmond Hill. Coloured women's social and political history in Richmond Hill is largely oral and unrecorded and, although white social history is recorded, it is exclusive, elitist and gendered (Harradine 2004 & 1996).

Before South End was demolished it was home to an interdenominational clutch of nine Christian churches, two temples and two mosques. St Peter's Anglican Church, the South End Union Congregational Church, The Pier Street Methodist Church, the Blessed Oliver Plunket Church and the Dutch Reformed Church all lost congregants and were forced to close and deconsecrate because of evictions from South End under the Group Areas Act. The Seventh Day Adventists' Mackay Street Church also lost congregants and was expropriated under the Group Areas Act, the New Apostolic Church suffered a similar fate and its buildings were taken over by members of the Southdene Congregation. St Andrews Presbyterian Church was sold to the Dutch Reformed Church in 1928 when the Presbyterians moved out of South End.

Prior to rezoning and evictions under the Group Areas Act there were thirteen places of worship in South End and ten places of worship in Richmond Hill. Of the nine churches in Richmond Hill the Trinity Baptist Church and St Cuthbert's Anglican Church served white congregations and were untouched by racist and gendered legislation. Mrs Kathy Lange, a parishioner from the Queen Street Baptist Church (founder of the Cape Road Baptist Church) recalled a vital piece of history which is not recorded in the St Phillip's Church 1972 Centenary Brochure.

When the Baptist Church sought larger premises in the 1960's the then Port Elizabeth (PE) Municipality offered St Phillip's Church to the Baptists. The Baptists declined because the church was too small and Saint Phillips remained a coloured people's Anglican Church. This suggests that St Phillip's had been rezoned by the Group Areas Board and that it was just a combination of luck and resistance which prevented its demolition and/or deconsecration. St Phillip's Church was founded as a London Missionary Society (LMS) Church in 1872. It was dedicated as an Anglican church for the Dutch-speaking coloured people who built it (St Phillip's Church Centenary Booklet 1972:1-3) in 1884. The church continues to serve a

coloured congregation in Richmond Hill as it has done since its inception by the LMS and is the only church in Richmond Hill and South End with this unique history.

Cornerstone Family Church, an Assembly of God Church, is housed opposite the Central Dutch Reformed Church in what was previously the Dutch Reformed Church Hall and originally an LMS church for a black parish. The building was used as a school for the Raleigh Street Synagogue and as an ammunition factory during the Second World War. In 1961, when the Assembly of God bought the premises, it served a white congregation which has reverted to being a black parish. Thus, although racist and gendered laws excluded coloured women from membership of this church before 1994, it is interesting that, like the Dutch Reformed Church opposite, Cornerstone Family Church now serves the community it was founded to serve by the LMS.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church, now in Richmond Hill on the corner of Bingley and Westbourne Roads, originally served the South End coloured community from premises in Mackay Street in Richmond Hill. Under the Group Areas Act Mackay Street was rezoned and the church was evicted from Richmond Hill to Parliament Street where it served a white congregation which became a mixed race congregation on its post-apartheid return to Richmond Hill.

Doxa Deo, an Afrikaans youth church, occupies the premises of the Apostolic Faith Mission. The corner stone of this church is covered in plaster and Doxa Deo therefore knows little of its background. The Central Dutch Reformed Church in Richmond Hill was the founder of all the Dutch Reformed Churches in Port Elizabeth and, although it began in a building that originally served a black LMS congregation, it ministered exclusively to white congregants until 1994. This church has undergone radical transformation. While it remains a Dutch Reformed Church it changed its vision and launched a transformed identity on 29 July 2012 as the “Anchor of Hope” Church which now ministers to a black congregation in English. Like the Cornerstone Family Church it again serves members of the community for whom it was originally founded.

The Raleigh Street Synagogue has closed and is now the Museum of Jewish History in Port Elizabeth. The My Father’s Home Family Church is a post-apartheid, largely black, charismatic church which operates from the ex Dutch Reformed Church Hall in Stanley

Street. The history of these Richmond Hill churches mirrors the diaspora of coloured people's evictions and, like the stories of coloured women in the NMBM, is doubly disadvantaged as an under-researched space in a city in which coloured women constitute an under-researched minority in the coloured population of South Africa.

Abrahams (1989:30-38) describes how Bethelsdorp – an area subsequently zoned coloured by the Group Areas Act – was founded as a mission station for more than two hundred dispossessed Khoi who had been rescued from Graaf Reinet by Theodorus Van Der Kemp of the London Mission Society (LMS) in 1802 with the aim of Christian conversion by teaching literacy with a Dutch Bible. The first church and the first school for people of colour were established hand in hand by the LMS “... with the sole purpose of introducing the Christian religion into heathen countries ...” (Van Der Kemp 1795 in Briggs 1952:3-5 in Abrahams 1989:34). It is ironic that a patriarchal religion introduced as a tool to develop a “civilised” and increasing landless underclass became a pillar of strength for their descendants in the twentieth century.

Abrahams' perspective is relativised by a definition of the northern areas in “On the Rampage” (2008:2-3) as a product of the “Magna Charta of the Hottentots” (sic) in which indigenous people and freed slaves were settled into “... areas where they could be ‘civilised’, ‘Christianised’ and ultimately controlled”. It was in the northern area that passes for the Khoi and slaves were first mandatory and that nomadic peoples were legally forced into a fixed settlement for the first time. Regardless of which point of view is accepted a common factor in both descriptions is the use of a conversion to Christianity to secure labour and entrench western civilisation with a simultaneous disregard for indigenous identity and culture.

Agherdien et al (1997:4-11) comment that “By 1860 many people were living over the Baakens River (South End).” and that the first inhabitants of what would become known as South End were Malay fishermen who settled in Port Elizabeth in the 1820's and lived on the foreshore. The area now known as Richmond Hill was described as Hospital Hill, Richmond Hill and St Paul's Hill” in the nineteenth century (Harradine 2009:Unnumbered Page: Richmond Hill section: Historical Society of Port Elizabeth Donkin Heritage Trail and Richmond Hill Trail guide).

1902-1903 Forced Removal from Richmond Hill

A unique feature of Richmond Hill history was articulated at the Anchor of Hope launch service and confirmed by a timeline in a *Department of Geography Urban Form of Port Elizabeth Course Handbook* (Christopher 1999:1). Between 1902 and 1903 Richmond Hill was the site of the first forced removal of coloured people in Port Elizabeth. The eviction was caused by an outbreak of Bubonic plague that was transferred from livestock shipped to the PE harbour for British soldiers during the Anglo-Boer War to coloured harbour workers. The workers lived in the “Native Strangers’ Location” which had been established as a temporary labour pool on LMS ground in Richmond Hill.

The then authorities used the plague as an excuse to burn all flammable homes in the Native Strangers Location. New Brighton, the first geographically segregated racial township in PE, was established beyond the then municipal borders of the city and all people of colour in Richmond Hill were forcibly evicted to the Red Location in New Brighton. Red Location shacks were constructed from corrugated iron roofing sheets from a TB hospital in Uitenhage. As the sheets weathered they rusted and the settlement became known as Red Location.

Although Christianity was introduced to secure white economic and cultural dominance in South End and Richmond Hill coloured women were differently affected by racist and gendered legislation in each area. Coloured people were evicted and relocated from both suburbs to the northern areas. Those from Richmond Hill were largely able to return to familiar church buildings in Richmond Hill whereas women from South End had to make a fresh start in areas where there were no church buildings at all.

Coloured people’s homes in South End were destroyed but coloured homes in Richmond Hill were left intact because coloured and black people’s homes were razed to the ground in 1902 and 1903 and the newer homes were rezoned and sold to white buyers between 1950 and 1980. This similar but different experience highlights the dangers of racial essentialism and group classification.

Pain and the Angel in the House

In his introduction to “Agenda” Vasu Reddy (2004) debates the nature of sexuality in Africa and the link between international feminism and African feminism. He suggests that the

parameters of sexuality, like race and gender, are socially constructed by constantly changing ideas, ideologies and beliefs and that African sexuality is currently dominated by pain, suffering, mourning and death caused by HIV/AIDS and sexual violence.

Gender violence, pain, suffering, mourning and death were lived realities attached to rape, commodification of the female body by slave owners, the 1754 Tulbach Slave code, the law of Uterine Descent, dislocated communities, broken families and the internal diaspora created by The Group Areas Act of 1950, The Population Registration Act of 1950, The Immorality Act of 1950 and The Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 as well as conditions of exile and imprisonment for anti-apartheid activists.

Virginia Woolf (1942) describes a symbolic battle she had to wage with an “Angel in the House” before she could commit time to writing. The angel epitomises female domesticity and self-sacrifice and Woolf suggests that she, the writer, had an ongoing battle to silence the ever-present angel and secure time to write. Woolf metaphorically silenced the angel with her pen to avoid bother from her gendered role to be self-sacrificing “... and without “... a mind or wish of her own” (Woolf 1942:3-5). The personification of domestic self-sacrifice in an angelic form is particularly applicable to coloured women whose racialised identity, second class status and historic roles of domestic, and other service in South Africa, silenced their voices until 1994 and continues to render them vulnerable to being the equivalent of Woolf’s invisible “Angel in the House”.

Whether their angel can be dispatched with a pen remains to be seen.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This treatise locates its epistemological framework in the value-laden fields of critical theory, feminism and social constructivism. Research has been conducted in the discipline of social science. Research design is exploratory, analytical and qualitative. It aims to understand “the other” and is motivated mainly by curiosity and the need to learn “... something new about the social world” (Neuman 2006:2). The project seeks to understand the impact of racist and gendered laws on coloured women’s social and political identity in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro (NMBM) and to supplement existing research on coloured people’s identity in the Western Cape with findings about coloured women’s social and political identity in the NMBM.

3.1 Research Paradigm

The dissertation is supported by an Interpretive Social Science (ISS) Review, the theory of Orientalism (Said 1985), narrative analysis (Vincent 2011, Wicomb 2012 & Zerubavel 1995), some feminist writing (Erasmus 2001 & 2000 & Marshall 1996 in Jarrett-Macauley 1996:5-35) and a comparative historical review. The comparative historical review studies the contents and impact of racist and gendered laws, policies and practices on coloured women from the colonial period to the current time. Theories will be used to interpret findings. Intentions are to describe, compare and interpret the impact of legislation and policy on gendered and racist stereotypes of coloured women’s social and political identity in the NMBM.

As this project relies on qualitative research it concentrates on words, actions and records and seeks patterns of meaning expressed in participants’ own words. Attempts will be made to understand participants’ behaviour and speech patterns in the social and political contexts in which they occur. The researcher aims to enter the participants’ worlds and to be part of the research process. For this reason the process is somewhat biased and it includes both participants’ and the researcher’s perspectives.

Research is interactive and empirical. Aspects of the social environment will be observed and recorded (Neuman 2006:13) to contribute to the analysis of the influence of racist and gendered legislation on coloured female evictees from the suburb of South End in the NMBM. As this is the first known project to explore coloured women’s identity in Port

Elizabeth it is intended that the information it generates will contribute to local understanding of identities and complement studies that explore nation-building at local, provincial and national levels.

In this qualitative study the researcher is regarded as a “*bricoleur*” (Denzin & Lincoln 2003) or quilt maker who borrows from different disciplines. This interdisciplinary project is conducted in the discipline of social science and the field of political science. The study crosses disciplinary boundaries because it relies on literary and narrative theory as well as South African fiction to illustrate, review and interpret readings and findings. Emphasis is placed on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured by quantity and frequency. Qualitative research emphasises social constructivism, the close relationship between the researcher and what is studied and contextual barriers that shape the research. Qualitative research is value-laden and it seeks answers to how social experience is created and given meaning.

Denzin and Lincoln (2003:13) explain that qualitative study emphasises qualities not experimental measuring because “Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry.” Therefore qualitative research is about “how” social experience is created and not about measurement. Qualitative research is value-laden and its meaning is closely linked to context as opposed to quantitative research that is value-free and focuses on numbers.

Qualitative research emphasises discovery not proof. Value is attached to the research process because findings are uncertain and contextual patterns emerge after close observation, documentation and analysis. The researcher is therefore interested in complex daily interactions such as conditions of pre and post eviction social life in South End and the NMBM, the meanings participants attach to these interactions and the terms in which they describe and remember them.

Barbour (2008:13) explains that “Qualitative methods can allow us to access ‘embedded’ processes by focusing on the context of people’s everyday lives...” and that qualitative methods can help us to understand and “demystify” (Barbour 2008:14) apparently illogical behaviours. As this study aims to understand why some stereotypes of coloured

women have endured since colonial times it cannot rely on quantitative analysis. Stereotypes, as described on page four of this dissertation, are illogical yet some stereotypes, such as those in Bain's (1938) sketch, endure to the present time. 174 years after the publication of "Caatje Kekkelbek" the same stereotypes are negatively used to describe coloured women in the Eastern Cape in Roberts' (2011) article. Such repetition indicates that historical myths and generalisations endure and continue to influence and stigmatise coloured women's identity.

If the aim of this study is to be met its research methods must enable social analysis and expose hidden realities created by influential policies in the lives of coloured women who were evicted from South End in the NMBM. As connections between the influence of social experience and life histories on social and political identity will be explored qualitative methods are likely to produce the most reliable, valid results.

3.2 Research Methodology

Two research methods have been selected to ensure that the study has contextual depth and that findings are reliable and valid. The first method - Comparative and Historical Research - (Babbie 2007:338-345) will scaffold the second method, a focus group discussion, with an ISS analysis of the impact of select racist and gendered colonial, segregational and apartheid policies on coloured women's political and social identity. The critical ISS reading will be based on the literature review in Chapter Two of this dissertation and will be included in Chapter 4 (Research Findings) as a comparative discussion of the influence of racist and gendered policies on coloured women's social and political identity in the Western Cape and the NMBM.

The focus group discussion will be grounded in the NMBM and will concentrate specifically on the social and political identity of ten coloured women who, during the period between 1950 and 1980, experienced eviction from the "gray" residential areas of South End to the northern areas of Port Elizabeth designated a coloured area by the Group Areas Act of 1950. The focus group discussion will be observed by the researcher and facilitated by a psychologist who is an experienced moderator. It is intended that focus group findings will supplement, affirm or relativise the summary generated by the critical ISS reading of chapter two of this dissertation.

A focus group discussion was selected as a research method because it is spontaneous, informal and interactive and likely to generate rich data which will enable exploration of different points of view (Barbour & Kitzinger 1999). Focus group discussion stimulates debate and provides evidence of similarities and differences among a group of participants who discuss opinions and experiences and simultaneously refine each other's' memories and responses. As the focus group participants are likely to know one another and to be of a similar age their responses to the four focus group questions will generate a more nuanced discussion than if they are separately invited to submit written responses or to participate in individual interviews with the researcher. Participation in a focus group discussion is also intended to give participants a platform in a safe space from which to tell stories about the impact of racist and gendered legislation on their individual worlds and their shared experience of dispossession and relocation. This research method is also expected to generate detailed, rich descriptions in colloquial language and to foreground conditions of everyday life in pre and post-apartheid neighbourhoods in the NMBM.

The four questions listed below were used to stimulate discussion in the focus group discussion. The questions are:

1. How would you define a coloured person?
2. How did the Group Areas Act affect the life you lived in South End?
3. How did racist categorisation as black, coloured or white affect you during apartheid?
4. Has political change affected the way you live now?

3.3 Research Sample

Neuman (2006: 219) describes sampling as “A smaller set of cases a researcher selects from a larger pool and generalizes to the population”. In this project the “smaller set” of ten cases or nominees was invited to participate in a focus group discussion and findings are generalised to represent coloured women in the NMBM who were evicted and moved by the Group Areas Act of 1950. Nominees were selected from a target population of coloured women in the NMBM who were forcibly relocated to the northern areas of the NMBM.

In order to protect the integrity of the research process and to ensure that selection of focus group participants was ethical and neutral Mr Collin Abrahams, the curator of the South End

Museum, was approached for assistance. Mr Abrahams recommended that Mr Sydney Prince, a staff member at the South End Museum, assist with the nomination of ten coloured women who experienced forced removal from South End.

Selection was therefore “informed” (Babbie 2007: 186 & Neuman 2006: 410-411) by Mr Sidney Prince who acted as a “gatekeeper” (Barbour & Kitzinger 1999: 9-10). Mr Prince is a field worker at the South End Museum which is located in the ex Seaman’s Institute in South End in the NMBM. The South End Museum is one of a few original buildings in South End which was left intact by the Group Areas Act. Like the District Six Museum in Cape Town the South End Museum stores, researches and records evidence of coloured people’s experience of forced removal. It serves as a cultural memory bank for coloured families and the broader community of the NMBM and regularly hosts commemorative events such as book launches, poetry readings, memorial services, debates and heritage celebrations.

Mr Prince, who is an ex South Ender, explained that many ex residents of South End who worshipped at St Peter’s Church in South End before relocation moved to the congregations of St Mary’s Church in the northern areas and St Phillips Church in Richmond Hill after St Peter’s was demolished. He added that members of the same families continue to worship at these churches. Ministers and church wardens at St Mary’s and St Phillip’s Anglican churches were approached and asked to distribute written information (Appendix 1) about the project to coloured women in their parishes. The ministers and church wardens agreed to assist and they invited, nominated and guided selection of the research sample of ten coloured women evicted by the Group Areas Act of 1950 from South End.

Each minister was invited to nominate five coloured female parishioners who experienced eviction and relocation to the northern areas of Port Elizabeth under the Group Areas Act. This sampling method was chosen because it cannot be influenced by the researcher, it is apolitical, the criteria of identity as coloured women evicted from South End and relocated under the Group Areas Act to the northern areas of Port Elizabeth was met and the participants will represent diverse suburbs in the northern areas where they live today.

Nominees will be provided with written information including a written invitation to participate in the focus group discussion (Appendix 1), transcribed oral information (Appendix 2) an Informed Consent Checklist and a Procedure and Declaration of Informed

Consent and Voluntary Participation (Appendix 3). The research aim, focus group objective and procedure together with measures to protect privacy and ensure voluntary participation as well as participants' access to research findings are summarised in Appendix 3. The researcher will explain the written information (Appendix 1) and informed consent checklist (Appendix 3) to nominees in an informal group setting. Time will also be reserved for a question and answer session so that each nominee is fully informed before she agrees to participate in the focus group discussion. After the researcher has answered all the nominees' questions nominees will be invited to complete the informed consent and voluntary participation checklist to signify their understanding. Once they had done so and discussed their concerns they will be invited to sign the declaration of voluntary participation and informed consent (Appendix 3).

Research instruments for the focus group discussion will be a digital recorder and the observation and analysis of language, tone and semiotics. Use of a digital recorder should ensure that the transcript of the focus group discussion will be accurate, unbiased, objective and complete. The recording cannot be tampered with so its contents will remain untouched and will therefore be valid and reliable.

The researcher will observe the focus group discussion (programme appended as Appendix 2) and note body language and semiotics. The observation of semiotics and body language could be biased by subjective selection and omission, the researcher's perspective and distraction and is therefore not be as impartial as the focus group recording and transcript. The summary of Comparative and Historical research will have a broader scope than the other research instruments but it is more subjective as text selection, editing and comparison will be informed by the researcher's point of view. Nonetheless, provided claims are supported where there are references to authors and other sources of information, comparative and historical research is a valid, reliable and useful instrument that will contextualise readings and enrich research findings.

Data from the focus group discussion will be collected in three ways: by the researcher's observation of body language and semiotics; an audio recording of the discussion and a verbatim transcription of the focus group discussion (Appendix 4). Comparative and Historical Research will also be used to summarise the influence of past and present racist and gendered policies on Coloured Women's identity in Chapter 4 (Research Findings).

Data analysis is based on links between theory and focus group information, patterns of repetition and frequency (Babbie 2007: 378-380), themes and trends (Mouton 2001: 108-110) in the focus group transcript, participant feedback and the observation of semiotics during the focus group discussion. Themes, patterns and semiotics will be interpreted and compared to historical studies which discuss coloured people's identity in the Western Cape as well as some theories which refer to othering, binaries and stereotypes. Similarities and differences between coloured women's social and political identity in the Western Cape and the NMBM will be identified, compared and discussed. Patterns and trends that emerged during the focus group discussion will be synthesised and common themes in which contents have been emphasised and repeated by participants during the focus group discussion will be identified and discussed. Findings, including themes and a comparison between coloured women's social and political identity in Cape Town and the NMBM will be explored in Chapter 4 (Research Findings).

Babbie (2007: 62-69) points out that ethics concerns the perception of right and wrong and is usually socially defined by different groups that agree to an ethics code to suit them. He continues to state that there are "... important ethical agreements that prevail in social research". These are the notions of voluntary participation, no harm to participants, informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality and deception.

3.4 Ethics, Politics and Permission

The notions of voluntary participation, no harm to participants, informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality, deception, research politics, permission and official ethics clearance will be discussed briefly in this section.

Implicit in the concept of voluntary participation is the idea that participation in research is time-consuming and potentially risky because sensitive personal information may be divulged. In this project participation is voluntary, by written invitation and informed consent. Background and motivation for the research will be provided and the research report plus research findings will be made available to participants. As social research should not hurt, embarrass or harm participants each woman will choose whether she wishes to be involved in the project. Participants will be fully briefed before signing consent forms (Appendix 3) and professional, free and voluntary moderation by a psychologist also will protect participants from emotional hurt or distress during the focus group discussion.

Confidentiality cannot be guaranteed because it is expected that the group will share and reminisce openly during the focus group discussion. Participants' anonymity will be protected in the treatise and research report by the use of pseudonyms. Anonymity in the treatise and research report is also guaranteed in the invitation (Appendix 1) to the nominees and in the consent forms (Appendix 3). Research data will be stored for a five year period by the research supervisor. Babbie (2007:67) explains that deception can be justified by research needs if the researcher's purpose will influence or detract from the research process. There is no intentional deception in this research and, as described above, information including the research background, motivation and purpose will be provided to participants in a letter of consent (Appendix 1). Research findings and the research report will also be made freely available to all participants.

The researcher's political and ideological beliefs are evident in the choice of research topic and in the wording of the appendices (1, 2 & 3) that will be given to focus group participants. It is impossible for either the researcher or the participants to be neutral or completely objective as their social contexts will influence how they see the world and the words they select to articulate what they see and remember. Moderation of the focus group discussion by an experienced facilitator should contribute to the validity and reliability of this research because it will allow the researcher to observe and prevent her from exerting influence on participants and from directing the discussion. The researcher will not participate in the focus group discussion, the moderator will speak, probe and ask questions and the researcher will observe body language and semiotics. No attempt will be made by the researcher to influence participants politically or ideologically as this is unethical and bias would jeopardise and invalidate the research findings.

Participants will receive written invitations (Appendix 1) in which the research background and motivation are provided. Oral information (Appendix 2) will be presented by the researcher and repeated in a written informed consent checklist (Appendix 3) that captures the right to voluntary and informed consent, the research aim, the objective of the focus group, focus group procedure, confidentiality and access to findings including the research report. This checklist and the Declaration of Informed Consent and Voluntary Participation will be completed by each participant after a full briefing and a questions and answer session.

This project met the official ethics clearance requirements of the NMMU Faculty of Arts ethics sub-committee On 21 11 11(reference number H/11/ART/PGS-0026).

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This chapter relies on thematic and narrative analysis (Vincent 2011; Waugh 1994; Wicomb 2012 & Zerubavel 1995) to present findings based on a focus group discussion (transcript appended as Appendix 4), research in South End and Richmond Hill in Central Port Elizabeth and on theories, laws and policies discussed in Chapter 2 (The Literature Review & Comparative Historical Analysis) of this treatise.

Findings are based on stories told during the focus group discussion in South End, Port Elizabeth on 13 December 2011 and on research conducted in Richmond Hill between April and July 2012. Research in Richmond Hill was unforeseen and organically driven by a need for information. Two focus group participants claimed that their families had been evicted from their homes in Richmond Hill under the Group Areas Act (Act 14 of 1950) yet no written record of evictions from Richmond Hill was found in libraries, churches or heritage associations including the South End Museum, Port Elizabeth Historical Society Journals and the Africana Library housed in the Settler Museum at Number 7 Castle Hill in the NMBM.

The focus group discussion was held in the library of the South End Museum in South End, Port Elizabeth on 13 December 2011. Discussion concentrated on the social and political identity of ten coloured women in Port Elizabeth whose families were evicted between 1950 and 1980 from the “grey” residential areas of South End and Richmond Hill to the northern areas of Port Elizabeth which were racially zoned a coloured area by the Group Areas Act (number 14 of 1950).

Richmond Hill was explored on foot and ten churches and one synagogue were identified. Although there are three mosques in South End no physical or documented evidence of a mosque or of a sizable Muslim population was found in Richmond Hill. Parish secretaries and ministers were contacted by phone and email and churches from which there was little or no response were visited. Research was conducted on site at Number 7 Castle Hill - a museum in the first white settler home in Port Elizabeth – in which the journals of the Port Elizabeth Historical Society as well as Africana records, books and audio-visual material are stored. Parish secretaries provided contact details for long-standing members and Ministers all of whom contributed snippets of information to complete this puzzle.

Ten nominees (Appendix 2), a moderator and the researcher participated in the focus group discussion. Seven participants were physically present at the South End Museum. Three nominees who were unable to attend, but wanted to participate, spoke to the researcher over the phone and their responses are captured in Appendix 4, the focus group transcript. Six months after the focus group discussion two volunteers submitted written responses to the focus group questions. As the volunteers were also keen to have their voices heard their written responses were accepted and are appended as Appendices 5 and 6. These contributions were read but not included in research material as they did not form part of the approved research proposal.

Thus, while seven women were physically present at the focus group discussion in the South End Museum, ten participants contributed to the research. With the exception of Julie, whose parents were forcibly removed from Sidwell in Port Elizabeth before she was born, all participants have first-hand experience of forced removal and eviction. Participants were eager to share their experience and tell their stories. Some women wanted to have another focus group discussion and invite friends, including visiting emigrants who left South Africa to avoid the administration of “miscegenation legislation” (Millin 1924 and Appendix 4).

No contributions were solicited telephonically but, when nominees wanted to talk, notes were taken as the participants clearly wanted their voices and experiences heard. The inclusion of Carol, Genny and Helen in the transcript was organically driven. So too was the role of the focus group discussion as both a research instrument and a mini Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) women’s rights violation hearing in which each participant could tell her traumatic story, or select portions of it, to equally displaced friends in a safe space.

Discussion during the focus group was spontaneous, dotted with jokes and humour and very caring and supportive. Most of the conversation was conducted in English. When Afrikaans or a spontaneous mixture of English and Afrikaans - including slang, contractions and euphemisms - became the medium of communication these switches were captured verbatim to provide an accurate record of the discussion and allow interpretation based on text and subtext. The register of the transcript - including quotations selected from the transcript – is predominantly informal and colloquial because this accurately represents the spirit, tone and delivery of the focus group discussion. This style is typical of commemorative narrative (Zerubavel 1995: 6) in which a shared plot, refined by the selection, repetition,

embellishment and suppression of collective memories is generated. Commemorative narrative supports a partially fictive, alternative history that is polished and rehearsed behind closed doors in the register of everyday life. This process is illustrated in the focus group discussion by Ella's description (Appendix 4: 22) of secret meetings held by her husband and other anti-apartheid activists. An alternative version of history or "counter memory" (Zerubavel 1995: 10-12) provides a narrative community of oppressed people – like the forcibly evicted coloured residents of South End and Richmond Hill – with a vehicle to oppose and subvert dominant narratives including Winifred Hoernle's influential notions of paternalistic racism and trusteeship (Hoernle 1943 quoted in Gillespie 2001:508) and the rationale behind apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Mixed Marriages Act of 1950 and the Immorality Act of 1949.

Focus group stories have been analysed and grouped into four main themes: Living, Longing and Laughing; Religion and Resistance; Hardship and Trauma and Identity and Ambivalence. Each theme represents a trend or a dominant stream of collective, sense-making story telling based on patterns of repetition and frequency (Babbie 2007: 378-380). However, as selection is subjective and interpretive, it is acknowledged that thematic clustering is fluid and fickle, that boundaries between themes are permeable and that a single memory or event may be referenced in more than one theme (Waugh: 1994). The next section will discuss each theme in more detail.

Quotes and analysis in the section below are based on participants' responses to four questions asked during the focus group discussion. Question one invited feedback about a possible definition of a coloured person, question two asked how the Group Areas Act affected participant's lives in South End and Richmond Hill, question three invited discussion about the effect of racist categorisation as black, coloured or white people during apartheid and question four asked if political change has affected the way participants live now.

"Living, Longing and Laughing", the title of theme one, clusters and reflects participants' fond pre eviction memories of life in South End and Richmond Hill. Memories, including nostalgia for an easier life in familiar neighbourhoods, are filtered by participants' effervescent, brave humour in the face of adversity. Theme two, "Religion and Resistance", highlights close links between religion, faith-centred family life and coloured women's identity in NMBM. Such links include united, faith-based resistance campaigns to Group

Areas Board (GAB) deconsecration, rezoning and eviction from places of worship in South End and Richmond Hill and the impact of successful resistance campaigns on coloured women's social and political identity.

The third theme, "Hardship and Trauma", is the most realistic and the least nostalgic of the four themes because it records individual participant's sad memories of the impact of racist and gendered legislation and policies on their lives. Communal bonds of support and solidarity created by shared hardship in a tough environment are highlighted as well as the degrading humiliation of the "pencil test" (Erasmus 2000:380) and examples of police brutality, sexism and racism, derogatory name-calling, the impact of apartheid on matriculants and the impact of petty apartheid on women and children's lives.

Theme four, "Identity and Ambivalence", illustrates participants' contradictory perceptions of their social and political identity in the post-apartheid milieu. There is ambivalence between shared pride in coloured people's resilience and resentment of continued racial categorisation as well as some bitterness (Appendix 4:24). Participants comment that coloured women's status continues to be defined by a deficit discourse of marginalisation because, "... first we were not white enough and now we are not black enough" (Adhikari 2004:168 & Appendix 4:17). However, as not one participant acknowledged coloured complicity in apartheid it also seems that participants continue to affiliate with whiteness although they prefer to be described as black or African rather than coloured.

Themes

4.1 Living, Longing and Laughing

Choice of this theme is motivated by participants' longing for life in South End and Richmond Hill and their use of humour to cope with their loss. Examples of an easier, golden past in this romantic theme will illustrate how storytelling in the focus group relied on shared romantic and commemorative narrative conventions including memories of pre-forced removal living in a perfect milieu in which life was simple and peaceful (Abrams 1971:120-121; Fowler 1991:208-209; Trotter 2009 in Adhikari 2009:49-78). Life in South End and Richmond Hill is remembered romantically as ideal and problem-free, a world concerned mainly with love, death and music (Gillie 1978:702-703 & 757-758).

Zerubavel (1995:6) explains that commemorative narrative is characterised by a fictional, poetic style supported by narrative selection, repetition and embellishment that scaffold the narrative and mould group identity by suppressing some memories and selecting others. This fictional style is evident in focus group participants' commemoration of their past with select romantic memories of happy times featuring leisure, singing and dancing. On the opening page of Appendix 4 Mary comments that her husband "... even used to pay the band an extra 10 rand to play 'till 1 o' clock in the morning". Margie supports her nostalgia with humour, adding that "He used to dance with the ladies and fall asleep on their breasts!" (Appendix 4: 1). Both examples highlight a carefree community spirit before the Group Areas Act.

Abrams (1971:120-121); Fowler (1991:208-209) and Gillie's (1978:702-703&757-758) argument that romantic storytelling relies on a fiction of a perfect, carefree world is supported by two more examples of music (Appendix 4:7&15) in the focus group transcript. The first example refers to a New Year's Eve ritual when "Peggy Dorothy ... (was) singing out her door there, "Auld Lang Sayne" ..." and the second to Lisa's childhood home when the gramophone was wound up and her mother would sing " ... all the army songs" and the family danced together. The regular selection of musical examples reinforces the impression that leisure, singing, dancing and light-heartedness were a constant feature of life in South End and Richmond Hill before forced removal.

This impression is deliberately created by a commemorative narrative which concentrates on good memories and suppresses bad memories in the same way that the deceased are often remembered by loved ones as faultless. However, because this counter narrative has a political function to oppose and subvert state narrative, the romantic, musical memories have a two-fold purpose; to subvert the hegemony of government rationale and to honour and celebrate a lost lifestyle.

"Living, Longing and Laughing" also describes life and society in fondly remembered mixed areas (Appendix 4:4). Descriptions (Appendix 4:3-5) of life in South End and Richmond Hill include connections between home and neighbourhood in which neighbours cared for and helped each other regardless of race or creed, women could walk safely around their neighbourhoods, churches were "...around us and we walked ..." (Appendix 4:4) and "... it was fanciful living here." (Appendix 4:5). These nostalgic indicators of better pre-eviction living and a longing for the past are echoed by Thomas (2008: 261) and Agherdien et

al (1997: 82) who emphasise the emotional value of home and the importance of providing a “roof” (home) for one’s children (Thomas 2008: 237&253) to inherit.

Participants’ stories also highlight differences between a comfortable pre-eviction lifestyle in which children were well-behaved and leisure time was enjoyed and shared communally (Appendix 4: 1-5), with conditions of post-eviction life in the unfamiliar, ill-prepared and under-serviced NMBM northern areas of Port Elizabeth described by Lisa (Appendix 4: 10) as “There was no schools; no Gelvan Park Schools, little light, lot a bush ...” and in “On the Rampage” (2008: 7) as the product “... of Colonial-Apartheid ideology ... how people were organised and discretely encouraged to imagine themselves.” and as the *raison d’être* for the 1990 uprising in the NMBM northern areas.

Homes were shared by extended families for generations in South End and Richmond Hill and, as houses were passed from parents to children, (Agherdien et al 1997: Introduction: Unnumbered Page & Thomas 2008:29&67-72) deep kinship and communal bonds were woven into the fabric of coloured women’s identity with the influence of home, space and neighbourhood (Agherdien et al 1997: 90-94; Appendix 4: 5 & Thomas 2008: 36 & 256). The influence of these connections is tragically illustrated by the heartbreak and pre-eviction deaths of members of the older generation who could not bear removal from familiar neighbourhoods in which their identity, family and social history was carved (Agherdien et al 1997: Preface: Unnumbered Page & Introduction: Unnumbered Page; Appendix 4:8 & Beyers in Adhikari 2009:51).

The narrative style of participants’ story telling is nostalgic, warm and sprinkled with humour. Humour is used to show support and solidarity and to lighten the tone of a potentially dark tale of dispossession and pain (Zerubavel 1995: 173-177). The first page of Appendix 4 highlights the use of laughter and humour to invert stories irreverently when Mary describes how her granny’s slaughtering yard in their Richmond Hill garden has been replaced by a swimming pool. Her graphic description of the slaughtering process - coupled with her outspoken indignation about the substitution of the ex slaughtering ground with a swimming pool - underscores the differences between the past and present without nastiness and raised mirth twice at the beginning of the focus group discussion. In this instance humour is used to distract attention from a serious, painful topic.

A thread of inversion and subversion runs through the focus group transcript as laughter is used by the matriarchs- especially Mary- to prevent despair when reality threatens to become too harsh. On page 5 of Appendix 4 Mary subverts a serious sore point by comparing forced removal to “Ponds Vanishing Cream” (a moisturiser for women which promises to erase wrinkles overnight). This deliberately selected, frivolous comparison implies that coloured families disappeared as simply from South End and Richmond Hill as Ponds claims facial wrinkles will disappear from women’s faces. The technique is repeated many times during the focus group discussion (Appendix 4:1,5,13,14,16,21&23), when participants recall instances in which they “played white” (Appendix 4:18&19) or pretended that their race classification was white so that they could access exclusively white facilities or attend “whites only” events.

Zerubavel (1995:147-148,159-162 &167-177) describes the relationship between humour and commemorative narrative as interactive because humour challenges a dominant memory and may re-shape, invert or re-invent this myth irreverently in defiance of a hegemonic narrative. Humour is also used to diffuse and cope with intense suffering, fear and anxiety as it reveals and suppresses mixed feelings about war, pain and sacrifice. This is highlighted by Mary’s swimming pool and Ponds stories and her comment that “- I sold my deep freeze now I dunno what’s gonna happen – in any case – cos I’m alone cos if I’m dead then no one will know I’m dead.” (Appendix 4:5) In this example the juxtaposition of her fear of dying alone with talk about the freezer distracts attention from her isolation and worry and helps her to cope.

Humour is also used to subvert painful memories of racialised identity. Margie comments that “I’ve got relatives who are H s but they were on the white side” (Appendix 4:19) and that “The Model C schools have children who are liquorice allsorts” (Appendix 4:21). Participants laugh at both comments; first to diffuse sensitivity around race classification and secondly because a familiar, superficial metaphor reduces the identity of mixed race children to the appearance of striped liquorice and candy sweets. Ella discusses coloured people’s origin and jokes about Khoisan (indigenous) ancestry “*Kroes, kroes* (Curly, curly), they used to call coloured people steel wool.” (Appendix 4: 23) and implicitly refers to an inferior identity based on race classification and hair texture.

During the period of apartheid one way of determining race classification was to insert a pencil into curly hair. If the pencil fell out the person was classified white because it was assumed that white people had straight hair. If the pencil remained in the hair the person was classified coloured in the belief that “mixed blood” was responsible for curly hair.

In the examples discussed above painful memories are defused by irreverent humour that converts distressing topics into jokes. When mixed race children are described as “liquorice allsorts” and when coloured people’s hair is compared to steel wool, the subversive nature of comparisons of children’s complexion to striped sweets and of hair texture to a wiry pot scourer made from twisted strands of steel are so ludicrous that they distract participants’ attention from memories of past suffering.

Participants also recall a close-knit, civilised community where, “... the grass was always green ...” (Appendix 4:4), families danced and sang along to the music of wind up gramophones (Appendix 4:15), watermelons were buried under the sand to keep cool, obedient, well-mannered children chopped wood and polished Dover stoves “ ... we had to shine that stove from morning to night because it was kept – pitch black as what you are ...” (Appendix 4:14-15) and money was put aside at funerals and celebrations for children who didn’t steal (Appendix 4:5). These descriptions invoke a romantic commemorative narrative in which positive memories such as these are deliberately selected, re-told and rehearsed to reflect an idyllic past in South End and Richmond Hill.

Nostalgia is also present in memories of shared family homes and lives in South End and Richmond Hill. Each participant mentions a granny or aunty who lived with her as well as borrowing and sharing (Appendix 4:3), friendship and support during illness and neighbourhood characters like Peggy Dorothy who could be “... singing out her door there ...” in South End (Appendix 4:7) on New Year’s Eve. These select, repeated recollections are typical of romantic story telling or “emotion recollected in tranquility” (Wordsworth in Abrams 1971:107). They include narratives of non-racial friendship and support (Appendix 4:3 & 16-17) as coloured women in South End and Richmond Hill cared for their neighbours and their children, regardless of religion or race. Faith comments that “Because of my religion being Islam you know that’s Malays ... But we lived in harmony, all of us ...” (Appendix 4:3).

Mary, who lives alone, compares (Appendix 4:5) how neighbours in South End used to rally around to care for the sick and to do their housework for them with her current fear that she may die in her house without anyone knowing. She and Margie describe South End and Richmond Hill life as better or “fanciful” (Appendix 4:5) and more caring, or “beautiful with sickness” (Appendix 4: 5), than life in the northern areas of PE because everybody was everybody else’s, “... friend, not only family, friend” (Appendix 4:5).

Participants’ collective memories invoke a lost age of pastoral simplicity in South End and Richmond Hill. This is characterised by romantic language in names like the “Joy-Joy” (Appendix 4:4) church club at which all children received sweets at Sunday School, picnics that were held on “Happy Hearts Beach” (Appendix 4:4) and Mary’s husband paying the band a little extra so that they could dance the nights away (Appendix 4:1). In this counter narrative memories have been chosen to reinforce the contrast between where participants live now and where they lived before.

4.2 Religion and Resistance

This theme highlights the influential role of religion on the social and political identities of coloured women evicted from South End and Richmond Hill. Before apartheid both neighbourhoods had many places of worship in walking distance from homes (Appendix 4: 9), aptly described by Ella as “... the churches around us...” (Appendix 4:4). Churches and Mosques strengthened community solidarity by providing networks of education, worship, sport, recreation and social life. Families in South End and Richmond Hill were deeply involved with their places of worship which “... served a wider cultural role ... and held the community together” (Agherdien et al 1997:23 & Abrahams 1989:192-193).

Frequent references to religion in participants’ stories (Appendix 4:3,6-10,12&20), including the “Joy-Joy Club” (Appendix 4:4) and a proud commemorative narrative of successful resistance campaigns against church and mosque rezonings suggest close links between participants’ religion and identity. Links between religion, resistance and identity are evident in participants’ memories of the role played by their male relations’ resistance to the demolition of their Mosque and Church and in stories selected to describe the impact of anti-apartheid resistance on their families.

The suburb of Richmond Hill is currently home to nine churches, no mosques and one synagogue which has become a museum of Jewish history in the NMBM. The Central Dutch Reformed Church, the Cornerstone Family Church and St Phillip's Anglican Church are built on land originally occupied by London Missionary Society (LMS) Churches. These churches were founded to serve black and coloured congregants but both the Central Dutch Reformed Church and Cornerstone Family Church ministered to exclusively to white people during apartheid.

St Cuthbert's Anglican Church and Trinity Baptist Church were founded to serve the white community. Their congregations would therefore not have been evicted by racist and gendered legislation and their doors would have opened to mixed race congregations after 1994. Doxa Deo is currently a youth church. It is housed in an old church building but, as the memorial plaque of the original church has been plastered over, its history and that of its congregants remains unknown. The Seventh Day Adventist Church was founded in Richmond Hill and served congregants from South End and Richmond Hill; it was evicted by the Group Areas Act and returned to Richmond Hill after democracy. St Phillip's Church was founded as a London Missionary Society (LMS) Church in 1872 and in 1884 was dedicated as an Anglican church for the Dutch-speaking coloured people who built it (St Phillip's Church Centenary Booklet 1972: 1-3). The church continues to serve a coloured congregation in Richmond Hill as it has done since its inception by the LMS. It is the only church in Richmond Hill and South End with this unique history.

The Mariammam Temple was sold by its administrators and, despite protests, was demolished. However, regardless of notices from the Group Areas Board, the Malay community was determined to save the Masjid Ul Aziz in Pier Street and took their protest to the United Nations. They received international support and the mosque continues to be used and testify to their determination. Similarly members of St Phillip's Anglican Church in Richmond Hill refused to bow down to government pressure. Male congregants threatened to sleep in the church to prevent its demolition (Appendix 4: 12), the building was saved and families of the men who fought for their church continue to travel twenty two kilometres (Appendix 4: 8) from the apartheid designated northern areas of Port Elizabeth to their church in Richmond Hill.

The resistance of male family members of the Masjid Al Aziz in South End and St Phillip's Church in Richmond Hill is fondly remembered by their daughters and granddaughters who remain faithful to their places of worship (Appendix 4:12). Sisters Mary and Lisa who have been members of St Phillip's Church since their baptism there recall three generations of family allegiance (Appendix 4:10) to St Phillips Church despite the increased distance between where they live now and where they lived before eviction.

Lisa remembers that busses stopped at the foot of Albany Road. This meant that displaced congregants who used to walk short distances from their homes in Richmond Hill and South End to their churches and mosques had to buy bus tickets for the trip from the northern areas back to Richmond Hill and South End. Women who returned to St Phillips also had to climb the steep hill from the bus stop at the bottom of the hill to reach St Phillips at the top of the hill. This was a strain and Lisa suffered as she had to "... walk up and (we) had to push my mother up." (Appendix 4:10).

Mary brought a history of the church to the focus group discussion, a picture of her home in Upper Hill Street in Richmond Hill and an original iron from the laundry in South End which she donated to the museum after the discussion. Mary and Lisa (Appendix 4: 8-9) also proudly described their family legacy of three generations of baptism, confirmation, marriage, wedding anniversary celebrations and burial at St Phillips. Religion and resistance are thus woven into the social and political identities of focus group participants and, although Lisa is still cross about the Group Areas Act (Appendix 4: 9-10); there is no contradiction in the faith-based identity of these women. It is clear that the mosque and church remain influential in participants' lives as well as those of their families.

Faith, whose grandfather was the Iman (Appendix 4:4) of the Pier Street mosque, recalls that "... the Moslem community stood together" (Appendix 4:8-9). The men petitioned the United Nations (UN) to prevent Group Areas deconsecration and demolition of their mosques. The petition succeeded and the bulldozers "... had to go around ..." (Appendix 4:9) them and stop construction of a freeway that threatened the minaret of the Pier Street Mosque. The incomplete freeway and the South End Mosques in Pier Street, Walmer Boulevard and Grace Street testify publicly to the determination and unity of the Muslim community. Lisa grumbled (Appendix 4:9) that "The churches should have done the same." St Phillips Church in Richmond Hill and the Pier Street, Walmer Boulevard and Grace Street Mosques are

enduring icons to religion and resistance. The buildings reinforce members' pride in their male relations who "... stood firm" (Appendix 4:9) against the Group Areas Act and participants compare the outcome of this resistance unfavourably with the lack of resistance demonstrated by leaders of churches like St Peter's in South End who "... ran away like rats. The main person there, because, 'Yes sir, no sir, three bags full sir!'" (Appendix 4:9). It is ironic that a patriarchal religion introduced as a tool to develop a "civilised" and increasingly landless underclass in the early nineteenth century became a pillar of strength for many of their descendants in the twentieth century.

The accuracy of Wicomb's point (2012:2) that story telling helps "... speakers find self-worth ... (and) ... assert themselves against authority ..." is evident in participants' proud tales and their commemorative narrative of male family members' resistance to legislated rezoning and deconsecration of St Phillips and the Mosques. Memories of religion and resistance are central to participants' social and political identities. This commemorative narrative also provides a mythological touchstone for future generations and continues to influence participants' religious affiliation and places of worship in the NMBM. Zerubavel (1995: 8-9) explains that commemorative density marks the significance of past events and can transform events subject to multiple commemoration such as religious resistance against deconsecration into political myths "... that function as a lens through which group members perceive the present and prepare for the future" (Zerubavel 1995:9).

The literature survey in Chapter 2 and the focus group discussion which inform this chapter validate Agherdien et al's argument (1997: Preface: Unnumbered Page) that forced removal, resistance to deconsecration and rezoning as well as the loss of close-knit, faith-based communities destroyed the fabric of community life in South End and Richmond Hill despite the advent of democracy in 1994.

4.3 Hardship and Trauma

The third theme - Hardship and Trauma - is woven into all the participants' stories. This theme showcases participants' memories of discrimination and racism. It is illustrated in narratives that describe sexism, harassment, restricted beach access, police brutality, the diaspora of removal, the forced sale of treasured possessions and financial loss as well as eviction from safety, heritage, civilisation and comfort to smaller homes in a wilderness

described by Lisa as “There’s no roads, there’s no taxis, there’s no busses. If it rained your car stuck in the pot clay.” (Appendix 4:10).

Four of the thirteen original places of worship are intact in South End and most churches have broadened their membership base from racial exclusivity to inclusivity. Nonetheless, with the exception of the faithful few who remain congregants at St Phillips and the South End Mosques, most of the coloured people evicted by the Group Areas Act have not returned to live or worship in Richmond Hill or South End. Almost all the buildings in South End were demolished and although buildings in Richmond Hill remain intact they have been gentrified and are therefore inaccessible to those evicted from them. The government initiated land restitution process has not yet enabled relocated residents like Mary and Lisa to return to Richmond Hill.

The facts that Mary remembers and speaks about her visit to her previous home in Richmond Hill at “69 Upper Hill Street ...” (Appendix 4:1) and brought a photo of her house to the focus group discussion suggests that commemorative memories will continue to be shared, circulated and stored. Her gifts of an iron from the South End Laundry and church records from St Phillips to the curator of the South End Museum indicate that she wants to make a lasting contribution to the communal narrative captured by the Museum. The South End Museum enjoys government and community support and regularly hosts commemorative cultural and heritage events. It is situated in South End in the Seaman’s Institute which is one of a few buildings to survive the Group Areas bulldozers in PE. Mary’s gifting symbolises a return to heritage and a commitment to enhancing a commemorative narrative that recalls an historical turning point when coloured people were evicted and their properties in South End were destroyed.

All coloured residents in South End and Richmond Hill were forced to move. Congregants and ex residents whose places of worship were destroyed or rezoned felt that they were unjustly “shifted” (Appendix 4:13) from their physical and spiritual homes and that both had to be re-established. The wrench contributed to romanticised narratives of South End and Richmond Hill as perfect, caring communities and to feelings of loss and confusion illustrated by Mary’s comment “I was like a bird in a tree when this church and that church tried to grab you cos you had nowhere to go.” (Appendix 4:8)

Mary described the dispersal of St Peter's altar to Humansdorp, the organ to St Mary Magdalene in West End and the removal of St Peter's Fisherman's Cross - previously a beacon for returning sailors - which was later re-erected in the Northern areas above a highway. Margie says that the destruction of the Walmer Road Baptist Church was, "... the saddest part for me" (Appendix 4:8) and on page 13 she tells the story of the "... sad part of South End" when "...they shifted the Lee Place people". This story includes a description of Aunty Robey who lost her "flower garden" in the move and was so distraught that the minister was called to console her (Appendix 4:13). Mary speaks indignantly of the demolition of the first church built in Port Elizabeth, "Congregation Church in Chapel Street, that's a parking lot today!" (Appendix 4:9) and its reduction to a parking lot due to the Group Areas Act.

Margie lived in the street in which she was married in South End and described her home as "... a big house in South End and we had to ... it was broken down. It's all different now." (Appendix 4:9). Ella quoted her mother who said, "I want to be dead before this things happen." (Appendix 4:8) and confirmed that this was indeed the case. Her mother did die before eviction.

Lisa was evicted by the Group Areas Act after Margie and Mary and she tells a tale (Appendix 4:9-16) of police thuggery, harassment, brutality, hardship and trauma caused by the act. This began with the arrival of the GAB letter that forced Lisa and her family to leave Richmond Hill. Unlike Faith, who was given time to build a house before moving from South End, Lisa and her elderly parents were told, "... we must get out ... because this is a typical white area." (Appendix 4: 9). They were given six months to do so with no assistance to move furniture or to find alternative accommodation. Lisa describes how she had to read the letter of eviction to her parents, endure her father's rage and refusal to move and arrange the removal despite her parents' opposition and her own trauma, "My father, ... he was very much an aggressive man and he said nobody will get him out ... But in the end we had to go." (Appendix 4:10).

Lisa and her parents moved to a much smaller house and her parents were forced to sell their furniture. This is described as, "... very, very sad and these are the things our children, our youth, don't forget." (Appendix 4:15). The forced sale of furniture and the loss of the Dover stove which was also too big to move put her parents under financial pressure to buy new

furniture and appliances. Lisa's family life before the Group Areas Act is remembered longingly as a happier time.

Although Margie disagreed with them, Lisa and Faith described a lack of banking facilities and savings that were kept, "Under the linoleum and stitched in between the lining and the mattresses." and on top of the wardrobe (Appendix 4:16). Lisa remembers three childhood experiences that highlight the traumatic impact of petty apartheid and the Separate Amenities Act of 1944 on coloured children in the NMBM. The first is the enforcement of racially allocated playground equipment in St George's Park (a large park in Central Port Elizabeth that is walking distance from Richmond Hill) when "... the police come and you get thrown off the swings and they used to twist our arms and chase us and throw us with stones" (Appendix 4:11).

The second event was on Christmas Eve when Lisa had climbed to the top of a tree in a "white" park in Westbourne Road in Richmond Hill. Gun-bearing policemen verbally abused and threatened her, "I was in the top of the tree and they said, '*Julle Hotnots moet nou spat*' (You Hottentots must get out now). They used to take out a gun ..." (Appendix 4:11). She was so scared that she fell out of the tree and broke her arm. The arm wasn't properly set "...and today that arm is giving me the ..." (Appendix 4:11) and it continues to trouble her. The third occasion was when Lisa was sent as a little girl to fetch her father from "Farmers' Home", a bottle store in Parliament Street, Richmond Hill. She tried to "... sneak in by the whites only because he's next door by the blacks..." and was chased out by men in the white section who boxed her ears and hurt her (Appendix 4:12).

During apartheid bottle stores were racially segregated into sections reserved for coloured, black and white patrons. Lisa was therefore seen as trying to gain illegal entry into the white section of the bottle store and was physically punished by the white men in that section on the store.

Lisa's stories also highlight community fear of the police and how armed policemen often visited coloured schools in the northern areas of PE. Lisa describes how, in 1986, (Appendix 4: 12) her son had to write matric under armed police guard in the then unrestored Feather Market Hall in Port Elizabeth. Pigeon droppings landed on his blazer while he wrote and "He couldn't even wipe it off because you can't move with these AK 47's police there."

(Appendix 4:12). An AK 47 is an assault rifle that was issued to members of the military and security forces during apartheid.

When Lisa returned to St Phillips Church with her parents after their eviction from Richmond Hill there was only a bus from Gelvandale to the bottom of Albany Road so she had to physically push her aged Mother up the hill to reach their church. Lisa also remembers the journey into town to sign for a house at the offices of the Group Areas Board (GAB) as arduous, "... walking and walking every week just to put a point next to your name to get a house and that wasn't nice." (Appendix 4:10). Housing allocation by the GAB was exclusive and prejudiced in favour of married women and the employed. The elderly, the unemployed and single women did not qualify for GAB houses.

Central to all the participants' stories are their memories of racialised treatment. Mary, Lisa, Ella and Julie describe the shameful cruelty and humiliation of the infamous hair texture or pencil test (Appendix 4:3&11, Erasmus 2000: 380-392) for race classification. All participants recall the belittling prejudice of racial tagging as "*Hotties* (Hottentots) and *Bushies* (Bushmen)" (Appendix 4:11) with the implicit insults of uncivilised wildness and barbarism. Lisa had to explain race classification to her children who didn't understand why they were being called other names when they were coloured people. Participants also remember the curfew siren at 21:00 which required that black and coloured people should be indoors and off the streets by 21:00. Lisa explains how she "... used to tell my boys we weren't allowed out after 9 o' clock. We had to be off the streets when the siren went off ... I asked my mother why, she says because we're not white" (Appendix 4:11).

Helen speaks of her experience:

Everything was labelled black and white and coloured; when my husband was driving his taxi he couldn't lift us 'cos it was a white taxi only. So we had to walk when the taxi was empty and he had to drive past his family. He couldn't lift us. When my friend went to this office for her interview to get a teaching post I went with her and the white man put his hand on my leg. She told me to - I must let him feel 'cos she had to get this post ... (Appendix 4:1)

Helen's first story recalls occasions when her husband, who was a taxi driver, was never allowed to seat his family in his taxi because it was designated for use by members of the white group only. Her second memory highlights coloured women's commodification and vulnerability as well as transactional sexual harassment in which temporary, unwelcome access to her body was tolerated to secure her friend's teaching post.

The commodification of coloured women's bodies is a recurrent theme in South African social history. It begins with the abuse of slave women in the Cape Town's slave lodge from 1752-1875 (Shell 2002), continues to flourish under the Uterine Descent Rule (Hendricks: 2001 in Erasmus: 2001:38), in the post manumission period and under colonial justice (Scully 1995:335-359) when no record of the rape of a coloured woman by a white man exists and cases involving coloured women were assessed by white male readings of the complainant's chastity and purity.

Sexual abuse and the continued hardship and trauma experienced by coloured women during apartheid are manifest in Hardie's (1960) "Commentary on the Immorality Act" which indicates (Hardie 1960:68-78) that white men solicited coloured women and that coloured women's bodies were bought and used as traps by the South African police. This abuse duplicates the historical reduction of coloured women's social identity to dehumanised commodity or transactional status. During the apartheid period coloured women's bodies, like those of slave and Hottentot women (including iconic victims like Saartjie Baartman) continued to be perceived as merchandise which could be bought, sold, transported and used to lure white men. Coloured women's identity as second class, dehumanised broodstock or merchandise was underscored by apartheid legislation.

4.4 Identity and Ambivalence

The last theme resonates through the focus group discussion. Participants' individual responses to focus group question one that asked for a definition of a coloured person were unequivocal. The tag, "coloured" is an insult. It is hated and "...not good" (Appendix 4:2). Mary's comments (Appendix 4:3) indicate that apartheid classification as "coloured" was a "stigma" that reduced coloured women's identity to second class status in PE.

Participants know that the "coloured" category remains in use and choose not to use it individually yet Lisa claims coloured nationhood "... we are a nation of our own, the

coloureds. Diverse or not, we are a nation of our own ..." (Appendix 4:12) and an "independent" group identity" (Appendix 4:11). The contradiction suggests opposing understandings of individual and group identity; it is undesirable to be individually defined as a member of a residual category and simultaneously desirable to use the same nomenclature to claim group, social or political identity.

Gibson and Gouws' (2000:279) South African study found that group membership and personal evaluation thereof scaffold social identity. The theory of commemorative narrative (Zerubavel 1995 & Trotter in Adhikari 2009:49-78) and Gibson and Gouws' (2000:280) findings foreground the influence of collective memory in identity construction and the binary nature of strong ingroup identity (such as that of coloured evictees in NMBM) constructed relative to outgroup (such as black people who go to King's Beach on New Year's Day) social identity. Euphemisms such as the substitution of "penguins" for black people perceived to be an outgroup on the King's Beach on New Year's Day illustrate both a sensitivity to language use and a strong ingroup identity among focus group participants.

Trotter (in Adhikari 2009:56-57) argues that in democratic South Africa counter memory still supports the development of a comparative memory which entrenches opposition of a good past with a bad present. Gibson and Gouws' (2000:283, 286 & 291) research indicates that group solidarity in South Africa is highest among coloured people and that socially coherent groups are most likely to find a group enemy. Thus, although theories of commemorative narrative and ingroup and outgroup identity are different, they reach a similar conclusion. Post apartheid coloured women's identity in the NMBM appears to have a definite collective element supported by a deficit discourse of in or outgroups in which coloured people place the highest value of all groups in South Africa on group identity and negatively compare present circumstances with past memories.

The language of racialised identity is ambivalent, simultaneously layered with positive and negative messages. Negative messages are couched in a vocabulary initiated by stereotypes illustrated by Bain (1838), Roberts (2011), Van Der Ross (1979) and "...coloured perceptions of their marginality" (Adhikari 2009:xv) that continue to influence coloured women's identity in a democracy in which the group's social status remains contested.

Positive messages are the outcome of a communal counter memory and the genesis of a narrative community in the northern areas of the NMBM. Counter memory enabled displaced victims to support each other and resist a state imposed master commemorative narrative with its justification of evictions and rezonings. The experience of injustice, forced removal and race classification scaffolded comparative memory and brought displaced strangers together as they mourned and shared experiences and stories about neighbourhoods and a lost lifestyle (Zerubavel 1995:7-10 & Trotter in Adhikari 2009:55-61).

Responses to the request for a definition of a coloured person range from black - in the encompassing sense of Biko's (1978: 52-57) inclusive definition of black consciousness that dispensed with Social Darwinist classification and designated all historically disadvantaged groups African or black - to Carol's demand that, "... We should be called brown because the other race groups are described in the colours black and white." (Appendix 4:2). Although Carol's response is differently expressed she shares Lisa's demand for recognition of an independent identity or coloured nationhood. Margie tells the story of her move to a white church where no-one uses the term "coloured" (Appendix 4:3). Her answer to focus group question one and her repetition that she is "...one of them" (Appendix 4:3) indicate that membership and acceptance by the white congregation is important to her and that she continues to affiliate (Adhikari: 2006) more with white identity than black identity.

Participants are unanimous in their dislike of the term "coloured", they suggest alternatives and seek recognition of an independent identity or coloured nationhood. All participants' stories invoke a "hatred" (Appendix 4:3) of race classification, racial tagging and name-calling with implicit binaries of superiority versus inferiority and high versus low status based on proximity to whiteness. This is emphasised by Mary in her reference to the cruelty of race classification based on the pencil test and hair texture as "... a stigma that will always remain." (Appendix 4:3). It is supported three times by Lisa on pages ten and eleven when she quotes derogatory tags like, "*Bushies*" (Bushmen) and "*Hotties*" (Hottentots), twice on page eleven when Julie refers to hair texture and once each on page twenty three when Ella and Lisa also refer to hair and hair products.

Erasmus (2000:380-392) argues that although hair straightening has origins linked to "... colonial-racist notions of beauty" (Erasmus: 2000: 385) it is an over-simplification to assume that because coloured women's hair-straightening was first intended to approximate

whiteness it continues to reflect white aspirations. She maintains that hair texturisation is just one way to express black identity and that the beautification ritual is conducted in a “...gendered cultural space” (Erasmus 2000: 386-397) in which female beautification and companionship is more important than connections of its practice to racialised identity. As all participants in the focus group discussion had straight hair it’s difficult to tell whether their appearance affirms Erasmus’ stance. However the many comments and references to hair texture during the focus group discussion suggest that the practice of race classification based on hair texture remains insulting to the participants whose appearance suggests that straight hair continues to be better than “*kroes*” hair because approximation to whiteness remains more desirable than the appearance of curly hair linked to Hottentot and Khoisan ancestry.

Consistent with identity ambivalence participants avoided the use of racial tags to describe those present in the focus group. However, racial euphemisms, including the substitution of “black” with “penguins” (Appendix 4:23) and an “oil slick”, were used to denote blackness and couched in descriptions like “Penguins at King’s Beach!” and negative expressions like “... it’s just an oil slick and penguins so I’ll stay away. We’ll stay away.”(Appendix 4: 23). These comments and Lisa’s language use emphasise the loss of a treasured New Year’s Day ritual and feelings of social exclusion from King’s Beach on the first of January. Statements like “Yes, things have changed for us coloureds now, New Year’s Day is just an oil slick- you can’t go on New Year’s Day” (Appendix 4:23) are insulting and suggest either a closer affiliation with whiteness than blackness, a strong ingroup identity, class consciousness based on a similar binary to the black-white divide and distress caused by a perception that coloured people’s beach access on New Year’s Day has been curtailed by freedom of movement and the presence of an African majority.

Lisa’s unhappiness illustrates the accuracy of Gibson and Gouws’ findings that a socially coherent group is likely to find a group enemy. In this case euphemisms like “penguins” suggest that the group enemy is black people who use King’s Beach on New Year’s Day. The euphemisms and attitude suggest ambivalence and resentment. Although participants’ want an independent identity their social and political identity and their perceptions of other black people remains racially ranked in segregationist and apartheid categories. Participants identify more with the relative privilege of whiteness than blackness although they prefer to be known as South African or African and share an aversion to the use of the label “coloured”.

On page 20 of Appendix 4 Julie captures the roles of coloured men and women at a time when "... education wasn't available to women. Jobs were scarce, we were working class..." In this environment men worked away from home and women worked in the home. Children were home-schooled or attended lessons at their churches (Abrahams: 1989:154, 165, 194, 230-237 & Agherdien et al: 1997:24-47) as there were no schools. Julie is grateful for her Mother's determination that her children should be educated because, "...education ended the cycle of poverty and brought change in our lives." (Appendix 4:21). She also explains how her father "... took us to St Mark's very early in the mornings and in the evenings so the church was very central in our lives and my Mother's teaching was my education." (Appendix 4:20)

The theme of identity and ambivalence is also evident in how participants spoke of their immediate families. All the participants, with the exception of Lesley who was consistently quiet, praised and admired their fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers and spoke about them in the language of heroism (Vincent and McEwan 2006:39). Margie (Appendix 4:5 &15) remembered two big houses. One provided by her father when the family moved from Fairview and a second provided by her husband after their eviction from South End to Parkview. Mary referred to her husband twice (Appendix 4:8 &14). Once when telling her story of the family connection to St Phillip's and a second time to explain that they lived with his parents in South End and residents in their street were moved together because they were the same age and in the same income bracket. Mary affirmed her Uncle's Christian leadership and British roots as the founder of the first school in Gelvandale, (a suburb in the northern areas of the NMBM) "That Mr Yon was my mother's brother, he was our uncle ... Westee Yon – Westwood from England, they always used to call him Westee." (Appendix 4:21) Again the inference is that English ancestry is better because of its affiliation with whiteness.

Faith's great grandfather helped to build the Pier Street Mosque. Her grandfather was appointed as its first Iman and successfully led resistance against deconsecration and the extension of a freeway which would have destroyed the Pier Street minaret. Faith's is proud of this visible heritage and memories of her male relations' history suggest reflected pride in an identity shaped by a commemorative narrative that honours male leadership. Lisa referred to her father, her uncle and Margie's brother's resistance against the demolition of St Phillip's. The men are described as heroes; indomitable fighters who saved their church and

Lisa longs to, "... have them back again. ..." (Appendix 4:12&10). These examples suggest that coloured women's commemorative narrative in the NMBM displays a patriarchal bias. It also indicates continued reference to whiteness as a yardstick and nostalgia for male family heroes. It seems too that gendered, paternalistic roles of male leadership and female admiration were the norm because male leadership was recognised and valued and female leadership was not mentioned during the discussion.

Ella describes her husband as an important leader (Appendix 4:1,6, 22 &24) against apartheid in sport who was victimised and compelled to leave the then University of Port Elizabeth (UPE) half way through his Honours year. Traumatic memories of forced removal and the Group Areas Act contribute to his reluctance to move now. He refuses to sell the family home in Korsten (a suburb in the northern areas of the NMBM) because he fears a repeat of his past experience of eviction and financial loss. Despite his "status", (Appendix 4: 24) Ella feels that her husband remains marginalised because he is the only coloured spectator in the Presidential Suite at Saint George's Park (a sports stadium in Central Port Elizabeth) and the only South African Rugby Union (SARU) member not to receive a T- shirt at a prestigious rugby match. Ella's concerns are founded on a subtext of perceived racial discrimination in which past injustice is repeated as race and pigmentation appear to privilege black people above coloured people and black people are honoured for their role in the South African struggle for freedom before coloured people are.

Participants describe men of whom they were fond and proud because they resisted racist acts, they were community leaders and their achievements are visible and celebrated. Mothers, grannies and aunties are remembered fondly for their nurturing, care giving, domestic and educational roles as "Angels in the House". A disturbing presence described by Woolf as pure, unselfish, charming, self-sacrificing and without "... a mind or wish of her own" (Woolf 1942:3-5). Participants' memories are recalled in the genres of commemorative narrative and romance with stereotypical paternalistic roles. Husbands, fathers and grandfathers were heroic; they worked away from the home. Men were community leaders. They led anti-apartheid resistance and were prepared to die and to travel to the United Nations to protect their faith and their families' places of worship. Wives, mothers, grannies and aunties were protected and stayed at home (Vincent & McEwen 2006: 39), they were house proud, "Curtains must be washed ... and you could see the ladies

polishing.” (Appendix 4:20) and they supported their friends and families unstintingly (Appendix 4:3).

Participants discuss life in South Africa as it is now (Appendix 4:17-19) and complain that, “We are still discriminated against by blacks. They still look at us as if you were fortunate and had a better life than we had.” The metaphor of a sandwich is used as participants grumble that in the past whites were on top, coloureds were in the middle and blacks were at the bottom of the sandwich. They agree that blacks are on top now but disagree about whether coloureds occupy the middle or bottom space. In their eyes coloured people appear to have remained a residual category and have been ranked second last or last in a race-based hierarchy.

Faith (Appendix 4:19) describes discrimination in hospitals in which the “sandwich” is inverted; black people receive the best treatment, coloured people receive average treatment and white people receive the worst treatment. She criticises a lack of compassion from medical staff and is supported by Lisa, Faith and Margie who refer negatively to affirmative action. However comments made by Lesley contradict this and highlight differences and ambivalent perceptions of affirmative action policy in the group. Lesley was on her way to attend her son’s third doctoral graduation and she summarised the discussion with a comment that “Even here they go to ‘varsity, they go to Cape Town. When you look at it it’s six of one and half a dozen of the other.” (Appendix 4:19). The difference of opinion suggests that although group identity is consistent with participants’ commemorative narrative participants simultaneously exercise agency to select individual experiences which shape different ways of remembering and individual identities (Adhikari 2009: ix & Gibson & Gouws 2000:279).

During a discussion about affirmative action Mary comments that, “Coloureds can vote now but they don’t vote.” (Appendix 4:19). Her sister, Lisa, responds that the group can vote to ensure that “... things get better not worse” (Appendix 4:19) for their grandchildren and Lesley comments that there is open access for everyone to all the tertiary institutions now. Faith adds that while there are increased job opportunities more black than coloured applicants are appointed. Lisa is cynical, she believes that race is reified and unqualified applicants are appointed because they are black (Appendix 4:19). The debate was concluded by Margie who announced proudly that her granddaughter teaches at Collegiate High School

(an historically white Girls' High School) in Port Elizabeth and that "... they don't notice colours." (Appendix 4:21).

There is ambivalence and difference in participants' understandings of affirmative action. Affirmative Action is a good policy for coloured people yet simultaneously a bad policy when pigmentation is a selection tool that secures appointment for unqualified or under-qualified black candidates. Ella, the most vociferous critic of political change and service delivery in the group, complains because she feels that her husband is the victim of anti-coloured racism at rugby matches, that "It hurt and it's not the first time ..." (Appendix 4: 23).

Participants' social and political identity is influenced by a perception that black people have a better deal than coloured people and that coloured people continue to occupy the middle or lower ground as the "jam in the sandwich". Nonetheless participants recognise and agree that younger people "... stand a good chance in everything today." (Appendix 4:17) and that coloured people can vote for their "... children's children that things get better not worse." (Appendix 4:19) It is also apparent in participants' choices of where to live (four in white suburbs and six in the coloured suburbs of the northern areas) that eighteen years of political freedom have enabled historically illegal choices. Margie spoke positively of her move to a white area and a white church and mentions twice (Appendix 4:3&9) that "...I'm living a different life now ..."

Language use during the focus group discussion also points to ambivalence and uncertainty. When participants recall the past their language is harsher and more forthright than when they describe the present. Margie remembered "...*boere* this side" (Appendix 4: 5) when describing her neighbours in South End, Lisa also refers to the police as "*boere*" and as "*izoko*". (The term "*boere*" is a literal translation of "farmers". It has negative connotations and refers to white South African farmers who tacitly endorsed and benefitted from apartheid.) Lesley comments that everyone was scared of Mr Ferreira, an official at the GAB (Appendix 4: 14) and when Margie tells the story of evictions from Lee Place in South End she uses loaded language, "...they shifted the Lee Place people" (Appendix 4: 13). Her choice of the verb "shifted" implies that coloured people were moved carelessly and that memories of forced removal are distressing. The term "shifted" is used in the same context by Abrahams et al (1997: 77) and as the heading of chapter 12 by Thomas (1997: 232). This

repetitive use indicates that the everyday language of counter narrative has been transferred and embedded in written transcriptions of commemorative memories of forced removal in some parts of the Eastern Cape.

Deliberate attempts to use de-racialised language and less prejudice when discussing post-apartheid events suggest that participants are trying to construct non racial social and political identities and fit into the constitutional language of single nationhood and reconciliation. De-racialised language may also indicate a need for social conformity evident in Margie's self-censorship when she refers to children in Model C schools as "liquorice allsorts" and then requests, "... don't record it - we are not supposed to say that now - but -" (Appendix 4:21). The appeal suggests propriety and political correctness - that it is important to use the language of constitutional democracy and that a conscious effort is required to stick to the rules of politically correct speech.

Julie compares her hidden history with white people's visible history of English or Dutch origin. "The whites they came from England, the Netherlands, we don't have a country where we come from. The whites caused us ..." (Appendix 4:21). This comment stimulated discussion about people who seek links with the "Khoisan and Sand Walkers" (Appendix 4:21), the benefit of access to land if positively linked to Khoisan heritage and feedback from Ella who was initially shocked by connotations of blackness, indigeneity and wildness when her son told her there was Khoisan blood in the family (Appendix 4:23). Again the conversation foregrounds identity ambivalence as well as an openness to reconstruct or recognise suppressed histories such as Khoisan ancestry. Perhaps because the social stigma of "*Hotties*" or Hottentots and "*Bushies*" or Bushmen (Appendix 4:11) has been substituted with government sponsored heritage affirmation and an appreciation of the degradation and trauma suffered by women like Saartjie Baartman (Crais and Scully 1991).

Julie comments that, "Something I detest is when they depict the coloured women as the ones without teeth." (Appendix 4:22) All the participants agree with her and elaborate on the shameful stereotypes of women from the Cape Flats on TV. Mary adds that her friend in Cape Town also "... hates it when she sees the coons on TV." and explains her friend's rationale of this stereotype as "... just culture for entertainment." (Appendix 4:22). When speaking on behalf of her friend Margie explains that "culture for entertainment" generalises, publicly devalues and reduces all coloured women's identity to a shallow stereotype. Implicit

in Margie's comment (Appendix 4:22) is an understanding that coon identity is a myth informed by generations of assimilated knowledge based on opposition between white superiority and coloured inferiority. Margie, Mary, Lisa and Julie also remark about negative association attached to coloured women depicted "... as the ones without teeth" (Appendix 4:22), complain that "... it's all so ugly" (Appendix 4:22) and object to their being "... called coloureds!" (Appendix 4:22). These comments highlight how an embedded caricature of coloured women's identity persists despite the democratic transition and just how much it is disliked by those whose identity it claims to describe.

The stereotype implicit in the term "coon" originated in America (Macdonald 1974: 285), it has negative connotations and was transferred to Cape Town to name a festival on 2 January which was the slaves' annual day off in nineteenth century Cape Town. (<http://www.henrytrotter.com/scholarship/minstrel-carnival.html>). The Cape Town Minstrel Carnival is similar to the New Orleans Mardi Gras festival at which slave descendants annually celebrate their cultural heritage in streets to which their ancestors had unequal access. During the musical Mardi Gras parade participants dress up and toss strings of glittery beads to spectators, over tram lines and onto lamp poles in the French Quarter.

The Cape Town carnival was initially known as "The Coon Carnival" and subsequently renamed "The Cape Town Minstrel Carnival" because "coon" is a contraction of "raccoon" and historically associated with sly behaviour and theft. Ritual in the Cape Town Carnival is similar to the New Orleans Mardi Gras, troops of mainly male coloured people parade the city streets in bright outfits with their faces painted black and white in a burlesque parody of racialised identity. After slaves were freed in South Africa their inferior social standing had to be semiotically displayed by dress regulations such as the 1754 Tulbach Slave Code which outlawed ostentatious adornment (Jacobs 1998:Introduction:Unnumbered Page) in a public display of second class status as well as dress code regulations (Van Der Ross 2005:49) which prevented slaves from wearing hats and a rule that mandated that slaves were not allowed on the streets of Cape Town without a lantern (Van Der Ross 2005: 65). A similar public exclusivity was maintained during apartheid by a curfew which required all people of colour to be indoors and off the streets by 21:00.

The focus group transcript is laced with comments about hair, hair texture (Appendix 4:3, 11 &23) and pain caused by the enforcement of the Group Areas Act and the Population

Registration Act using a “pencil test”. Officials inserted pencils and matchsticks into people’s hair to establish whether to classify them as coloured, black or white people. “*Kroes*” hair which supported a pencil was considered a marker of coloured identity and led to race classification as coloured. Straight hair that didn’t support a pencil was an indicator of whiteness, if a pencil fell out of her hair a woman was classified white. Comments such as “*Kroes, kroes*, they used to call coloured people steel wool” (Appendix 4: 23) underscore the indignity, hardship and trauma caused by race classification and the pencil test. Although not one woman in the focus group discussion appeared to have “*kroes*” hair, the frequent references to hair and hair texture Erasmus (2001:13 & 2000:380-384) suggest that this element of participants’ social identity is still mediated through race, gender and empire (Qureshni 2002) and therefore remains constrained by the need to affiliate to whiteness.

Participants’ responses to “coon” identity and comments about hair texture have a subtext of shame; they don’t want to be identified with embarrassing women who, implicitly, don’t deserve to be known as members of the coloured ingroup like them. These comments support the notion of a collective identity and suggest that despite their collective identity not all coloured women are equal. Some coloured women are better or superior to other coloured women and the “better” women would rather not be grouped with women whom they regard as inferior and embarrassing.

Margie seems ashamed to link her identity with embarrassing women when she comments that “It’s so ugly and they’re called coloureds!” (Appendix 4:22). The comment supports Van Der Ross’ (1979) analysis of the dehumanising influence of stereotypes or myths and Said’s theory that stereotypes represent a deficit discourse or an imaginative geography (Said in Essed et al 2002:15-37) in which whiteness is superior and, in this analysis, colouredness is inferior. Implicit in this concern is ambivalence that although racial categorisation is rejected group identity is not (Gibson & Gouws 2000:279). Participants are thus socially embarrassed by affiliation with other coloured women who look unkempt because their appearance reflects negatively on ingroup identity.

All participants have memories and stories of relations in Port Elizabeth who “played white” (appeared white-skinned and pale and thus had access to white privileges during apartheid). Ella had an aunt who had freedom of movement because of her colour, Mary recalled her Auntie Harriet who died with a white ID, Ella’s parents looked white but stayed with their

family and Margie commented that, “My brother was white; he used to take me to all the functions!” (Appendix 4:18) In this instance there was no self-conscious racial storytelling, just delight in the subversion of power relations and “illegal” freedom of movement in forbidden areas of the city such as the Grand Bioscope and white busses. The ability to trick government officials added to coloured women’s commemorative narrative and to participants’ social and political identities as defiance subverted bureaucratic power and participants briefly triumphed to become the victors, not the victims, of state legislation and policies.

Comments such as “Something I detest is when they depict the coloured women as the ones without teeth.” (Appendix 4:22) reinforce Roberts’ (2011) and Bain’s stereotypes (Bain 1838 in Lister 1949:196) and suggest that group identity is striated by differences of class and socio-economic status and that certain types of coloured women do not represent all coloured women’s social identity.

Participants are grateful for the freedom and choices they enjoy now and for affirmative action legislation which has increased employment opportunities for their children and grandchildren (Appendix 4:19). Participants complain about social ills like crime and loitering (Appendix 4:6) which confine them to their homes and limit their freedom of movement. Euphemisms like “penguins” (Appendix 4:23), “liquorice allsorts” (Appendix 3: 21) and expressions such as “other coloured” (Appendix 4:23) affirm that race and the language of race classification persist despite the demise of apartheid. The use of euphemisms also confirms participants’ sensitivity to the connotations of these terms and that their social and political identity is ambivalent and “... in flux” (Adhikari 2004:178).

To summarise, participants’ stories represent their subjective, purposefully selected responses to four focus group questions. Responses are dually informed by a common commemorative narrative and by individual experience. Themes described in this chapter are present in each story but illustrated variously as each woman represents her own agency and a different lived reality. Single perspectives (Vincent 2011) and the focus group’s tales of sense-making experiences enrich and entrench coloured women’s commemorative narrative of pre and, to a lesser degree, post eviction lives in PE and the NMBM with continued dependence on binaries in which white power has been substituted with black power and coloured status remains neither fixed nor certain.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Popular stereotypes attached to black women's identity mirror Bain and Robert's negative association (Adhikari 2009) of difference with images of bestiality, drunkenness, immorality and promiscuity. Stereotypes such as these undermine and represent coloured women's identity as inferior and second class. Perceptions of coloured women's identity as unequal to white women legitimised the British slave trade and coloured women's social, political and economic exploitation after manumission. Coloured women's social and political identity has thus been historically influenced and shaped by a plethora of racist and gendered laws. These laws and policies provided a fertile background for the development of stereotypes perpetuated through ongoing identity ambivalence and uncertainty as to where historically marginalised and belittled coloured women belong now.

Negative stereotypes of coloured women's social and political identity can be traced from the capture, forced relocation and commodification of slave women in South Africa as well as the systematic diaspora of indigenous women who lost their communal social identity and land as they were reduced to servant status and objects of curiosity. Bain's *Caatje Kekkelbek* illustrates the effect of such displacement in an environment largely controlled by foreigners. It is poignant that the script used in the first staging of this satire highlights Caatje's measurement of her worth by negative association with English women's looks and dress and her knowledge that her physical difference from white women makes her interesting.

These stereotypes are the result of greed cloaked in the guise of a civilising mission exercised largely by foreign male elites who drafted or transferred self-serving legislation that consolidated coloured women's marginal status throughout the erstwhile Cape region. The patriarchal Uterine Descent Rule, peonage, the reduction of slave women to broodstock and Scully's study of justice in rape cases between 1823 and 1853 illustrate the power of the law and lawmakers which - like Edward Munch (painter of the existential work *The Scream*) - transformed the representation and image of coloured women for all beholders.

Evidence (Adhikari 1992) and Field (in Erasmus 2001) of the social and political impact of the Master and Servant Ordinance indicates how this British legislation extended and secured white male dominance over women of colour in the patriarchal tradition established by slavery (Van Der Ross 2005:46). Adhikari (1992) also describes how the heritage of social relations born of slavery extended into the period after manumission and influenced race

relations and attitudes in the Western Cape. These attitudes and race relations would have travelled to the eastern side of the Cape with explorers, farmers, manumitted slaves and so-called free wo/men in search of a fresh start.

The emphasis on difference and inferior status based on the physical appearance of African women of colour is emphasised by Saartje Baartman - the Hottentot Venus'- treatment as a sex object and biological exhibit in London and Paris. Her body was seen as a symbol of her inferiority and white women's superiority because she was an African of Hottentot descent who differed from white women. Saartje's treatment resembles the transactional commodification of slave women. She sacrificed her indigenous identity as she was shipped from her country of birth and was economically exploited by white men who used her body to reinforce the status quo of colonial and patriarchal dominance.

The NMBM has been the site of multiple forced removals including the capture and relocation of the Khoi, cleansing and eviction from Richmond Hill between 1902 and 1903 and eviction from South End, Richmond Hill, Salisbury Park and Fairview between 1960 and 1980. The Group Areas Act of 1950 is responsible for more recent hardship and loss in Port Elizabeth. Venter (1994) compares environments to which displaced coloured people were "shifted". He notes that removees in Cape Town were relocated to better equipped suburbs than removees in Port Elizabeth where no schools or churches and few roads and limited public transport were in place at the time of eviction. The comment is supported by descriptions of the 1997 northern areas riots in "On the Rampage" (2010) in which researchers argue that these riots - the first in South Africa - were caused by overcrowding, inadequate sport and recreation facilities and a loss of community life caused by forced removal under the Group Areas Act. It is possible to assume that PE's status as a crucible of the struggle for freedom was matched by cruel oppression reflected in the interpretation and enactment of miscegenation legislation by the then PE Municipality.

Agherdien et al (1997) repeat Venter's argument in their introduction and, as Port Elizabeth was the seat of some the worst human rights violations recorded by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the observation may be justified. Further research into the long term effects of coloured people's forced removal in Port Elizabeth or the NMBM and the impact of under-prepared new suburbs on youth and community life is warranted as there is a telling contrast between land usage in Cape Town and the NMBM. Land on which homes and businesses were bulldozed in areas like District Six in Cape Town was not developed

whereas land in Port Elizabeth's South End was completely re-designed and populated with white town house developments and a fire station.

The sexual exploitation of coloured women during the colonial and separatist periods is evoked by Hardie (1960) whose comments on the Immorality Act echo the commodification and dehumanisation of coloured women by white men during apartheid. Examples in Hardie's text illustrate that during apartheid coloured women were solicited by white men and that police used coloured women's bodies as bait to trap the white men who broke this law. History was repeated as coloured women again experienced transactional sexual commodification as sexual specimens who were degraded and traded.

The strength and feistiness of the coloured community in the NMBM is also evident in successful opposition to the deconsecration and destruction of St Phillip's Church in Richmond Hill and the South End Mosques despite government determination to "cleanse" the suburbs. Religion and resistance are closely linked and continued worship at St Phillips and the mosques is central to focus group participants' social and political identities.

Racist and gendered apartheid legislation including The Group Areas, the Immorality and the Population Registration Acts of 1950 and the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 were products of white paranoia based on perceptions of miscegenation that reinforced stereotypes of white purity versus black or coloured impurity. This is particularly evident in the use of the term "Hottentot" as an insult and focus group participants' lingering obsession with hair texture because '*kroes*' (curly) hair suggests Hottentot ancestry. Despite the Bill of Rights and universal franchise, coloured women's social and political identity remains ambivalently anchored to the past and memories of social, economic and political injustice.

Social and political identities are also ambivalently rooted in the present. Participants were grateful for political change but cross because the extension of rights to all citizens interferes with coloured people's cyclical beach celebrations on New Year's Day. An ongoing affiliation with whiteness was indicated by no acknowledgement of coloured people's complicity in apartheid and the use of insulting racial euphemisms like "oil slick" and "penguins" to describe black people who populate King's Beach in the NMBM on New Year's Day.

Yael Zerubavel's book, "Recovered Roots" (1995) speaks to this contradiction and the need to find (recover) and to re-discover (re-cover) or re-define what is special and unique to the

Jewish community in Israel. There is a similar need in the NMBM for coloured women to recover what is unique and special about their identity. This was done at a communal level during apartheid as the state justified eviction and forced removal with a flawed argument based on the need for hygiene and racially defined group areas. The first stage of recovering roots is evident in heritage and cultural artefacts like the South End Museum and the public voices of many coloured female writers who can write what they like in safety.

Entry into the public domain is the result of political change and the substitution of an apartheid commemorative narrative with a previously silenced counter narrative that was nursed and rehearsed in the racially exclusive northern areas of the NMBM during apartheid. The circulation of a counter narrative in an enclosed narrative community during apartheid was a cathartic coping mechanism. This mechanism enabled displaced coloured women to reminisce, grieve and nurture communal solidarity which was frequently evident during the focus group discussion. It emphasised the group's collective social and political identities as participants often spoke in unison or ended stories together using a familiar script and the same text as they laughed and shared the memories that helped them overcome the dehumanisation of forced removal during apartheid.

The counter narrative evident during the focus group discussion also had a political function. It was part of coloured people's resistance to the hegemony of the state narrative of history. When this counter narrative had gathered enough support by 1994 it subverted and substituted the dominant narrative with an alternative story of coloured people's history in the NMBM as represented in the South End Museum and its researchers and political geography.

The emphasis on coloured women's identity in the South End focus group foregrounds laughter and humour as a coping mechanism for hardship, trauma and suffering. Participants' entrance and exit to the library of the South End Museum was happy; marked by humour and support as well as fond recollections of neighbourhood characters and absent friends. The tone of the focus group discussion and the supportive atmosphere in the group indicate that although participants are not neighbours they share a happy collective memory of life before eviction and a group identity.

This suggests collective social and political identities based on edited and selected memories that juxtapose the past with the present. Recollections of life before removal shared a common, simple plot structure. Life in South End and Richmond Hill was good. It was happy, care free and faith-centred. Racial friction was unheard of and women supported each

other as they tended and befriended each other's families in times of need. Life in the northern areas was bad. Housing and municipal services were inadequate, it was expensive to buy electric appliances and furniture, communities were scattered, there were no schools or churches and coloured women, girls and school children were harassed by the police and state officials. Freedom of movement was restricted by a curfew during apartheid, women had to walk long distances to reach bus stops, leisure time shrank and life was less care free. Coloured women and their children were shamed by name-calling and the use of derogatory stereotypes.

Before universal franchise in 1994 coloured women lacked overt political and social agency other than their contribution to the northern areas' counter narrative. Coloured women's social and political identity in the NMBM has been influenced by social context, history and individual agency as highlighted by focus group participants' individual responses to the merits of affirmative action, education and their choices of where to live in the post-apartheid city. Coloured women's internalisation of commemorative narrative is a facet of their collective group and individual identities. This in no way suggests a lack of agency or a sheepish mentality.

In an attempt to understand why stereotypes of coloured women have endured since colonialism this study has just touched the tip of an iceberg. Theories have been summarised and compared and select racist and gendered acts and policies have been explored to yield findings that speak specifically of the social and political identities of coloured women in the NMBM.

This is but a small start. If we are to avoid a repetition of our patriarchal history and increased stereotypes of coloured women's identity it may be helpful to expand the focus of this project. The research sample and geographical field could be broadened to include coloured women from rural areas and women of different ages and socio economic status. Such research may increase our knowledge, capture hidden narratives and leave a legacy of findings that could enrich understanding of the relationship between stereotypes of coloured women's identity and our heritage of racist and gendered legislation.

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Date 24 11 2011

Ref: H/11/ART/PGS-0026

Contact person: Celeste Barker: 0832652216/041 5832612

Dear Nominee

We would like to invite you to participate in a research study that explores the identity of coloured women evicted from South End and relocated to the designated coloured areas of the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro.

We will explain what will be expected of you as a participant including your rights as a study subject. Please feel free to ask Celeste or her supervisor, Dr Wendy Isaacs Martin (041 5042048), to clarify anything that is not clear to you.

You are invited to join a focus group discussion about coloured women's identity in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro. Participation in the focus group is completely voluntary and no attempt will be made to put you under pressure or to influence you. Your privacy will be protected in two ways. All documents generated by the study will be stored safely and no names will be recorded in the research document. False names will be used and these names will not be linked to your address, church or any other structure. The research results will be made available to you in a group meeting when the study is complete.

The integrity of the study has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of the university. This committee consists of a group of independent experts that makes sure your rights and welfare as a participant are protected and that studies are conducted honestly and ethically. Studies cannot be conducted without this committee's approval. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant please sms or phone Celeste or write to the Research Ethics Committee (Human), Department of Research Capacity Development, PO Box 77000, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, 6031 or The Chairperson of the Research, Technology and Innovation Committee, PO Box 77000, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, 6031.

You have the right to ask questions about the study and to report problems to Celeste (041 5832512/0832652216) at any time. If you choose to participate in the focus group discussion you have the right to withdraw. The study may be stopped at any time, your identity is confidential and the results of this research study will be presented at scientific conferences or in specialist publications.

This informed consent statement has been prepared in compliance with current statutory guidelines.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'CBarker'.

Celeste Barker
Researcher

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS & PROGRAMME

13 12 11

7 PARTICIPANTS: P1-P7:

- P1: Margie: 91 years old: South End Museum recommendation: clear-headed and sprightly. Moved from Fairview to South End as a child then evicted from South End when married, moved to Parkside and lives in Westering with her daughter.
- P2: Mary: 82 years old: St Phillips Church Recommendation: gentle, proud, determined and clear. Evicted from Richmond Hill to Salt Lake and lives alone.
- P3: Lesley: 77 years old: Recommended by the St Phillips Church: an Alzheimer's patient who didn't say much and was anxious, evicted from Richmond Hill to Salt Lake.
- P4: Faith: 68 years old: Recommended by South End Museum: retired head of X Ray Division at Livingstone Hospital: a very astute, thoughtful listener, evicted from South End to Parkside.
- P5: Lisa: 68 years old: Recommended by the St Phillips Church: P2's sister; well-spoken with very clear, sequential recall, evicted from Richmond Hill to Salt Lake
- P6: Ella: 67 years old: Recommended by South End Museum: charismatic and strong but disturbed and cross with a lot to say.
- P7: Julie: 57 years old: Recommended by St Phillips Church; Deputy Head of Gelvandale Primary, counselling background: strong, softly spoken and thorough. Her family experienced forced removal from Sidwell. She lived in Veeplaas when it was a mixed race area before the Group Areas Act and her family subsequently moved to Gelvandale in the apartheid designated northern area of Port Elizabeth for coloured people.
- PH 1: Carol: 80 + years old: relocated to Cape Town in 2011 to live with her daughter. A willing, outspoken participant over the phone.
- PH 2: Genny: 67 years old: Margie's daughter
- PH 3: Helen: 69 years old: A lively speaker who had a clear recall of racist and sexist incidents of petty apartheid in Port Elizabeth.

VENUE

- The Library of the South End Museum (Marine Drive, South End, Port Elizabeth)

PROGRAMME

- 10:00 – 10:20 Tea
- 10:20 – 10:45 Explanation & completion of forms
- 10:45 -- 12:20 Focus Group Discussion
- 12:20 -- 12:30 Closure

APPENDIX 3

PROCEDURE, INFORMED CONSENT CHECKLIST & DECLARATIONS OF INFORMED

CONSENT AND VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

PROCEDURE

The Informed Consent Checklist will be handed to participants who will be asked to tick every box after the researcher has explained each point and answered all their questions. The medium of communication will be selected by the nominees and the researcher will translate, explain in Afrikaans and repeat information and explanations whenever necessary.

At each step reasons for written acknowledgement that points one to seven have been understood will be explained. Nominees will be asked to tick a check box to indicate that they understand their right to voluntary consent, the research aim, the objective of the focus group, focus group procedure, confidentiality, access to findings and the right to question and contact the researcher.

Only after all the participants have ticked each box on the Informed Consent Checklist will they be invited to complete and sign the Declaration of Informed Consent and Voluntary Participation.

APPENDIX 3: INFORMED CONSENT CHECKLIST

Please work through these points with the researcher and when you have no more questions mark the box at the end of each sentence with a tick. This only signifies understanding, not consent.

1. **Verbal Consent:** Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may withdraw at any time, even if you have agreed to participate. ☐
2. **Aim:** To understand and discuss the long term and current impact of racist and gendered policies and laws on coloured women's identity in the NMBM. ☐
3. **Objective:** To hold a focus group discussion with 8 women evicted to the Northern areas of Port Elizabeth by the Group Areas Act and to talk about the impact of this shared experience on what it means to be a coloured woman. ☐
4. **Focus Group Procedure:** The researcher will introduce the moderator and she will initiate discussion by asking a question. The focus group will be like a round table discussion in which each participant feels comfortable and keen to share her experience and opinions. ☐
5. **Confidentiality:** We will get to know each other and use names during the focus group discussion. However when the research is written up false names will be used so that your identities are kept private and no one will know who said what or where you live. ☐
6. **Research Findings:** Once the research is complete and, if you would like it, the researcher will come and describe her findings to you. If you would like to read the research report or the findings copies will be given to your Ministers for sharing in each group. you be interested in the full treatise it will be available in the NMMU library. ☐
7. **Questions:** If you have any questions or concerns please contact the researcher at 0832652216 or at 041 5832612. ☐

Thank you for your time and contribution to this research.

DECLARATION OF INFORMED CONSENT AND VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Please complete the declaration below to show that you have been informed about the research and that you have chosen to participate in it.

DECLARATION BY PARTICIPANT	
Participant's full names	
Researcher's name	Celeste Heloise Barker
Participant's address	
Participant's ID number	
<p>The participant declares that she has been fully informed and agrees voluntarily to participate in this research study,</p> <p>Signed _____</p> <p>Date -----</p>	

Thank you for volunteering to participate in this research

FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPT

MARGIE: How lovely to see all the nice people of Southend!

P2: The majority in our street were Southenders, there are only 6 families now.

P6: Where were you born?

P2: The Hill

P6: Just say you're a hillbilly! (Laughter)

P2: 69 Upper Hill Street, it's a historical house. I went to see it.

P6: You'd get a lot of money for it now...

P2: I went after church, then there was a swimming pool so I said to him, "where does the swimming pool come from? Cos my Granny had chickens here (laughter), cut the fowls heads there (laughter) ... I said there was no swimming pool by this house.

MARGIE: My son works here on a Sunday.

P6: Ian works here too! They are just like this the two of them! Whenever there was a party P2's husband was the star ...

P2: He even used to pay the band an extra 10 rand to play 'till 1 o' clock in the morning!

P6: I was pregnant with my last one- I don't know where I came from- maybe church- he took me to Auntie _s house in Parkside, just so short ...

MARGIE: He used to dance with the ladies and fall asleep on their breasts! (Laughter)

P3: Those were fun days hey!

P6: We can just tell my aunty a thing or two, that she should have come ... with the lady who moved to Australia ...

MARGIE: She comes from Southend

P6: Maybe she would have been able to – ja. Maybe in the New Year we can have another session and ask the 2 sisters- Kombasie's daughters- they will tell us a lot about the bottom end cos I'm from the top.

PH 3: Everything was labelled black and white and coloured; when my husband was driving his taxi he couldn't lift us 'cos it was a white taxi only. So we had to walk when the taxi was empty and had to drive past his family. He couldn't lift us. When my friend went to this office for her interview to get a teaching post I went with her and the white man put his hand on my leg. She told me to I must let him feel 'cos she had to get this post ...

P6: My husband was very disappointed that they wouldn't let him stay on – he wanted to go into politics and he had to leave the university in his half a year of Honours because of the politics...

Mod: Ashley Meye, a teacher in Bethelsdorp, was squashed by a swing carousel which tipped, landed on him and killed him.

P3: Stay in Bethelsdorp, teaches there.

Mod: P7, also a teacher, will join us later, she has counselling experience and will be going to help the teachers and the children.

Can we hold a moment's silence for Ashley?

MARGIE: Today terrible things happen ...

P6: Auntie MARGIE, we just gonna have a minutes silence.

Mod: Thank you.

(C: explains informed consent checklist and voluntary participation form. Participants complete, sign and return forms.)

P4: Yes, we filled in all the forms and everything by PELCRA for numbers 33 and 34 and no response yet.

P3: How you gonna write the responses you gonna get?

(C: This is how – shows the recorder- do you mind?)

P6: This is on now?

(C: Yes, please don't watch it or the light, just be yourselves, I won't use your names when this is written up, just number 1, number 2, number 3 ... so nobody will know your names. All the documents with names on go into storage for 5 years. So when this info is used it will just be what participant number 1 said and so on and so people can't contact you or follow up on you. You are welcome to contact me, I've given you my home and cell phone numbers and we can meet when the research is completed. If you have any questions please interrupt. This is meant to be like a group of friends having tea...)

Mod: Can we start with the first question? "How would you define a "coloured" person?"

PH1: The term "coloured women" is an insult and a misnomer. We should be called "brown" because the other race groups are described in the colours "black" and "white".

P2: We don't use it anymore. They call; us...

MARGIE: black!

P6: You say we are all black?

MARGIE: They don't use it anymore...

P3: ... other coloured ...

P4: That word is not good!

P6: But they still use it.

P5&P6: It's still there

P2: It was very cruel there with the Nats that time, they used to put a pencil through your hair. That's a stigma that will always remain. That's why I hate that word, coloured. You had no alternative on your form- just African or South African- people hate that word!

P4: They hate it today but there's like people who say we're coloureds- and the older person doesn't want to be called African.

MARGIE: South African. That's the thing! I moved to Westering. I go to this church where it's all people like you (white) but I am one of them. I am one of them! They kiss me and hello and they are fond of me.

P6: Proper Christians

MARGIE: Yes, proper Christians and they never talk about coloured. It's just ... another thing. I got so used to being called by my first name, among your people (white). They never call me Mrs, everybody "Hello MARGIE", so I'm living a different life now I'm sorry to say.

They so lovely and friendly whenever I go to my little Gelvandale Church once a month because I'm a foundation member there so I told this minister here- the pastor – "Pastor, I'm visiting your church. I can't be accepted as a member because I am a foundation member of the Baptist Church where I come from. But he's a lovely man; he says we worship the same God and happy.

P2-6 Ummmm

MARGIE: When I come in, everyone, men and women, they come and greet me. They're the most friendly people that I know, honestly.

P4: Because of my religion being Islam you know, that's Malays, that's a different connotation to coloured. But we lived in harmony, all of us, and you know, we lived in, it's a semi-circle, it's still there, where the police station is, up here ...

MARGIE,2 3,5,6: Ja, umm

P4: The circle where we, a group of people, lived in harmony and peace. We had 2 Afrikaner families, the Potgieters and the Meys, they were railway workers. The third week of the month they were platsak and they would come, "Aunty ... have you got a little bit of sugar for me?"

MARGIE,2 3,5,6: yes, yes , yes, yes ...

P4: Have you got an onion for us and some potatoes? When people had something that was the atmosphere that as in that semi-circle. People of all colours there, coloureds and Malays living there, very, very happily living together...

MARGIE,2 3,5,6: That semi-circle yes ...

P4: From up Poet Street and you could walk anywhere you wanted to walk, it was so safe ... we miss that ...

P6: We miss that really ...

P2: and even the Malays ...

P4: Even the Malays and the whatever.

MARGIE: On a Sunday then we used to have the Joy Joy church. All the children in the street ...

P6: we used to go to that church ...

MARGIE: that was lovely ... we used to go for the sweets!

P2&3: Yes!

P4 &1: It was all 1!

P4: People were very friendly ...

MARGIE: Ooooooh – There in Southend I lived in the street where we married. They even made my little girl a beautiful Christmas dress and all- always so nice and kind.

P4: My mother and aunt, they were the dressmakers.

P:1,2,3,5,6: Yes ... ja ... oh yes

P4: My grandfather was the priest here in this special Mosque that's standing here in Walmer Boulevard – used to be Rudolf Street ...

P: 1, 2 3: Rudolf Street ...

MARGIE: Where do you all live now?

P6: I lived in a very nice street called "Fairy Street" ... that was right on the top where Forest Hill Road came from Walmer Road and then you had this big "kwet" and then the Boys' Club was there where activities went on and uh that big green went up and down and grass all round and- but we played there and hockey was there.

MARGIE: Yes! Yes!

P6: ... on this field that went like that, because the grass was always green there and our neighbours were Dutch here and there we had a Mr Stockhuizen- big head in the traffic

Department – he lived there opposite Jonkers and Mrs Flynn them and the Indians and the Muslims opposite ...

MARGIE: Ooooh, it was a mixed area!

P2,3,4 6: ummm ...

P6: ... the churches around us and we walked from that top right up this street here- right on top of this street we lived- we came down here and here was the bus that picked us up and we got on here with all your picnic baskets and they all didn't have cars – and we got to the s-bend, Pollock Beach that side, Summerstrand Beach...

MARGIE: was called “Happy Hearts”

P4: Ok! At the “Happy Hearts”. I'm 67- now look here you 87 ... 89 ...

Laughter

P6: That was before King's Beach and Summerstrand. We weren't allowed there. We used to walk to the beach and then, when it used to be the Malay funerals we used to all be behind the carts. You walk but not truly speaking because you wanted something when you get to the cemetery and whatever. Then they used to have money and all that. The Indians used to have money and that and we would run there.

Laughter

All: That's true

P6: When you young we went for anything...

P2: ... and all used to fall in, not 1 side and 1 side, not just children, everybody.

P6: It's not like today, the children they steal.

MARGIE: it was

P2: If we were sick anybody was welcome in your home to come and help if there's anything- dishes to be done- or washing or you would sit up the whole night with that person who's sick and no-one used to refuse and you were always welcome- that's why I dunno - - I'm looking at home- I sold my deep freeze – now I dunno what's gonna happen – in any case – cos I'm alone cos if I'm dead then no-one will know I'm dead.

Laughter

P2: It was fanciful living here, even and it was beautiful with the sickness, everybody was everybody's

MARGIE Helpfulness

P2 friend, not only friend, family

MARGIE: When we moved from- we lived in Fairview as a child – and then my father built a big house in Emily Street and there, I'm sorry to say it, there was boere this side, they used to call my mother the doctor,

P7: arrives – Hi, hi, hello ...

MARGIE: Who's that lady? Is this also a Southend lady?

P6: NOOO ... she belongs to our church – grew up on the Hill, her parents, the Ohlson's ... he was a server at St Phillip's Church.

Mod: Elaine would you like to tell us a little bit more? Everyone else has had a chance.

P7: Attending teacher/learner care because GM SA, after research, saw we need something in place because everybody is complaining about the discipline and with corporal punishment having been abolished we need get something in its place.

MARGIE: Yes, oh yes

P7: The child is not the problem; it's the parents so we have gained counselling skills, family situations like this trauma case. We are not professional but we will be there in the first instance and then we refer them to the professionals.

MARGIE: Something good

P7: We see now that impact that it has on the schools. There's such a rich network out there that I can just press a button and I know there are people that will come to our assistance.

P6 Sorry is that for the whole of Gelvandale now or only at your school?

P7: Last year 22 schools, this year 22 schools so it's 44 schools that have been reached already.

P6: It sends me on a trip of depression and stress. We are staying in Korsten and struggling to sell our house there. I was with psychologists and people like that and this 1 lady, she – I went through hell. My husband didn't want to move and says, "I day they will come and put me out and they must pay me for my house." I am a housewife and he was a school principal.

It got me so I said I was never like this, everybody that listens; to a story don't want to know that somewhere inside this person is suffering. They always think that this is the one that talks, I could have said no but I thought let me get it out. I look for this. And then it came that I had to see a psychiatrist also. Just for that period, last year January. People didn't even know but I tell people because I 'm not on medication that's standing like this in packets. It's now for me to find something and get out there and we put our house up already but the people don't want to pay because of the area. But like the police, even the mayor, people, taxi association they're not supposed to be parking in the street but they park there every day.

Isaac has had endless problems. He did everything already and they sort of ignore it and then all the taxis – and it's a cul de sac- which we had the best of people living there those years.

That's why we bought there, because the school was above him and he said if my car's broken I can walk to school in Schauderville and the children went to school in Schauderville also but the more you complain you getting nil.

And it sorta works on me, now you just getting people coming into the street- they sell drugs and they sit and they drink and they throw the bottles broken there. Because you know your husband and your children are not there now. It's only the 2 of us. I did, I complained already to a guy at our church and he sent people in, the Captain of the things. I lived here for nearly 37 years. I moved out of Southend, I was one of the last coloured families to move and then I lived right at the top of Cunningham School but I could've stayed there alone to, it was quite ok. I would've been happy but what happened is that when they moved us out of Southend, your Granny was there and you were here and that was there and that Auntie divorced or whatever and they move in by ma. So, the thing of moving was good 'cos everyone got their own homes instead of us living in that, although the happiness was gone.

At 12 o'clock at night your door can be opened ... Christmas Eve now you are you sitting with burglar bars and what what now and we sat outside and the lights on and people coming from midnight mass from the very same St Peter's church that they broke down. I was so fed up too, anyhow its past. And, uh, old year's night, Peggy Dorothy, may her soul rest in peace, singing out of her door there, "Auld Lang's Ayne" and we go into each other's houses and , in the beginning Korsten was like that but it died and I think something in us just died also.

Most of our people, shouldn't talk like this, lawyers and this and that, they all moved and there's about 5 of us.

P2: The majority of them are dead.

P6: And they went to greener pastures I should say. Living in Walmer and there and there and there, top areas in the northern areas and we're still here. It's unfair, my husband and I keep on still and I say why must we live like this? The people are worried about you and I. My son's and my daughter's divorced, gone to live alone in Lorraine and works at some Central place.

But I'm never gonna go back, it's not like it was.

But the child, she drops him every day. We pick him up, they have supper with me every night and then there she goes soul alone to Lorraine. When I was sick I go lay there by her. But um it's getting me and I told Isaac he must now help to get rid of this house and it's a business area.

So last year the worst people came. It was the taxi association, going to give us the highest that we could get for that. We went to McWilliams and Elliot. Signed off everything and then we got a house in Parkridge, signed there for that house, near to the church. They still coming, everybody said, "go to the lawyer, go fetch your things there." But I said I'm not doing that, I'm losing the battle.

They never come back, why? Accountants wanted the Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and it couldn't come up to the fore, not until today.

Not so long ago 1 of the days my husband says there's big crooking going with that people on top. This was supposed to be a big change- looking like Newton Park. But they pay R 11 k a month for a dilapidated building in town. Everybody knows the house, so you tell me, who must a person deal with?

That is why, like I said, I want to remain the way I am. My late mother, she came from St Helena, she said, "I want to be dead before this things happen" and it's true.

P2: The saddest part of Southend was when we had to move in 1968. We were the first to move on 14 July 1968 and the saddest part of Southend was the churches because St Peter's, the cross of St Peter's, where the fishermens ... that was their anchor, by the sea.

When they needed money they used to get. That cross today is at St Marks in Parkside; the organ of St Peter's is in Mary Magdalene in Westend, the beautiful marble altar with the lamb ...

P3: Ja, ja, I do remember ...

P2: It is in Humansdorp. I approached Father Bartlett, "Where is your altar?" and he said, in Humansdorp. I dunno what Anglican church but it was stored in St Mary's in town first. That was sad. I had no church to go to when I came to Salt Lake. Then they started a house church in the Mitchell School grounds. The money of St Gregory that St Phillips started with St James in Sidwell, the money went to Mary Magdalene and Father Buwe of St Phillips started those 2 churches. I was like a bird in a tree when this church and that church tried to grab you cos you had nowhere to go. But through the church I still travel that 11 miles – I dunno what they call it now, 22 kilometers – to St Phillips where I was baptised, got confirmed, married, my 50th wedding anniversary, my husband's buried in that grounds there and I'll die there because there was no church there and I went back.

Now my sister, P5, can tell you from the 70's. I was 15 years that I went to St Phillips but coming back I went back and I'm still there today and P5 can pick up this there.

P5: Our church stood up to the government. We had our own title deeds.

P2: Not only the title deeds. The mayor of PE is the trustee, still, of St Phillips Church today. It's the only non-white church that was never removed because the mayor of PE is a trustee of St Phillips Church.

MARGIE: Well, I always said, the saddest part for me was the way they broke down that Walmer Road Baptist Church. It was a beautiful, solid church you know, and that was the worst. Luckily in this areas they had already started church in a schoolroom so you could go there you know. I never left my Baptist Church. I've got beautiful pictures of it.

P2: St Peter's was a beautiful church. It was built out of rock, out of rock.

P4: Now with us again, the Moslem community stood together and they had petitions and you had people like Mr Nel ...

MARGIE: Yes, yes, yes ...

P4: My late grandfather's father was 1 of the people that built that one in Walmer Boulevard and there's 1 in Pier Street.

Yes, yes, yes and there's 1 in Summerstrand too.

P4: and this 1 here in Pier Street and they left the Mosques.

P5: Actually you people stood firm!

P4: They had 2 go around it. That's why they stopped the freeway here, because of the minaret that was going up. So they stopped the freeway. They stopped the freeway.

P5: The churches should've done the same.

MARGIE: Yes. But then the whole of Southend was demolished. We had a big house in Southend and we had to ... it was broken down. It's all different now.

P4: Yes, but if you look at Central most of the homes still stood there. Central was different. Like you said, your house is still there.

P6: Yes but they demolished all the houses in Southend and they sold some of the churches.

P5: I blame the head of the Anglican Church. They should've stood their ground, like the Muslims did and like St Phillips did.

P2: She's got a point there. I can name the person, she's got a point there ...

P2: St Phillips was so strong. There were only 12 families left but they went to their church. That's why the church is still open today. St Marks, St Johns, Mary Magdalene, St Xaviers was the Chinese Church. St Paul's was even moved, that's now in Parson's Hill. You see, the dedication of the people.

That's St Peter's, they ran away like rats! The main person there, because, "Yes sir, no sir, three bags full sir"

Congregation Church in Chapel Street, that's a parking lot today!

P6: One of the oldest ...

P2: That was a main church on the Hill.

P5: I was known as a coloured person, grew up like that so I won't dispute that. Although today living in a diverse world we all classed as South Africans but coloured is still at the back of our mind. It will always be there, your children – we will always be coloured.

Let's get back to the church. We grew up in Central and it was also a mixture of white, coloured, Indian. I could walk from Central up to Southend High School and St Phillip's Church was just on our doorstep. But when these Group Areas Act came around, told us we must get out, wasn't even worded nicely, you see people must get out because this is a typical white area.

It was very hurtful the way the letter was written. My parents being old I had to read it for them. My father – I had to tell him and he was very much an aggressive man and he said nobody will get him out there. But in the end we had to go.

So, from 1963 we had to move to Gelvan Park. We had to rent a little house there. In '63 I was 20 years old, I was married ...

MARGIE: When's this?

P5: Let me talk. I'm talking about 1963 when I moved at the age of 20 and in 1965 I got married in Gelvan Park. Then that house we were just renting, then it was those days, offices opened there where the library is and you must go and get points to get a house.

All: ummm

P4: I remember that.

P5: But you could only do that when you were a married woman. So myself and my mother and father stayed in a rented house in Gelvan Park. There was no schools, no Gelvan Park schools; little light, lot a bush and having these people, my mother and father, with me that doesn't wanna go anywhere. Strange enough they built a street that we could get to the graveyard opposite the Main Road. From there you used to stand and wait for a bus to take us to St Phillip's Church. Then we had to get off at the bottom of Albany Road and walk up and we had to push my mother up. You must push her near the – she couldn't walk- it was uphill. It wasn't nice, it wasn't nice at all.

We weren't going to give up St Phillips because there were no other churches at that time- at that time- walking and walking every week just to put a point next to your name to get a house and that wasn't nice. Not for my mother and father. Anyway, eventually after about a year or two, they tell me there's a house in Westend which is now so popular. Most of the Southend ...

P6: I know ...

P5: Eventually they gave me the set of keys, me and my husband. I had the 2 little boys then, very small still and we were told to go there. But my father and mother were the main problem. They were not going to that area. There's no roads, there's no taxis, there's no busses. It was just pot clay. If it rained your car stuck in the pot clay.

MARGIE: Yes, yes ...

P5: And um but you know, being strong people, as the years went – although my father and my mother were against it – we had to just accept it. But where the coloured came in is we were all thrown there – coloured area- northern areas is coloured area – coloured people. There was no such a thing as white people. You were coloured – you are a Bushman, jy is ‘n Hottentot.

All: Yes, yes

P5: Even when my boys at school, “Why do they call us Bushies and Hotties? Aren’t we coloured people?” “Just ignore, take no notice of it.” But you know, the kids remember, they came in here.

P7: Every time I check the texture of my hair it’s the same as yours.

MARGIE: Yes, yes

P7: They used to check my hair.

P5: Yes and you know when the police used to patrol the areas they used to chase us. Even growing up on the Hill. I used to tell my boys we weren’t allowed out after 9 0’clock. We had to be off the streets when the siren went off. They used to patrol the streets. I used to ask my mother why, she says because we’re not white and when we used to go to St George’s Park to play this 2 swings were for coloured girls and boys and those 2 swings were for white.

MARGIE: Yes!

P5: You could get on there and the police come and you get thrown off the swings and they used to twist our arms and chase us and throw us with stones.

I remember there’s a big park in Westbourne Rd, I remember it was a Christmas Eve and we were playing up there and the boere, we used to call them, izoko, and vans there and I was in the top of the tree and they said,” JulleHotnotsmoetnou spat”. They used to take out a gun ...

P7: So you scared, you so scared of a gun but no shooting.

P5: I am so scared and I fell out of that tree, broke my arm, went to the Livingstone and today that arm is giving me the – it was never set properly. They just pulled it like ‘at and pushed the plaster on.

All: Ooooh!

P5: And all the things were like ‘at. I used to tell my children. But we missed each other, everybody was scattered, we were all scattered. When you got married... It was very, very heart breaking because we coloured people, we were very independent. When you ...

All: Yes, yes

P5: When you knew you weren’t allowed to go in there so you don’t go because you were brought up that way. You are not gonna try and push ourselves in there ...

All: No, no

P5: because it says there all over” whites only” black, coloured somewhere else.

All: Yes, everywhere

P5: I remember, I was a little girl and I had to fetch my father at the bottle store and I tried to sneak in by the whites only because he’s next door by the blacks. Did I get my ears smacked from the white guys because I tried to get in- called “Farmers’ Home” in Parliament Street.

MARGIE: Haai!

PH3: My husband had a taxi but it was for whites only - the sticker was on the door. So if we were walking he had to drive past us – if the car was empty he could never take us home – we had to walk- we couldn’t climb in. When my friend went for her interview the white man started to feel my leg and she told me to let him cos she needed the post – now she is still teaching and I have a driving school ...

P5: The she was born in Upper Hill Street and I was born in Municipality Street – I was the last born.

But, coming back tom that, I had to relate this whole story to my children. They know everything, they used to come and question, “What is this coloureds? What is this boere?” “What is this white?” Told them cos it was things that was true- and just to relate to my eldest son- when he was inmatric it was chaos at Bethelsdorp High at the time – ’86 – it was at its worst and there was nothing I could do about my eldest son because he was in matric.

It was terrible cos the police was in and out the schools – kicking the doors – kicking the tables and things. So when he had to go write his matric he had to go and sit in the Feather Market Hall with all the different high schools to write. These police stayed with these-

P4,5& 6: AK 47’s ...

P5: in the Feather Market Hall. And how do you write your matric? And the pigeons – he came and said, “Look what the pigeons did” He couldn’t even wipe it off because you can’t move with these AK 47’s police there.

MARGIE: We got through it.

P5: Yes, that’s why I said, we are a nation of our own, the coloureds. Diverse or not, we are a nation of our own. We stuck to our guns and I – I’m talking about myself and my family individuals- me and my sister- we are still at St Phillips.

We really fought for our church as P2 said. These men, my late father, if we could only have them back again. You know her brother...

All: Yes

P5: Her brother and even Ivan Potgieter. You know those days. They were the fighters, even my uncle, Mr Yon, they were the people that fought for that, they said, “We will sleep in this building but they will they will never take St Phillip’s away.” And there it still stands.

All: umm, yes, yes

P5: I travel far to get there but we will never leave St Phillips. There’s a church right up the road from me, Mary Magdelene, but it’s not the same. I was baptised there, confirmed there, married there, my children was baptised there, confirmed there, all married there; my grandchildren as well. So it is a legacy. It’s a family church. We all stood together.

All: yes, yes ...

P2: Call us Ponds Vanishing Cream

Laughter

P5: We are a group but we were all separated, all scattered. But many forms that you fill in today they ask you, black, white, coloured now.

P5: Yes, on the Census form they said that.

MARGIE: I can just remember I sad part of Southend, of the Group Areas Acr. We heard now we were all living in Gelvan Place because my husband built a house there you know, and then when we heard how they shifted the Lee Place people – Now you know the Lee Palce people, lovely little homes hey

All: Ja, umm, ohh

MARGIE: Aunty Robey. Did you know? And I went to visit Aunty Robey. Aunty Robey was sitting and crying. We sent for the Minister, Mr Waterson, he came to, to speak to her and to try and to, to, to her , to try to console her because she came, she came from SUCH a lovely little home with a flower garden .

All: Ja, ooh, yes

MARGIE: There were cobbles on the street and now there was nothing. Just a house. She was crying. We had to console her. That was 1 of the saddest parts I can remember.

Mod: Did they move people in streets together or just tell everyone to go?

MARGIE: No they didn’t.

P2: We are still staying there by Northend. There were about 12 that used to live in Paul Street and Bullen Street and we all went together. There’s only 6 families left now.

Mod: How did they say who goes where?

All: They didn’t say!

P2: Just, “go fetch your key” and some people they just had to knock.

P6: Near Cunningham School because my husband bought a plot in Parkside that’s there now. Then they knew we had to go and build a house still. Then we stayed on in Southend and everybody was gone, everybody was gone. It was me and that big Indian family, Chinyas or what the hell, Michael Chinya, they and us. I still look like that – we were all alone- we moved in 72. No everybody was moved like that.

P5: We moved in 71.

P6: They came to knock and they said he must go. He was teaching at Frank Joubert and he was lucky, he got the post. If you hit Cotterel Street, there opposite Lalas you’ll see that block of flats there, nice areas. They said, “You must get out”, Mr Ferreira, that was the man’s name ...

P3: Almal was bang vir Mr Ferreira ...

P6: Uh uh, not my husband, He said, “I’m not ready yet they are pushing me out and I’m not ready yet.” So Mr Williams said,” There is a flat Mia Loonat is moving so you can get this flat.”

But how nice it was, even to move there. It was before the taxis and the busses. How nice it was, only after they came.

P2: They moved us based on what we earned.

C: And they broke communities?

All: Yes, yes!

P2: You see Celeste, Tony and myself lived with his mother and their age, that’s why they weren’t entitled to a house. We got a house because we were both working and they weren’t. We were young. That is what I was trying to get at. That is why these streets, we all moved together because it was the young. It wasn’t because we were going to build a house of our own. That is why we had to move like that.

P5: When they gave then their houses in Salt Lake, when they fetched their key, it was, “you’re gonna stay there and there”. With us it was nothing like that. Up in Central you just got this letter within 6 months you got to be off this, u gotta find your own place and we don’t care where you are going to. We will send this lorry here to - this big lorry and you must find your own people to help you. And what the saddest part was, when my mother, we had a wood stove ...

All: yes, uh, um, a Dover

P5: A Dover, we had to shine that stove from morning till night because it was kept – pitch black as what you are- that stove must shine-

MARGIE: Yes!

P5: and myself and my brother must chop the wood and it must be all in this row- 1 missed row and we get a hiding.

MARGIE: Yes!

P5: Now where do you go in Gelvan Park with a wood stove?

All: chuckle

P5: Now my mother and my father must buy this big electrical 4 plate stove. Where do you get the money for this?

All: ooh

P5: And the fridge that we had up in those days was a little fridge but they used to put the watermelons under the sand.

All: Yes- stays cold

P5: Now you must go and my Mother's bedroom, the dresser was from there to there and you get a little bedroom.

MARGIE: Ah- it was sad

P5: She's got a lounge suite and she's got a dining room – we had to sell- everything

P6: To buy electric stove cos we used to boil water on the stove.

P5: So, it was very, very sad and there are these things our children, our youth, don't forget. Although they've got life very easy now, they walk into a microwave, a tv –

All: ja, ja

P5: They walk into- they don't know. We had a little radio which my father used to listen to, every weekend, we always said to my mother ...

All: it was a wireless!

P5: and that thing we used to wind ...

P6: The 78's!

P5: We had to wind it for her because she used to sing all the army songs and we used to wind it for her and we used to dance.

P6: Now we must go and you must get yourself a proper radio from the ...

P5: this gramophone, it was very sad- a whole change

MARGIE: But you know, I always got a positive attitude you know, I don't want to look on the dark side, sorry to say.

But in any case, where we were living now we were very fortunate cos we lived in a BIG house my husband built here in Parkside- I mean he had help- but in any case- as the years went by – in 1 way the group areas act did us a favour because we lived in wood and iron houses in Southend ...

All: ummm

MARGIE: Now we are living in this new house and everything is nice. Honestly, I used to be happy in my house.

P5: We even had a bathroom in ours – I of the best luxuries – the bathroom- because there in Central the toilet was in the garden.

All: Yes – the garden- a long chain

P2: We had a walking geyser –

All: laugh

P2: Celeste do you know what is a walking geyser?

C: The “donkey” where you light a fire and pull?

P2: No, paraffin tins that you fill with water and warm- light a primus stove – that was the walking geyser!

All: And long drops!!

P5: Before I finish my speech the other part I just want to mention quickly is when I also like – I used to ask my mother- “why do you put your money under the mattress – under the lino?”

C: On the floor?

P5: Yes, did you know that you weren’t allowed to have a banking account if you were a coloured? There was no such thing as going to a bank.

All: um, yes

P5: Under the linoleum and stitched in between the lining and the mattresses.

MARGIE: We sent our children to university.

P6: No Auntie MARGIE, those years with our father and them couldn’t have a bank account.

MARGIE: There was a bank ...

All: Afterwards!!

P4: My late grandfather and them , they had a big wardrobe with a “kap” and a ledge and they would throw their money on top ...

MARGIE: I'm sorry to say we had a bank account, there was a bank.

P6: There was no bank.

I remember the neighbour; she was a very lovely Muslim woman. She was a teacher and she used to teach them the Madrassa. When it is their fast time every night your plate of eats would come. My granny with all her children and her grandchildren and the big jug of soup and then when it is their EID Labarang, firsthalf of the fast is when you get everything they make. All that food they make, the cakes and you also get all your little pennies- cos the children come and you get these pennies – it's all ready.

MARGIE: We used to see them in our sickness.

P6: What you talking about- the sickness – that was like real nurses, the Indians, the Chinese, the white people – your neighbours, the Muslims and the coloureds- it was like the family. Thattogetherness it had really been- cos when you're here- they're there- we here- and then we were like this. When it came to the sicknesses they could tell you the remedies before Dr Frolic and Dr Talie – those 2 Jew boys – I remember them. They come and these people already got better with plasters on ...

P2: Celeste, here's a picture of my house now.

C: Thank you

Mod: How has change affected your lives now?

MARGIE: The younger people will be able to tell you. They stand a good chance in everything today.

P2: The tv made a very big difference. You see people are different – God's creation- we don't see you white, I'm pink and that 1 is blue- we're all one.

P6: Yes! We're all 1!

MARGIE: All South Africans

C: And the opening of society? South Africa is a democracy now, has it changed the way you live your life now?

P4: We are still discriminated against by the blacks. They still look at us as if you were fortunate and had a better life than we had.

C: Are you the jam in the sandwich?

All: Yes!

P4: It used to be white slice on top, us in the middle and the black at the bottom.

All: Now it's reversed!

P6: We're still in the middle.

P4: No, we're at the bottom.

She works at the hospital. She's a top sister, make no mistake.

P4: I've got 20 years in the hospital.

P6: But now, the others that's working there, they are complaining about what they get.

MARGIE: I don't know, it's just my personal opinion.

P6: Never mind everything we went through- we had a raw deal from the white government- definitely but I think it was a little better than what we've got now.

All: Yes, yes, yes! Corruption and stealing the money!

P6: I can tell you now. Since last week on Saturday I've been phoning the department because someone knocked over the lamp opposite but because the taxis are always there this guy, he went and swore at the taxis and they swore at him and he rode, he wasn't scared. I've been phoning since last Saturday then I got Isaac. I said ratepayers should and I attacked the mayor at the rugby.

All: That's right!

P6: He was up and down the whole day with his people and I said this is not the place but I'm just wanting to give it to him. Now things like 'at- in Southend, I don't know about having blocked drains- we lived up on the Hill.

P2: In Lee Place-

P6: Anything – even though we did have tough times with the white government- just that apartheid thing- but my aunties and them, they went to the Grand Bioscope, they went everywhere. They sat in the busses.

All: Yes, Yes

C: Did they play white?

All: yes

P6: That's what they called it but my aunty- she was – she knows them- she was like her – but with more blonder hair.

P2: and what about my Aunty Harriet? She died still with her white ID. My gran ...

P5: She was white; she didn't look like us –

P2: She was white.

P6: She was white. But, like I said, they went where they could go. They weren't worried what the other people said.

P4: But that's what the people said, "you played white".

MARGIE,p3: Yes, yes

P6: Even though their parents, they looked white, they lived with us.

MARGIE: My brother was white; he used to take me to all the functions!

Laughter

P6: What I find now with this new government is a total – like corruption, that's number 1, another thing a lack of service delivery ...

All: Yes! Whoaa ...

P6: Education, health and social services and everything.

MARGIE: They just put people in because they were discriminated against.

P4: From the hospital side you find that most of them are now black and the way they treat the people really is terrible and uh, they already uh not so much for the coloured but if any white comes in they treat the people like dirt and I mean, it's not right. Where have all the oaths gone? No more oaths, no more compassion.

P5: Florence Nightingale, the lady with the lamp, this hospital, the Livingstone ...

P2: Coloureds can vote now but they don't vote.

P5: We can vote for our children's children that things get better not get worse.

P3: Even here they go to varsity, they go to Cape Town. When you look at it it's 6 of 1 and half a dozen of the other.

P4: Even in their work there's more opportunity but because of affirmative action you find 200 applying and 20 maybe coloured ...

MARGIE: Yes and even whites are suffering. These young white boys, they can't find jobs – even if they're qualified.

P5: There's a lot that's not qualified but because of affirmative action they get because of the colour of their skin.

P2: Today we've got choices and we live by choices.

P7: I didn't experience apartheid like you and my experience is from the story that my father told me. They had to move from Sidwell and, when they got married houses were scarce and I remember they then got a room with Johnny and Aunty Hartle of Northend. They were very

close friends. My mother was a Muslim and converted to Christianity and it was the Hartle family that showed her the faith.

MARGIE: Did you say Hartles?

All: Yes!

MARGIE: Gee, I've got relatives who are Hartles but they were on the white side.

Much mirth and teasing

P7: And the eldest was born and they needed a place of their own. Next to them in Sidwell lived the Slaters' family –

All: That's right! Hmm

P7: And the Slaters' family I think originally came from Veeplaas, married into the Japthas and they had this big wood and iron house- I was 2 but I've got a good memory of that life in Veeplaas. Big wood and iron home- had 6 or 7 families living on that ground. Today you would call it a smallholding.

All: Yes, um

P7: It was a mixed area. Here on the side of this house we had a bedroom and a kitchen and a zinc bath where we washed once a week ...

P2: With a walking geyser ...

Laughter

P7: The this sister came up and you had to sign up for a house-

All: Points, points, you had to sign to get your points.

P7: This house in Gelvandale came up and we were ecstatic about this house because we didn't have experience of Southend – we went from a developed area.

All: uh huh

P7: And the house was surrounded by trees- you know there was nothing. My father had to walk up to the graveyard to get the bus to go to work and that is where I grew up. I didn't have that memory that you have of the closeness of the families that was torn apart. We had to form our own community. In the particular area where we lived, Booyens Street, it became the area; very smart people came from various areas.

All: All over- Humansdorp ...

P7: Outside PE, we had the Naidoos and the Prinsloos. If you looked at their houses they were house-proud people. Curtains must be washed, windows ...

All: Yes! The gardens ...

P7: and you could see the ladies polishing ...

MARGIE: and Brasso! OOH! The Brasso!

P7: Because at that stage education wasn't available to women. Jobs were scarce, we were working class. It was the husband, women were at home and my father took us to St Marks Church very early in the mornings and the evenings. So the church was very central in our lives and my mother's teaching was my education. I only had a standard 4 but she said, "you will get an education" and was firm on that and it was the education that ended the cycle of poverty and brought change in our lives.

All: Yes- uh

P7: We attended the first school in Gelvandale. That is where I became Deputy Principle- Gelvandale Primary. Mr Yon, the founder, instilled Christian values and principles. That's a legacy that he left behind and we are very strong and our school stands out as a massive pillar of light. Today we're still that. We believe that it's only education that can make the difference.

P2: That Mr Yon was my mother's brother, he was our uncle. We were born on the same day and I couldn't understand that. Westee Yon – Westwood from England, they always used to call him Westee.

MARGIE: The model C schools have children who are "liquorice allsorts" – don't record it- we not supposed to say that now- but-

All laugh

MARGIE: Now my granddaughter has qualified as a teacher and you know where she got a post? Collegiate, the grandest school! So they didn't notice colours.

P6: No, no, you can go anywhere, all of your teachers they are teaching in other schools now.

MARGIE; Your sister P5- she's one of them- almost a professor!

P5: I mos went back to training and I'm teaching ABET now --- adult basic education and training.

All: Ohh!

P5: I'm doing it quite a while now.

P7: Just my personal feeling on the matter. The whites they came from England, the Netherlands, we don't have a country where we come from. The white's caused us, it's the inter-marriages that caused the difference in colour. So, er, it's not that we ... now we find ...

MARGIE: But we do come from a country ... and people want to be identified as Khoisan ...

All: Uh huh

P6: It's for gain in many cases, it's because they want land.

P2: They want to be identified now.

MARGIE: It was the San ...

P6: The Sand walkers – if you go back into history you got ...

P2: Divide and rule ...

P6: My husband was very, very political – those years and very involved in sport. I was married in 1965 and I didn't know this man was so involved and the whole day he was gone in meetings and I was so young – much younger than him. And then they were looking for the secretary's books and they said no the books are by this other guy's place so if they search there they had to be on the lookout for them.

Amongst our people they will want to divide. They are the most cleverest people as far as this things goes. He was big there and he says these people, they don't know –

All: Yes- they don't know

P5: They don't know a thing about the beginnings. My attitude is different about what I'm what I'm getting the help – I've been phoning since Saturday and I've been in darkness since they knocked down my lamp pole – it's not safe, you know you're doing nothing about it and the taxis there.

MARGIE: Yes

P7: Something I detest is when they depict the coloured women as the ones without teeth.

All: Yes, yes, yes! It was in the papers.

P2: It was a certain group you see. Even in Cape Town I've got a friend in Cape Town, Sheila Knip, and she hates it when she sees the coons on TV. She says that they create that- that where they all come from and that is not so. It's just culture for entertainment.

P5: If you look at tv and they show you these women on the Cape Flats they will show you those with no teeth, with pantyhose, with the rollers, it's all so ugly.

MARGIE: It's so ugly and they're called coloureds!

P5: There are whites living like this, some of them live in shacks, RDP houses –

P6: - they also homeless and things like 'at

All agree

P7: Isn't it economic? I mean you can spend on yourself, change the way you look.

P6: Here we have all our salt beefs and our tongues and all of the years.

P2: It is a holy celebration.

P5: Your roasts – Christmas Day – it doesn't die out.

MARGIE: Oooohit's true!

P5: You gonna have your ham and your tongues and your whatnot and crackers on the table and the trimmings.

P6: But Boxing morning ...

MARGIE: Oooh – I miss that

P6: 'Cos the beachfront has changed – I don't go – every Boxing Day with all our goodies.

MARGIE: ... and all the luxuries we put it in the car and there was go to the beach but no more Boxing Day because it's ... I don't know ..

C: What??

MARGIE: Ours was the same but you can't go join them – there's too many penguins.

All: Penguins at King's Beach!

P6: So I said, "What's happening now?"

P5: Yes, things have changed for us coloureds now New Year's Day King's Beach is an oil slick – you can't go on New Year's Day. So it's just an oil slick and penguins so I'll stay away. We'll stay away.

P6: We're getting used to this life but there are certain things that we still are deprived of. Now the Khoisan – those days we did History and Geography and all that. Now the new syllabus – I don't know ...

Laughter

P6: Ask my son and he says you also have Khoisan. So, I wanted to pull back. Khoisan!

P5: Nee man! Khoisan is te hard! Lotsa reasons.

P6: He says you got! And I say but my people never ever told me. Harold's father them knew everything, he was a diamond digger and his father was Bechuana. No wonder Vivian –them is a bit darkish and all of you and the mother came from a German Jew, so mixed breed!

Kroes, kroes, they used to call coloured people steelwool.

All: laugh

P5: There's too much products to have a kroes!

P6: And he spoke about the Khoi San so I must look in the family and see who is very big around here.

P2: But this is not a joke, it's very sad.

P6: We're serious about that.

If I think of how my teachers taught me at Southend and I look at some of the women today in the coloured community we have a hell of a lot of smart coloured women that we can look up to. Whether married, single or divorced and thee I must stress on divorce because some of them have shown they can still be the best ... Like P:7, I know her family know is very close, they're very one, they still go to church together...

I was here at the stadium on Friday and Saturday 'cos my husband's a big rugby – but I was disgusted! What I saw there- when you are going to watch a rugby game - sit in the Presidential suite because of my husband's status and so on - ... you have a bite and watching and it's so beautiful. If you're a sports person you are going to go mad. There's people sitting there and they eat and drink for the day, some were never involved in sport.

P2: Sad hey, sad hey ...

P6: No, if your husband , that has given his whole life and still at 80 don't get a cent- made school fields at Frank Joubert and the Adcock and dig the tracks for the children to run on that open ground and he was never really honoured as doing that and he still helps and he's on the SARU as the only Honorary Life Vice President and never given a t- shirt with all the 7's and the things but everybody around us said because we are coloured but every other white and black person, they got. It hurt and it's not the first time. I am going to speak out.

All: You must

P6: I don't care who likes me in the ANC or the whatever, the Mayor and all his cronies were there – so you see that's what is happening- so you see this coloured story.

MARGIE: My son was also there and he loved it!

P6: But where we were sitting there's all honorary people and there we sit and behave like all our people used to behave ...

MARGIE: Well, I'd rather not hear about it because I ...

P6: But when it comes to the food...

P2: They're so greedy.

THANKS AND CLOSURE

Questionnaire

To: Celeste Barker

A bit of background about myself

I am a Coloured, born on 30 March 1947 to

I lived at 17 Burness Street, South End. At the age of 22 yrs. on 17 May 1969 our family moved out of S.E. We moved to 40 Raphael Crescent in Gelvan Park.

I am a qualified Primary(Higher) School Teacher. I taught for 41 years before retiring at the age of 60. Music is my passion - all my life I trained School Choirs for competition purposes. At present, I am the organist and Choir Leader at St Mark + St John Anglican Church. I serve the Lord Jesus with my life because I love Him.

My Mom, [REDACTED], lives with my husband and I, here in Westering. She is 92 yrs. and is still capable of caring for herself.

All four of our children are now married and only one live in P.E. One in Cape Town, one in Australia and my son in the U.K. We shall be visiting him shortly - for the month of August.

Q 1. How would you define a Coloured person.

A. A South African Coloured is a person born from mixed racial descent.
eg. White + Black or White + Khoisan

Q 2. How did the Group Areas Act affect the life you lived in South End.

A. The G.A.A. forced us to move out of S.E. to the Northern Areas which was declared for Coloureds only. Being born and raised in S.E. until the age of 22, it affected my life in many ways: [here are just a few examples]

(i) Once a closely knit group of family and friends - Now, distances caused us to drift apart.

(ii) The³ schools and Church we attended in S.E. were in very close proximity to our home - Now, we had to travel by bus or car to Church. However,

fortunately for me, I obtained a teaching post very close to our new abode in Gelvan Park.

- (iii) Crime was very low in S.E.. House-breaking, sexual assault and theft was hardly ever heard of. We felt extremely safe walking home from the "Palace" bioscope late at night.
- (iv) The Operetta Society to which I belonged had to be disbanded. This saddened me deeply - because singing is my first love.
- (v) I could no longer play hockey for my favourite club, Blackpool.
- (vi) How I missed taking walks to Victoria Park during my courtship years. There are no Parks in any of the suburbs in the N.Areas. What a shame!

Q 9 How did racist categorization as black, coloured or white affect you during apartheid.

- A. During the apartheid years - growing up as a child, teenager and then an unmarried adult - I felt inferior to Whites because they were given all the privileges :
- My siblings and I could never go to the Kings Beach or Playland in Humewood because all the best facilities were for Whites Only.
 - I could only sit upstairs in the Forest Hill Rd. buses.
 - The worst for me personally, was the fact that we could not use the Public Toilets in Main Street. Shopping has always been my favourite past-time and I used to spend hours browsing in Main Street, but with no facilities available for COLOURED, I always had to shorten my stay.

Q4 Has political changes affect the way I live now. How has it changed my life.

A. Yes indeed. It's so wonderful to feel free in the country of ^{my}(your) birth.
I can go to the Feathermarket Centre, walk on any beach, ride in any bus, etc. etc.
and feel free, free, free.

My life has most certainly changed for the better :-

- I have become bolder in speech - no longer shy and afraid.
 - My husband and I now live in a house of our choice in the suburb of Westering.
 - All four of our children [now aged 35, 37, 39 + 41] were able to study at Universities of their choice during the period 1989 - 2003
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APPENDIX 6: VOLUNTEER 2

RESPONSES TO FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS: MRS X

Mrs X is a retired music teacher who taught Arts and Culture as well. She is a committed Christian and used her time when teaching High School Arts and Culture to encourage scholars to be proud of colouredness and not to want to have a different identity or pretend to be someone else. Her aim was to teach the pupils a sense of belonging and identity.

Question 1: “How would you define a coloured person?”

Answer: Mixed race origin, happy to embrace the identity, coloured with inverted commas became politically correct and happy to identify such as “Mulatto” in South US. Coloured people have a shared history and if it’s not shared then they are not coloured. So recently cross cultural unions are not necessarily coloured. Culture is a mix of many things like food, dance, music – not just dress and art forms.

Question 2: “How did the Group Areas Act affect the life you lived in South End?”

Answer: Lived in South End for a short time, for just 12 years and has vague memories of trauma – particularly with her maternal Granny. Their family was 1 of the last to move because her Granny and her Dad built a house in Gelvan Park and the majority were taken to Council Homes.

Experienced the new area as horrid – open and stony and when she was taken to play with friends to South End they all remembered the stones. However the new area was also exciting because she went with her Dad to check on their new home.

Another major memory is of having to be uprooted from her church in Walmer Road and that it took about 4 years to settle into a new church. She had to travel by bus to get to school and it was awful because it was not a school bus but a general bus – she changed over to Paterson High.

A strong childhood memory is of rich Jewish women in her Mom’s sewing group and how she had to fetch second hand clothes from a Mrs Weinronk. She also recalls distinctly how her Mom was overly impressed and in awe of this woman and her fabulous house. In fact

when the Weinronk daughter was married her Mom insisted that the whole family should watch the bride enter the church. This meant that because the family were uninvited they sat at a distance in the car and watched the procession. At the time she thought it was ok but realised later that this was not ok.

She felt that women always had a sense of stepping back out of the limelight.

Question 3: 'How did racist categorisation as black, coloured or white affect you during apartheid?

Answer: She remembers that some family members were re-classified after the Second World War and that some parents had supremacist attitudes as a result and this was sad because they were living a lie and trying to be white. She added that whites act black now and they are known as “wiggers”.

She raised her children to be fully accepting of colouredness, they attended Model C schools but don't talk white because language and idiomatic expressions are part coloured of culture and identity and she didn't want her children to feel inferior because of who they are. Children should be proudly coloured and their blood is green.

During apartheid she felt like she didn't belong because coloured women were not allowed into rest rooms, cinemas and busses and she had to get special permission to attend UCT and was not allowed access to the UCT resses.

Her parents chose not to get involved but her husband was very involved in sport and supported the campaign of, “No normal sport in an abnormal society”. Her husband's cousin was detained for many years and had recently committed suicide because of he felt disappointed and let down.

She also remembers how “playing white” hurt many families and caused a lot of pain which has taken years to resolve as different generations battle to accept each other. Her husband has helped her to build her confidence as a coloured woman as she was timid. He is an unusually confident man and helps her to relax and take part in conversation. Her husband is the Principal of a tiny special needs school and he handles a mixed race staff very comfortably. He is very good at conflict resolution and has been influential in shaping who she is now.

They are born again Christians and their Christian culture overrides everything – including being coloured.