IDENTITY RESILIENCE WITHIN THE COLOURED SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITY IN CANADA;

EXPLORING THE IMPACT OF SETTLER COLONIALISM, RACIALIZATION AND DIASPORIC MOVEMENT ON RACIAL/SELF IDENTIFICATION

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Abstract

This thesis is an interdisciplinary examination of the resilience of Coloured South African racial identity/self identification. I assert that the dark legacy of settler colonialism, and its concomitant racialization and diasporic movement resulted in the persistence of many identity/traits within immigrant Coloureds living in the Toronto area, long after their departure from South Africa. Coloured identity remains complex and often contradictory while continuing to impact the lives of these immigrants. Existing research and my personal knowledge supplements the life narratives of three Coloured South African interlocutors who emigrated to Canada in the late 1960s, during the tightening of apartheid legislation and heightened violence against non-whites. Only scanty information exists on this sizeable exodus. This study additionally provides a broader understanding of the persistence of settler colonialism, the impact of the associated racialization and diasporic movement, expands existing research on Coloured South Africans and presents the multifaceted and problematic position of being interracial, during apartheid.

Key Words: apartheid, South African history, Coloureds, Coloured identity, settler colonialism, diaspora, racialization, racial oppression, racial categorisation, historical/ancestral silencing, racial diversity, racialized immigration, settlement, immigration and ongoing colonialism

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There is no greater agony than bearing an untold story inside you.

(Maya Angelou)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In Canada, the racialized and historical classification "Coloured", legalized in apartheid South Africa from 1948-1994, continues to hold sway in contradictory ways in the lives of some "Coloured" South African immigrants after more then 50 years. My thesis explores the persistence of these contradictions and their origins through interviews with three long-time immigrants to Canada who shared their various life journeys from childhood to departure from South Africa, to arrival and resettlement in Canada many years ago. All three interviewees, Gavin, Eve and Pieter,[1] explore conflicting identities imbued by their own historical "Coloured" classification.

To better comprehend the complicated story and identity construction of Coloureds requires an understanding of South Africa's equally complex history as the two are intimately entwined. Although expanded in the literature review (Chapter Two), I give a brief synopsis to assist. Unique to South Africa, *Coloured* was the formal, legal term given to the mixed-race population[2] in the twentieth century who held a dubious position within this largely racialized society, resulting from their diverse ethnoracial ancestry. South Africa's colonial history and the associated aspects of racialization and diasporic movement continue to bear down on this population.

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[1] These are pseudonyms.

[2] The Coloured category was made up of multiracial groups which included Cape Malay, Indians and "other Coloureds" such as Griqua, Nama, those of Khoisan or Bantu speaking ancestry, other Asians (Chinese) and all others not easily classified as either White or Black.

The Cape colony was not considered a sought- after location until the mid 1600s when quite accidentally, the Dutch landed on these shores. Soon, the Cape was found to be a particularly strategic location for the much- needed rest, medical care and replenishment required by traders, explorers and settlers. Located at the half way point between Europe and the eastern trade route, this southern most location became an integral part of seventeenth to nineteenth century European expansionism. The Cape colony supplied vast amounts of ships filled with peoples from all corners of the globe, many of whom settled there. South Africa not only offered a wealth of natural resources but the unexpected discovery of vast reserves of precious minerals, in the nineteenth century quickly changed its economic focus and importance, rapidly making it an international player. The Cape colony was quickly populated by Europeans and colonized by both the Dutch and British over four centuries.

During this colonial period (1652-1910), land was considered open for the taking (terra nullius, as defined in Chapter Two). The local Indigenous and African populations suffered greatly at the hands of these invasive settlers determined to permanently claim these lands and resources as their own (Maylam, 2001; Wolfe, 2006; Verancini, 2011). Regardless, each local group was affected differently. Africans were needed as exploitable labour while the Indigenous were simply regarded as hindering access to the much- desired land (Wolfe, 2001, 2006). Emphasizing the "structural complexity of settler colonialism" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388), Wolfe contends that access to *land*, not race was the primary motivation for the extermination of the Indigenous (p. 388). Many scholars (Wolfe, 2001, 2006; Verancini, 2010; LeFevre, 2015; Kauanui, 2016) attest to the agenda of settler colonialism being the eradication of the native

populations (discussed later). Kauanui (2016) agrees with Wolfe (2006) that settler colonialism *destroys* to *replace* and that fundamentally it is "eliminatory however not invariably genocidal" (Kauanui, 2016, p. 2). Relevant to this thesis is "biocultural assimilation" (Coombes, 2006, p. 1), a recognized method of eradication. The existence of mixed-race South Africans, later referred to as Coloureds, an enforced identity category created during the apartheid era, developed through a complicated nexus of the plan of interracial mixing and indigeneity was facilitated by several factors: colonialism, imperial interests, colonial expansion and the transatlantic processes of indentured servitude and settler colonialism.

Given the higher numbers of women at the Cape, interrelations were common among different groups and were specifically encouraged between European colonists and Indigenous women, however marriage was not (Maylam, 2001; Wolfe, 2001; Adhikari, 2006). Soon, this lucrative colony became flooded with settlers and investors from Europe (Dutch, British, Germans, French) as well as exploitable migrant labourers from all over Africa and abroad including a sizable slave population from the eastern colonies.[3] Thompson (2014) aptly illuminates that South Africa was "the scene of a variety of complex relations among diverse cultures" (p. xix).

South Africa's history can best be described as fraught with violence, resistance and racial issues (Clarke and Worger, 2013; Maylam, 2001; Adhikari, 2005, 2006).

[3] Slaves from India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Java, Madagascar and Mascarene Islands, Asia (Chinese), areas of Africa such as Mozambique and East Africa, post slavery Asians such as Filipinos, Chinese and southeast Asians. Although not wholly definitive, Thai, Malaysians and other southeast Asians, as well as Persians, were at the Cape as evident by linguistic and inscribed remnants (Shell, 1994).

Although the Dutch were the original colonizers, they were soon displaced by the British in the late eighteenth century. Numerous battles and wars were fought between the Dutch and both the Indigenous and African tribes as well as between European colonizers (Clark and Worger, 2013).[4] During and after the South African Wars[5], the horrific conditions and effects of the British Scorched Earth Policy led to the extermination of countless Dutch settlers. The subsequent establishment of British concentration camps housing mostly Dutch women and children added to their severely scarred memories. Fervently believing that they were the *chosen* people, the Dutch believed that they had suffered at the hands of both the British and the Africans (Clark and Worger, 2013; Maylam, 2001).

Following the discovery and expansion of the mineral industry, an increased demand for more cheap, non-white labour persisted.[6] Maylam (2001) and Clark and Worger (2013) contend that the mineral revolution caused fierce competition for jobs in crowded cities resulting in divisions amongst labourers, including poor, White farmers who came to work in this sector. Coloureds were seen to "come into their own" (Adhikari, 2005, p. 3) both asserting their difference from other non-whites to gain "relative privilege" (ibid), in what was a highly competitive environment. Adhikari (2005) sheds light on the reality that the racial oppression followed a discernible path toward "intensifying segregationism and an erosion of the Coloured people's civil rights

[4] Refusing to submit to British dictates, the Dutch not only fought against the British, they set out on the Great Trek (early 19th century) which saw over 40,000 Afrikaaners (Dutch farmers) trek east and north, enduring difficult terrain, severe losses, battles and further displacement). Memories of this journey added to their resentment of the British and the local peoples.

[5] The South African Wars (1899-1902) were formerly referred to as the Boer War.

[6] Both gold and diamonds were found on the Dutch held lands. Without the funds to expand this industry, the Dutch relied on the British, causing further resentment and issues over entitlement and taxes, resulting in the South African Wars (1899-1902).

in the twentieth century" (p. 1). Notably, while the world was dismantling slavery and colonialism following World War II, South Africa was poised to institute an horrific, legalised form of white supremacy. Bolstered by the equally racist Broederbond (secret society of Dutch nationalists), the racial purist, the Dutch National Party (N P) rose to power in 1948.

Steadfast in their intention to establish a form of constitutionalized racism to ensure white supremacy, to placate white fear and to be "…uniformly binding across all spheres of a person's experience" (Posel, 2001, p. 60) the NP put in place legislation based on the apartheid system (living separate and apart).[7] By the 1950s, the entire population was forcibly divided along racial lines based on racist, visual and subjective criteria. The term "Coloured" is often considered derogatory, racist and is an unaccepted term in most other areas of the world. However, it became the formal term given to the diverse, mixed-race sector of the population. Although it has gone through periods of greater and lesser acceptance, "Coloured" remains a commonly used term by many South Africans, including the community that self-identifies, regardless of the dismantling of apartheid.

Coloured racial diversity has been a contributing factor to the ambivalent positioning, acceptance and cohesion of Coloureds throughout South African history, especially during the racist, apartheid era where racial categorisation was legalised. Although Coloureds fared somewhat better than Blacks during some periods of South

[7] Also see Beinart and DuBow (1995, p. 201).

African history, under apartheid, many severe laws and exclusionary measures were instated, specifically directed at Coloureds.[8]

The apartheid laws were particularly directed at categorizing, separating and establishing differing levels of privilege for the races while keeping the non-white population under strict surveillance (Posel, 2001). Coloureds did not easily fit into this binary racial system. As race was thought to be easily recognizable or "common sense" (Posel, 2001, p. 56), it is worth noting that the initial job of classifying the population was given to "raw teams" (Posel, 2001, p. 64) of mostly unskilled, often uneducated census agents. As a result, racist visual and social criteria were used to classify Coloureds and once completed, along with other non-whites, their lives were dramatically altered.[9] During this time, racial categorization was suitably associated with restrictions on all aspects of non-white lives and not subject to any governmental inspection. Once this pivotal race classification was achieved, non-white lives were completely regulated. An example of this was the forcible removal of hundreds of thousands of Coloureds from areas rezoned as "White-only" due to their prime real estate value, the desire to destabilize their community and families and ultimately to control every aspect of their daily lives.[10] As push back by non-whites occurred, and in response to these increasing apartheid restrictions, the removal and slaughter of leaders

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[8] Some examples include: The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), The Immorality Act (1950), the Coloured Persons Education Act (1962).

[9] Measurement and examination of body parts (genitals, noses, eyelids), hair examination for curliness, skin, eye and hair colour, social indicators such where you went to school, church affiliation, locations of entertainment, personal indicators such as manner of speech, favored drinks, food, friends, furniture, are just some examples of criteria used to racially classify Coloureds (Venter, 1974; Posel, 2001; Adhikari, 2005)

[10] Apartheid legislation determined and restricted marriages, associations, interrelations, drastically limited education, removed voting rights, unreasonably resulted in jailing, forced exile, beatings, torture and death.

and regular citizens in non-white communities followed.[11] The 1960s was a particularly turbulent and violent period in South Africa, especially after the Sharpeville Massacre (1960) and the Rivonia Trial (1963-4). Apartheid legislation was subsequently heightened and correspondingly, violence escalated. Coloureds now found themselves in an exceedingly precarious and marginalized position, more so than ever before.

Although Coloureds in South Africa were considered neither white nor black enough, during apartheid, being *Coloured* carried a much deeper, more pejorative, racialized meaning. Worsening tensions between the majority Blacks and minority Whites meant that the fates of Coloureds were sealed. At the time, thousands of educated Coloureds reluctantly sold everything they owned, revoked their citizenship, left their employment, extended families and community and fled South Africa for other Commonwealth countries such as Australia, Canada and Britain. Surprisingly, only scanty references exist related to this sizable exodus.

Only limited information exists on the Coloured South African diasporic community worldwide. In fact, the only concise information concerning Coloured immigrants is very recent research involving Coloureds who emigrated to Australia in the 1970s and 1980s (Sonn, 2013). Additionally, there has been little comparative academic research on the impact of racial oppression and trauma on Coloureds historically or during apartheid which, ultimately led to their exodus between 1950 and 1970. There is little available information on Coloured expatriates in Canada.

[11] A stunning example is that almost any small or large gathering of people (2 or more) was considered a possible threat to state security.

This thesis, therefore, aims to explore the complexity and contradictions of the immigrant "Coloured" self and racialized self- identities and experience based on interview data of three immigrants who came to Canada during the 1960s, at the height of apartheid. I argue that the data describes evidence of a resilience of unique Coloured social and cultural identity characteristics that are the result of experiences in South Africa where the three people I interviewed were exposed to settler colonialism and its concomitant racialization which was subsequently reinforced by migration to Canada.

INTERVIEWS

The research within this thesis is based on a qualitative approach wherein three ethnographic interviews form the basis of the research data collected for the examination of Coloured South Africans, supplemented by some structured questions and a word association segment.

Biographic research was gathered from three informant life histories. Information related to the participant's background, life in South Africa, their experiences under the apartheid regime, departures from their homeland and their lives in Canada was retrieved and analysed against existing scholarly research on Coloured identity/traits.[12] Additionally, sources on the history of South Africa and the Coloured community were explored to foreground assertions found within this thesis. Online sources provided access

[12] Adhikari (2005, 2009); Erasmus (2000) and Posel (2001).

to websites, documentaries and a web series related to Coloureds, South African history and apartheid in South Africa.

CHOOSING A METHODOLOGY

The interview method was chosen as the preferred process to retrieve critical data as only limited scholarly research exists on Coloureds generally and no research exists on expatriate Coloureds in Canada. This, coupled with obtainable scholarly research, on the Coloured community and my personal experience as a Coloured South African expatriate were all drawn from to complete this thesis. As racial identification and discrimination are experienced very personally and are typically embodied, compassionate engagement was therefore required to gain the confidence and trust needed by participants to disclose intimate details and vulnerabilities related to trauma, shame and the indignity of apartheid. Being a member of this Coloured immigrant community greatly assisted in this process. My aim throughout the interview process was to adequately acknowledge and document the informant experiences disclosed, which would ultimately allow a reader to become successfully engaged in key moments and the everyday realities of being Coloured in Canada, the daily trauma of life under apartheid and Coloured displacement. Being a *native* interviewer assisted in many ways however, the process was not straightforward.

I was preoccupied with many concerns: the integrity of my writing, adequately depicting the informant stories and especially participant wellbeing. I was also unsure

of my ability to remain objective or whether I might be leading my informants or overinterpreting since I have “insider” knowledge. Whether my analysis left informants vulnerable and how to manage any emotional toll they may have experienced, remained with me throughout the interview process. Narayan (1993) assisted greatly in shedding light on authenticity and the insider/outsider question in ethnography.

Narayan (1993) emphasizes that whether we are “native” or “outsider”, we all go through forms of “hybridity” (p. 671) in the process of gathering data as our identities shift between linking us to our informants or distancing us from them. Moreover, her thoughts that “the extent to which anyone is an authentic insider is questionable” (Narayan, 1993, p. 671) greatly helped with my own queries about this very question. Other important concerns included how to manage the possibility of issues which could arise given that often- traumatic memories are accompanied by fatigue, stress, exposure and vulnerability (Causer, 2005; Watts, 2008). The informants inadvertently assisted in many areas where I had concerns.

During the informant interviews, the participants were immediately ready and willing to begin the sessions. Without hesitation, two informants began to recount their experiences without prompting. They instantly took the lead and in doing so, made the interview sessions more open-ended, were quick to reveal, in detail their inner most feelings, issues and epiphany-type moments. I finally comprehended that my role was not to attempt to relay *truth* with precise accuracy but rather to validate, convey and represent the value of the informant narratives and lived experiences. I then questioned the process less and was better able to concentrate on how I was going to make the informant stories

accessible to readers. Finally, I was mindful that my goal had always been to raise the general awareness of the lived experiences of the so- called Coloured population, to present this piece of history and contribute to filling a gap in scholarly research. Nevertheless, having such a personal investment in the research was challenging.

There were many unanticipated moments during the writing of this thesis which caused emotional anguish for me. I felt quite exhausted most days, slept poorly, was often drawn to tears and was also struck with profound distress given the informant narratives. I found myself overworking and worrying that this thesis would adequately represent the informant experiences. Having said that, I pushed forward knowing that the agency and recognition which the informants (Coloureds) rightfully deserved, far outweighed anything that I was experiencing personally during this process.

Although structured questions were prepared, open-ended interview sessions centered on the following topics transpired smoothly: family background, early life, schooling, life during apartheid, knowledge of the system of apartheid, departure from South Africa, journey overseas, arrival in Canada, first experiences, adjustment and later life/family life. Two of the participants readily directed the conversation into unexpected paths allowing for interesting information to be revealed. It was only if more clarification was needed that the predetermined questions were used. The aim during the interviews was to simply listen and be *present* with the participants. Another novel method was also employed to retrieve informant data.

A word association segment was devised based on South African terminology , names of prominent White, Black and Coloured figures, places, events and foods.

Examples included: Ahmed Kathrada, kroes, and words related to the Dutch (Boere). This was merely chosen as an additional method to decipher similarities and differences in experiences and opinions in the informants as Coloured South Africans. Single word answers were requested initially to simply see what feelings or thoughts were associated with the words. Having a personal insight into the community and their experiences assisted greatly in the overall data collection.

Personal knowledge of the subject matter within most areas of questioning as well as being able to interpret what was meant by certain responses, given the linguistic and cultural differences of this specific subject group, became critical to data acquisition and analysis. Moreover, familiarity with the Afrikaans language, idiosyncrasies, humour and experiences of expats, assisted in my ability to more clearly appreciate and comprehend participant responses, experiences or embedded meaning.

Technology

During interviews, a noise-cancelling tape recorder was used as well as an iPhone to ensure that if one device or the other failed, there was a back up device.[13] Notes were also taken, however, as note taking often causes participants to be distracted and self conscious, it was used at a minimum which allowed for good flow during these sessions. Playback was done many times but specifically on the ride home after sessions, to keep the conversation freshly in mind until I could transcribe the interviews. During analysis

[13] The recording devise had numerous features: noise canceling, timer, easy rewind, USB capability, internal filing of data and numerous recall features such as by date, time, folder.

and transcription, continual rereading of the informant responses was done to reinforce familiarity with the data collected as well as to make the process of writing and inserting appropriate informant data more accurate.

Informants

Sadly, given the age of many of the initially intended interviewees (78, 90 and 96), two of the intended informants passed away and one became ill during preliminary discussions. Another participant had already been selected as backup from the onset, however, she was also unable to continue with this process as her husband's health was deteriorating after he had a stroke. I did however have the pleasure of engaging with three informants aged 66, 82 and 90, both male and female. Two participants live in long -term care residences roughly within two hours from the Toronto area. The youngest informant met me just south of Barrie at a coffee shop.

The Interview Process

Prior to meeting the informants, a phone conversation (in one case) and a personal meeting with the others allowed me to provide a summary of the research purpose and the parameters of data collection. The request for participant involvement was readily accepted by everyone. In all three cases, the initial meeting opened with casual comments and soon after, the participants directed the discussion immediately to South Africa and their experiences. The first meeting with each participant lasted two to three hours. In the case of the two older informants, breaks were often needed during interviews. The

participants living at long-term care facilities were very content with the interview process, however, challenges arose in terms of interruptions by nursing or cleaning staff.[14] Generally, these interruptions were dealt with within five to fifteen minutes and we resumed the interview without issue. However, some unanticipated "glitches" did occur which caused the postponement of the research.

The long-term care residents presented challenges with health issues which did not always allow us to meet for the additional, scheduled appointments needed. To ensure that interest was sustained, phone calls were the only option to either "touch base" or to give a gentle reminder of the additional information needed to clarify data retrieved from the initial interview. One participant had moved to a new facility after our first interview, and, therefore, required a long period of adjustment to his new surrounding before we could resume the sessions. Thankfully, we were able to have a few conversations by phone during this period. The youngest interviewee's sessions went smoothly, allowing us to have two, very long and satisfying interviews. Of utmost concern were the older interviewees. Sessions were paused regularly to determine whether they were comfortable or if the subject matter was tolerable. Regardless, we managed to meet the second or third time, even in the face of numerous stops and starts.

Analysis

Once data were collected, word for word transcription took place over the

[14] Some disruptions included the need for accompanied washroom trips, snack and meal schedules, room cleaning by facility staff and administering medication.

following months. Atlas-ti qualitative data collection software was used for the initial coding and memos. This allowed for the coded data to be easily moved into code groups. The code groups were then organized into more specific groups, thus reducing the number of initial code groups needed, making the data more manageable. A subsidiary group, for general information was created, allowing for the retrieval of additional data.[15] This software assisted in my ability to more easily detect patterns or recurring themes through word frequency graphs, charts and numerical counts of repeated words/ themes all of which were easy to generate. Other than details regarding data collection, ethical considerations and confidentiality remained foremost concerns.

Ethical Considerations

Most of the participants did not feel the need to use pseudonyms. However, it was established early on that this would be done. Safe keeping of recorded data, availability of the work to informants once the thesis was completed and the choice of participants to "opt out" of the research without consequence at any time was thoroughly discussed. As well, an acceptable method of disposal for their information was spoken about at length. Although this interview process is minimal risk, being familiar with the subject matter, I was acutely aware of the existence of traumatic themes and monitored the emotional impact of retelling/reliving some of these experiences, adjusting as needed, how questions

[15] Information related to grandchildren, affiliations, work related data, quips and other more casual commentary.

were asked, the research plan and scheduling to accommodate the interviewees comfort level.

After a few stops and starts, being unable to secure the informants I had initially chosen based on their ages, vocations and experiences especially those who were young adults (especially female), who came to Canada during the 1960s, was difficult. Most had died or had health issues which did not permit accessibility. At that point, I chose to use my mother as an interviewee. She was a teacher, the right age, and was whole heartedly willing to participate. Issues arose personally as I questioned my ability to be objective and I was unsure of whether her participation would be acceptable. However, I was reassured by my supervisors that she would be a very good choice as there would not only be the chance to document family history, but she fit the criteria, and this would make for very deep insights into the people and period in question.

Validity

Research based on an interview process which is flexible, life story based, narrative and done by a *local* interviewer is perhaps the key to assisting vulnerable groups, especially displaced groups in feeling validated and recognized as *mattering* to the larger society they belong to. Typically, diasporic communities are marginalized and brutalized, resulting in their dispersion from their homeland (Gilroy, 1994). Documenting their experiences gives diasporic individuals agency, often for the first time in their lives. Additionally, it allows for a more comprehensive understanding of their plight while

providing a platform to address trauma and displacement (Sonn, 2013; Stevens, Duncan and Hook, 2013). Moreover, documenting émigré experiences can lead to facilitating home and host country recognition and acceptance, while promoting an easier diasporic adjustment.

Organization

Chapter 2 is a Literature Review of the primary and secondary sources which informed the writing of this thesis. The theoretical frameworks are introduced and their relevance to the thesis topic is addressed. Additionally, literature related to key background information on Coloureds and South African history is presented, given how integral this is to a deeper understanding of this diasporic community and thesis subject.

In Chapter 3, the informant's life stories are presented independently. They will take the following format: early life, family background, schooling in South Africa, departure, early years in Canada and later life. This chapter will be a mix of interviewer interpretation and the actual informant responses relevant to the topics under discussion. Following each life narrative, a reflection/insights section assesses the findings of the data retrieved in conversation with scholarly research.

Chapter 4 is a concluding chapter featuring a summary and postscript.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis focuses on the racial and self identification of immigrant "Coloured" South Africans living in Toronto, as demonstrated through real life experiences and narratives of several South Africans. These findings ultimately show the continued effects of colonization. Coloured racial/self identification has remained relatively strong for the interviewees, long after leaving South Africa during the worst of the apartheid brutality in the 1960s. This Chapter examines the main bodies of literature which were central to my research and assisted in situating and grounding the assertions made within this thesis: background information on the Coloured community and the system of apartheid, settler colonialism, racialization, diaspora and migration theories. A review of this literature will assist in situating the thesis from a theoretical perspective.

"COLOUREDS" AND APARTHEID: BACKGROUND

Although the term Coloured carries a negative connotation and is often avoided in other parts of the world, in South Africa it was the formal, legal term enforced on the mixed-race sector of the population, as well as others who did not fit neatly into the Black or White racial categories during the apartheid regime.[16] While the term has

[16] Under apartheid legislation, the Coloured category contained subgroups including: Cape Coloureds, Indians, Cape Malay (Muslims), Griqua, Nama (and other Indigenous peoples) and "other Coloureds".

gone through periods of greater or lesser acceptance historically, it has remained in use by many South Africans since the dismantling of apartheid.

Since 1994, more research on Coloureds and issues surrounding aspects of their historical experience and identity began to surface. Adhikari is considered the foremost authority on Coloureds. Nonetheless, his early work was not well-received due to a movement in the 1980s away from the term "Coloured" and recognition of this racial category as stemming from white supremacy during the apartheid era. Adhikari (1999, 2005, 2006, 2009) provides a thorough, social constructionist approach to Coloured history in South Africa. His insights therefore ground my assertions regarding Coloured identity resilience in this thesis.

Adhikari (2005) asserts that racial oppression indeed followed a discernible path toward "intensifying segregationism and an erosion of the Coloured people's civil rights in the twentieth century" (p. 1). After the abolition of slavery and the independence of the Khoisan (1828/1838), Coloureds were aligned with Blacks regarding socioeconomic issues and even in terms of a shared culture in being on the lowest wrung within the Cape society. Adhikari (2005) contends that the mineral revolution and the fierce competition for jobs and crowded cities, in the latter part of the nineteenth century caused divisions amongst labourers, and that Coloureds were seen to "come into their own" at that time, along with "accultured" (p. 3) Africans, both asserting their difference from other non-whites to gain relative privilege in what was a very competitive environment.[17] Coloureds however, preferred closer assimilation with Whites given their related background and

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[17] Also see Beinart and DuBow, 1995; Maylam, 2001; Clark and Worger, 2013.

closer ties to Western culture. By 1910, Coloureds had little representation in parliament while White privilege escalated resulting in Coloured protest parties beginning to rise in response.

Adhikari (2005) sheds light on Coloured protest movements and parties over the past century as often being characterized by "compromise, retreat and failure" (p. 3).[18] He illuminates that although Coloured protest politics was a unifying force for the community, there were members with assimilationist leanings and those who felt this to be the only way for Coloureds to retain their *relative* privilege, given that racial discrimination escalated rather then diminished historically.[19] Aside from the African Political Organization (APO), the first non-white protest party led by Coloureds (Indian Coloureds), the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA) was the only other protest party with staying power and influence within this community.[20]

In this severely racial and stratified society, Adhikari (2005) points out that education was not only perceived by Coloureds as the highest indicator of civilisation, but it was also thought to be the *sure* way to uplift and emancipate the Coloured community and overcome the negative stereotyping they had experienced historically.[21] The TLSA, therefore, became the primary representative organization of Coloured protest

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[18] The political aims of Coloured protest politics were recommendations for change within the racialized society, to air grievances, fears, Coloured representation and to act as a unifying force.

[19] Relative privilege meant (inferred) many things: not being relegated to the level of Blacks, retaining more favorable employment and some voting rights.

[20] The APO (1910-1940) was the first, Coloured protest party (all non-whites) which notably promoted the formation of the ANC. Other parties came and went. The APO and TLSA had the most staying power/influence.

[21] Coloureds were enamoured with Europeans, who were thought to display the height of civilization, refinement and respect, all sought- after traits.

politics after the dismantling of the long-standing APO in 1940, demonstrating how highly regarded education was and how influential teacher politics became.[22] This party managed to gain support by revitalising Coloured identity, creating solidarity amongst the elite and educated, addressing the moral and political predicament of the Coloured community and supporting the desire to retain as much of their previously held *privilege* as possible (Adhikari, 2005).[23] Additionally, by cooperating with the church and state and tolerating a lesser status relative to Whites, Coloureds were able to safeguard their intermediary status, above Blacks, so as to protect the concessions and reforms they hoped for in the early part of the century (Adhikari, 2005).

Adhikari (2006) contends that mixed- race South Africans were exceptionally susceptible to" negative stereotyping within a mindset which was increasingly informed by racist and segregationist assumption" (p. 142). Aside from being continually stigmatised, they were held in a position separated from either end of the racial binary. Adhikari (2005) asserts that Coloured identity came about and was reinforced through the "binary logic of a European racist ideology" (p. x). Additionally, he illuminates that although segregation and apartheid "restricted, reinforced and manipulated" (p. x) how Coloured identity was expressed, inevitably it did not "determine" (p. x) it. In line with the research within this thesis, Adhikari (2005) highlights that no matter how harsh or

[22] Coloured protest parties often had accompanying newspapers such as the *Torch* (used by both the APO and later NEUM) while the TLSA had the *Educational Journal*. These publications kept Coloureds abreast of detrimental changes within politics and the wider society, enlightened community members unable to receive access to equal education, spread the political agenda of the party while also as a platform for airing grievances and information sharing (Adhikari, 1993).

[23] Adhikari (2005) notes that this "social experience" and "world view" was largely "of the Coloured petite bourgeoise" (p. 79).

changing the racial dictates, Coloured identity seems not to have been significantly altered. Aside from Coloured history and complicity, he draws attention to four core principles which have influenced Coloured identity: assimilationism, intermediary status, derogatory stereotyping and marginality. Adhikari (2005) suggests that these influences are responsible for certain manifestations of resilient character traits amongst Coloureds. The four core principles are discussed below.

ASSIMILATIONISM

Adhikari (2005) discloses that the Coloured elite in large part favoured assimilation with Whites. Coloureds were found to embrace a rationale that the numerous hurdles they faced historically were not permanent and could be overcome by "hard work … needed to earn acceptance through struggle" (p. 9). Explaining further, he highlights that Coloureds held liberal values which were humanitarian and believed that people can improve their lot in life and acquire refinement/civility with education playing a vital role. He astutely draws attention to other Coloured tendencies such as their attempt to live according to Western bourgeoise culture and being devoutly religious, especially their belief that all humans are equal in God's eyes. Another aspect of the Coloured desire to assimilate with Whites (preferably British Whites) is demonstrated in their detachment from or the shame involved with anything associated with Blacks.

Adhikari (2005) sheds light on Coloured assimilationist tendencies as their central, characteristic feature, appropriately contending that it is rather "a striving versus a

tendency" (p. 11). He asserts that having their value as citizens acknowledged, especially if likened to an association with Whites or more so the achievement of such an affirmation, was something to strive for within the Coloured community, especially amongst the Coloured elite. According to Adhikari (2005), Coloured intermediary status resulted from the legalized, racial categorisation which existed during the apartheid era contending that it was the defining reason for Coloureds to assert their relative privilege given that race and privilege were intimately bound together in South African society.

INTERMEDIARY STATUS

The Coloured position within the racial hierarchy of South African society meant that they were sandwiched between the majority Blacks and dominant minority Whites (Adhikari, 2005). Drawing attention to the term *bruin mensa* (brown people), used to describe Coloureds and used as a self description exemplifies their intermediary position and acceptance of it. Maintaining their relative privilege, having minority status, being weak politically and dreading the possibility of being downgraded to the status of Blacks all strengthened the Coloured resolve for exclusivity and encouraged a segregationist approach to Blacks. Their daily expressions of associations with whiteness affirm this; obsession with keeping their hair *tame*, compulsive hair straightening, the lightening of skin, manner of speech were indicators of white culture and wealth. However, at the same time, there was shame surrounding any association with Blacks (or dark) or any personal association with Africans. Furthermore, Coloureds often demonstrated bigotry toward

non-whites or even “darker” Coloureds. An astonishing example of a Coloured woman’s reference to Africans exemplifies this:

> “And a Kaffir, even if he wears a golden ring, still remains an ape… They have nothing, they say they have a culture, they don’t they’re raw”: They say we brown people are mixed masala, but we brown people are closer to white people than they are to black people. Because our culture and the white people‘s culture are the same” (p. 12)

Adhikari (2005) goes further, calling this reverence to Whites, the “accommodation” (p. 12) of racist policies and the attempt to maintain any level of privilege, an example of “slave mentality” (p. 12). Adhikari (2005) highlights that central to their own image of self, exists the reality that throughout their history, Coloureds were generally subjected to an ambiguous acceptance, exclusion and derogatory stereotyping.

DEROGATORY STEREOTYPING

Adhikari (2005, 2006) and other Coloured scholars agree that derogatory labelling and jokes have been unduly directed at Coloureds (Erasmus, 2000; Sonn, 2013). Citing Erasmus (2000), he expands that Coloureds are referred to in undesirable terms with terminology such as “lack”, “taint” or “remainders” (p. 13). In a shocking example of the negative associations directed at Coloured, he revealed that in 1983, Prime Minister de Klerk’s wife Marika made this public statement:

> “The definition of a coloured in the population register is someone that is not black, is not white and is also not an Indian, in other words, a no-person. They are the left overs. They are the people that were left after the nations were sorted out. They are the rest.” (p. 13).

Elaborating further, Adhikari (2005) states that the miscegenistic origin of Coloureds caused terms such as *bredie* (a stew), lacking culture and uniqueness (because of miscegny), misfits and being inherently deficient became common inferences or terms attributed to Coloureds (pp. 12-13).[24] Erasmus (2000) revealed that Coloureds are often equated with "immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, untrustworthiness and impurity" (p. 17). Adhikari (2005) notes various undesirable inclinations ascribed to Coloureds such as "gangsterism, drug and alcohol abuse and vulgar behavior" (p. 14). Going further, Adhikari also contends that miscegenistic references were above all, the most hurtful for this community. He correctly argues that Social Darwinism reinforced these notions of deficiency, handicapping Coloureds and causing the internalization of "white racialized values" (p. 14). Surprisingly, these deeply entrenched, negative stereotypes were often uttered by Coloureds toward other Coloureds. Over time, the relentless insults promoted a resignation to their lot in life and to the characterisations they were presumed to have inherited (or tolerated). Adhikari (2005) agrees with Erasmus (2000) that "shame and respectability" (p. 15) are important "defining terms of middle class Coloured experience", while Wicomb (1998) corroborates, illuminating the "multifaceted aspects of shame in connection with the Coloured identity" (p. 101).

Coloureds were regularly and openly shamed and belittled by negative stereotypes stemming from their mixed ancestry and eventually they began to take on many of the traits of their oppressor which Adhikari (2005) refers to as "white mindedness" (p. 11) Nevertheless, Adhikari (2005) does not see Coloureds as wholly victimized, stating that

[24] The bredie reference is used about and within the Coloured community, related to Coloured racial hybridity (Adhikari, 2005, p. 12).

their predicament is "a catch 22 somewhat of their own making" (p. 15). To defend their relative privilege, they separated themselves from Africans or the Indigenous and made known their *partial* descent from Europeans. Hiding their association with Indigenous or African ancestral connections, yet readily emphasizing their "White" roots is a common Coloured trait. Even their language, Afrikaans is seen in a negative light. Afrikaans was considered a "creole language," and "a vulgar patois" (Adhikari, 2005, p. 16). Interestingly, however, their aspiring tendency was not necessarily simply to be White but rather *British* White.

The obvious preference Coloureds have for the British can easily be recognized in their partiality for speaking English over Afrikaans. They also revere indicators of British or European culture.[25] The Dutch were considered the oppressor, while the British were thought to represent the height of high society, education, manners, decency, the epitome of having a higher culture or being more civilised (Adhikari, 2005, 2009). Likewise, to the Dutch, Coloureds were constant reminders of the European fall from grace and thus Coloureds became the source of embarrassment, an "unwanted and unfortunate consequence" (Adhikari, 2005, p. 14) of colonialism. White fear was clearly observable in the numerous amendments made to the already extensive apartheid laws as well as in the introduction of specific, corresponding laws put in place to deal with Coloureds especially racial interrelations (Posel, 2001).[26] Marginality is the last of the core principles Adhikari (2005) contends is an influence on Coloured identity.

[25] Tea time, food preferences, the Anglican religion and generally a more positive attitude toward British versus Afrikaaner culture.

[26] The Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act are examples.

MARGINALITY

Marginality affected the daily lives of Coloureds and remains central to how Coloured identity is socially and politically displayed. According to Adhikari (2005), Coloured marginality stemmed from several factors: their relatively small population (as compared to both Whites and Blacks), the contradictions and ambiguities within their identity, Coloured self perceptions and how negatively they are considered as a social group by the other racial groups. When coupled with a lack of choice and an inability to defend against severe racial oppression and dispossession, Coloureds adopted an opportunistic tendency used to retain what little privilege they had prior to apartheid (Adhikari, 2005). Thus, internalizing White racist values and their lack of political and economic influence because of their marginality, translated into increased feelings of inferiority, fatalism, and shame. Furthermore, lacking influence and political power contributed to their being continually overlooked and not taken seriously. This naturally led to frustration, feelings of isolation, self questioning and self disparaging tendencies, resignation to their plight and what they were instructed to do as also discussed by numerous scholars (DuBois, 1903; Fanon, 1963, 1967; Adhikari, 1993, 2005, 2006, 2009; Posel, 2001; Kane, 2007; Petrus, 2012). Helplessness, striving, deferring to whites and becoming opportunistic to retain what little they had or to ally with their oppressor are therefore additional Coloured tendencies (Venter, 1974; Adhikari, 2005).

Another source integral to an understanding to the Coloured South African and immigrant experience is Sonn (2013), a more recent scholarly reference.

Sonn (2013) presents Coloured immigrant interview data, reflecting similar sentiments and experience to those found within this thesis. However, his research is based on the life narratives of Coloured immigrants who settled in Australia. He highlights similar influences which shaped Coloured identity, draws attention to the ancestral and historical silencing resulting from a history of settler colonialism, addresses the every-day trauma experienced during apartheid, emphasizing the shame and ambivalence related to being Coloured and the emigrant's diasporic experience.[27] He also draws from personal experience as a Coloured immigrant. Although Sonn's (2013) insights are grounded on liberation and psychosocial theory and are not specifically about the Coloured emigrant experience and identity resilience, it was fascinating to see that the narratives presented often mirrored those within my informant's: sentiments, phrasing, silenced topics, identity issues, insecurities and the complexity and contradictions of Coloured identity. However, given that the Coloureds in Sonn (2013) left South Africa over a decade after the informants in this thesis, coupled with their emigration to Australia, resulted in differences in experiences.[28] Venter (1974) is a necessary inclusion as this book provided the first documented evidence I had seen on Coloured South Africans in 1982 and provided the impetus and inspiration for this research today.

Venter (1974) is the only comprehensive book, written during the apartheid period, that centers on matters related to Coloured South Africans. Venter (1974) refers to

[27] Sonn's writing stems from an interest in psychosocial and liberation theory and the desire to account for silenced knowing and trauma associated but not fully explored related to Coloureds and their Apartheid experience (Chapter 7).

[28] Sonn's use of narrative data from informants who emigrated to Australia, a country with more overt racialization and categorization of non-whites as Blacks, was not the experience of those who came to Canada. Multiculturalism was becoming the norm in Canada resulting in differing experiences for Coloureds related to acceptance, belonging and identity construction.

Coloureds as “soft-spoken and reticent” (Prologue), compliant, misunderstood and a vibrant community who were maligned, “vilified and used as pawns” (Prologue) throughout South African history, separated from the rest of South Africa and whose plight was undoubtedly a consequence of history. Part Four is a relevant section, containing information on Coloured emigration as well as a few pages that provide a glimpse into Coloured adjustment in Canada aligning with the life narratives herein.[29]

SOUTH AFRICA’S RACIAL ORDER

Maylam’s (2001) study is a concise and thorough summary of the various forms of racial orders South Africa employed throughout its history. By examining the growth, dynamics and periodization of South Africa’s racial order, Maylam presents a thorough overview of South Africa’s history and was invaluable to an understanding of how such a brutal form of institutionalized racism emerged, affected the non-white population and was sustained in South Africa. Posel (2001) provides a thorough exploration of race, racial categorisation and apartheid while addressing the implications for non-whites in South Africa.

Posel’s (2001) in-depth paper approached race as habitual, stemming from assumptions and experiences, reflected within narratives and opinion and “deeply

[29] A little- known documentary also affirmed my positioning regarding the resilience of Coloured identity, *I’m not Black I’m Coloured: Identity Crisis at the Cape (2009).* The findings in this documentary verify and demonstrate identity traits and leanings as outlined by Adhikari (2005) such as silencing, passivity, derogatory stereotyping, shame, intermediate status, how marginality affects identity and results in shame, inferiority, generational trauma, assimilationist tendencies and generally being unaccepted by both Blacks and Whites.

embedded in the social fabric", of South Africa (p. 75). She aptly denotes race as the "fundamental organizing principle for the allocation of all resources and opportunities" (p. 58). Apartheid was the system promising "heightened discipline, regulation and surveillance" (p. 60) and was not so much a well organized blueprint, but rather a framework for Afrikaaner, white supremacy (p. 75). Posel clearly outlines the causative factors which guided Afrikaaner thinking: a fervent religious belief in Afrikaaners being the *chosen* people- the need for order both racial and social - unwavering support by purist racial thinkers relentlessly seeking an Afrikaaner victory in South Africa after what was considered a history of undue hardships and perhaps most importantly, "white fear" (p. 73). Although this article is largely based on the generalized, "non-white" experience, Posel (2001) does focus on issues facing Coloureds which are in line with the findings within this thesis.

Posel (2001) addresses Coloured ambivalent categorisation and corresponding issues while generally discussing the associated privilege (or lack of it) within all spheres of social and political life during apartheid. Commenting on the Population Registration Act, a pivotal legal act which forced the racial categorization of the entire population and was the "locus of privilege and discrimination", (Posel, 2001, p. 56) she asserts that this must be the critical location of reparation, to undo the damage caused and establish equity. Posel (2001) specifically refers to the race classification of Coloureds as employing a "close reading" (p. 71) of "sociocultural and bodily differences" (p. 62). Given their phenotypic diversity, she draws attention to the often-degrading methods used

by the White government to define Coloured racial categorization.[30] She asserts that the "looseness" (Posel, 2001, p. 63) and vagueness of racial classification and the accompanying laws, was "key to their effectiveness as instruments of racialization" (p. 63), especially in the case of Coloureds. She highlights that the Population Registration Act (1950) gave complete "legal authority to the weight of social prejudice" (p. 63). Posel's (2001) research is critical to a more comprehensive understanding of apartheid and the enduring impact it had on the non-white racial experience. Now that we have discussed relevant background information, we turn to the theoretical frameworks which ground this thesis.

SETTLER COLONIALISM

Although the principal motives of European expansionism in the 17th-19th century included economic and exploratory gains, political and religious motivations, as well as conquest, some scholars (Wolfe, 2001; Verancini, 2010; Lefevre, 2015) identify characteristic patterns and similarities in *certain* colonial holdings where settlers were present regardless of where they were located throughout the world. Although academic contestation continues over the structure and context of settler colonialism, Wolfe's (2001, 2006) research makes him a foremost authority on settler colonialism. His research demonstrated the very complex phenomenon of white supremacy and race, and the

[30] Some of the many methods used to classify Coloureds included: examining hair texture, pencil in the hair test, checking skin pigmentation on hands/palms/feet/genitalia, examining size, length of nose, lips, height of cheekbones. One's social habits, manner of speech, preferences for food and drink, friends, associations, sports and other criteria were all used to determine race classification (Posel, 2001).

hidden agenda of settlers: land acquisition, indigenous elimination and exploitation, permanent residency and the resilience of structures, core themes distinguishing settler colonialism from other forms of colonialism.[31]

Wolfe (2001) examines how European regimes negatively impacted Indigenous populations in countries like Australia, Brazil, United States and South Africa. He emphasizes the fundamental criteria and actions which contributed to the establishment of white supremacy, its resilience and the maintenance of wealth, primarily in Australia. Wolfe (1999) and Verancini (2010) identify South Africa as an example of a settler colonial state.

Land, Labour and Eradication

Indigenous populations were perceived as standing in the way of settlers and *their* land while equally considered as a threat to settler existence. Emphasizing the "structural complexity of settler colonialism" (Wolfe, 2001, p. 388), Wolfe (2006) contends that access to land, not race, was the primary motivation for the annihilation of the Indigenous. The elimination of the Indigenous, was therefore considered necessary to take possession of their land. Thus, the Indigenous were typified as abhorrent and as hindering state sovereignty. Land acquisition was an essential agenda amongst settlers. This process is therefore considered dynamic wherein "exogenous and *others* progressively disappear" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 387). Such was the plight of the Indigenous

[31] Other forms of colonialism includes imperial, exploitation, surrogate and internal. Wolfe (1999, 2001, 2010) primarily based his research on an Australian model however he also included regions such as Brazil and the United States. His work also often references South Africa.

communities in South Africa for example the Khoi, San and Nama. Consequently, the agenda of settler colonialism became the eradication of the native populations achieved through various, characteristic methods including: genocide, imprisonment, containment, expulsion, biocultural and historical erasure (Wolfe, 2001, Coombes, 2006). Dozens of battles and wars between colonizers and the Indigenous peoples, drove groups of Khoi, San and Nama north and east, caused Indigenous enslavement, genocide, cattle and land thievery, and the emergence of a sizeable mixed -race population in South Africa (Adhikari, 1993, 2005, 2010; Maylam, 2001; Clark and Worger, 2013; Thompson, 2014). Wolfe (1999) exposed the concept of "terra nullius", opportunely perceived as land that was "there for the taking" (p. 869). Moreover, he described the settler colony as "a land-centred project" (Wolfe, 2001, p. 391) where land expropriation is based on terra nullius and involves
"permanent settlement" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 869) by the colonizer. The acquisition of land was accomplished through the imposition of colonial beliefs, combined with legal control and force (Wolfe 2006). Wolfe (2006) and Cavanaugh and Verancini (2010) emphasize that regardless of the intention to exterminate or displace the Indigenous, before eliminating them, settlers first exploited their know-how and labour. Wolfe (2001, 2006) brings forward that the "come to stay" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388) goal of settler colonists was demonstrated in various strategies employed to permanently remain in the new location and to declare control over Indigenous land.

Permanent Residency

The settler's intent to stay was exhibited further in their desire for immediate

independence from the colonial homeland and their "reproduction and possession" (Belich, 2010, p. 2) in the new location. Although Wolfe (2001, 2006) and Verancini (2010) stress that territoriality is the central component of settler colonialism, they also agree that a discerning feature of this colonial community is the unbridled intention to make their homes in this new location, on a permanent basis. Although settler colonialism is premised on exogenous domination, LeFevre (2015) and other scholars (Wolfe, 2001, 2006; Verancini, 2010) highlight that only settler colonists, endeavour to replace the original population(s) with a new settler society, typically from the colonial metropole and to separate from any sovereign interference (p.1). The settler drive for self determination and their yearning to control the local population economy, of their desired region, is distinctive and collectively embraced by settlers (Verancini, 2010).

Verancini (2010) stresses that settler politics are corporate in nature, focusing on political power rather than sovereignty and he, along with other scholars (Balandier, 1951; Prochaska, 1990; Wolfe, 2006), all assert that this must be recognized as having a specific arrangement or motivation. Coombes (2006) highlights the existence of a new nation created by the settler and the colonized, based on their shared experiences, reveals that the regime is somewhat disguised from what it truly is: one of violation, genocide and discrimination against those standing in the way of the settler agenda (pp. 1-2). South Africa and other countries (Australia, New Zealand, Torres Straits and Canada) are known to have undergone similar, colonial experiences. Based on staunch religious and ideological beliefs within the Dutch Reformed Church, the Dutch felt that they were the *chosen* people, sent to South Africa to thrive and to conquer the local peoples. Their engagement in land and cattle thievery and their refusal to allow the Indigenous access

to critical water supplies are fitting examples. Notably, the resilience of the settler colonial structures continues to contribute to the ongoing political, social and cultural plight of the Indigenous and mixed-race populations evident in present day South Africa (Wolfe, 1999; Verancini, 2010; Cavanaugh, 2016).

Resilient Structure

Wolfe (2001, 2006) is first to refer to the settler take over not merely as an event, but as "a structure", thereby shedding light on the resilience of this form of colonialism. Indicative of the situation in South Africa, Wolfe (2006) found that the persistence of settler colonialism's far-reaching consequences endures and can be recognized in the ongoing persistence of factors such as: poverty, lack of leadership, refusal to accept Indigenous rights, loss of culture and language, increased infighting, disease, racial differentiation, exploitation and displacement.[32] Additionally, Wolfe (2001) sheds light on the settler emphasis on differentiation by negation and the cross-cultural history of miscegenation. He analyses these policies while also discusses miscegenation as a form of eradication. The case of the mixed race "Coloureds" is a classic example of this.

Particularly important to this thesis is Wolfe's (2001) findings on race as a regime of difference which he contends distinguishes dominant groups from groups initially encountered in colonial settings. Given the benefit/disadvantage of each local group to the settler endeavor, Wolfe (2001) discusses the different methods colonists employed in their dealings with non-whites. He highlights that blacks were not treated the same as

[32] Also see Belich (2010) and Verancini (2010).

Indigenous peoples because they were a source of available labour and therefore invaluable to the maintenance of the economic success of the colony, colonists and the motherland (Wolfe, 2001). However, numerous scholars (Wolfe, 2001, 2006; Coombes, 2006; Verancini, 2010, 2011; Kauanui, 2016) attest to the Indigenous and the settler ultimately co-constituting each other. Coombes (2006) however, appropriately draws attention to the term *settler,* highlighting that the word itself is somewhat "deceptively benign" (p.2) and that its *tame* sound disguises the brutal, inequitable and genocidal crimes committed against the Indigenous. Wolfe's (2001) ideas about inclusion and the importance of the concept of miscegny is invaluable to the discussion of Coloureds.

Wolfe's (2001) references to miscegenation are vitally pertinent to this thesis given the origins of the Coloured focus group under discussion and the ways that their identity construction and acceptance are often marred by negative inferences/labels associated with miscegny. Wolfe's (2001) inclusion of derogatory associations related to miscegenation align with matters concerning opinions of Coloureds, Coloured identity and feelings of self worth (expanded within this thesis in later chapters). Therefore, miscegenation can be viewed as a "key operator" (Wolfe, 2001, p. 890) and method of "statistical extermination" (p. 890). Mixed-bloodedness is not regarded as acceptable but rather thought of as a threat to white racial purity (Wolfe, 2001, p. 890). Coombes (2006) and Verancini (2010) concur with Wolfe's (2001) assertion that spatial removal and "sociocultural assimilation" (p. 890) are recognized methods of eradication. However, Coombes (2006) notes that even though settler colonial states may appear similar, what differentiates each is the colonial relationship with the Indigenous peoples therein,

including phenomena such as “resistance, containment, appropriation, assimilation, miscegenation or attempted destruction” (Coombes, 2006, pp. 1-2). Wolfe (2001) references Coloured South African’s as filling an “interstitial” (p. 904), “barrier category” (p. 904), strictly separating Coloureds from Whites and Blacks as a category which assisted in giving colonists the confidence they needed to keep their racial purity intact and avoid the threat of their own eradication. An important observation was the awareness that Coloureds were a distinct category, a stand-alone group neither Black nor White, not an *admixture* of Black and White, or White and any other non-white group (Wolfe, 2001; Posel, 2001; Adhikari, 2005).

Racialization and diasporic movement are concomitant factors of settler colonialism. These associated by-products of settler colonialism are surveyed below and are suitably fitting this thesis topic.

RACIALIZATION

Racialization refers to “the ascription of an ethnic or racial identity to a relationship, practice or group that did not formerly identify as such” (Fassin, 2011, p. 422). Apartheid is the archetypical example of a legally enforced racial system based on racialization. Its enduring impact on the Coloured experience is demonstrated in the identity resilience of many diasporic members. The use of racial categories to define a person or group is contentious as race has remained an indefinable concept.

Numerous scholars (Fanon, 1967; Guillaumin, 1995, Maylam; 2001; Fassin,

2011) have tackled the elusive concept of race, attempting to pin down an accurate delineation, while also recognizing the strong influence of scientific notions. Variances between and within academic disciplines regarding the meaning and interpretation of race exist and are often passionately contested (Omi, 1986; Goldberg, 1993; Malik, 1996; Maylam, 2001). Maylam (2001) emphasizes the importance of an historical analysis to understand how racial categories emerged. Racial formation theorists Omi and Winant (1986) explain that the use of race as a tool to define and label groups of people is a modern socio-historic phenomenon wherein certain racial categories "are given expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded" (p. 4). South Africa's colonial history, apartheid and the case of Coloureds are prime examples.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as the sciences and social sciences emerged and colonialism was expanding, biological determinism circulated and was embraced by those keen to substantiate white racial superiority by integrating "racial differences to physical or biological differences" (Fassin, 2011, p. 420).[33] Hence racialization can be seen as a social construct with a social reality that supports specific forms of power relations that are part of a history of oppression in many parts of the world (Kane, 2007; Riggs, 2008; Fassin 2011). Expanding, Omi and Winant (1986) assert that these racial categories are determined by political, economic and social forces.

[33] Social Darwinism gained acceptance in Europe wherein cranial capacity theories developed, ethnological exhibitions of human specimens and parts were often on display at exhibitions of "exotic" peoples from colonial holdings (Barnum Human Exhibition, 1900s World's Fair, Nubian Exhibit). These shows typically contrasted cultural differences between Europeans and "primitive" peoples.

Mills (1992) asserts that racialization was politically created and has a political character wherein "white supremacy is the unnamed political system which has made the world what it is today" (p.1). He identifies this form of political discrimination as "a racial contract" (p. 3). Fanon (1967), Maylam (2001) and Kane (2007) view racialization as an "organizing principle" of society which is co-constituted with class and "dialectically co-produced as a racial and economic order" achieved through differentiating and excluding the "other" (pp. 7, 10; pp. 4-5; p. 5). Fanon (1963, 1967) considered race an historical construction that was both relational and intersectional.

Fanon (1963, 1967) and Maylam (2001) view differentiation as producing characteristic "spatial barriers between rich (white) and poor (non-white)" (p. 355; p. 10). Fanon (1963) outlined that the existence of the "wealthy, white, colonizer" only occurs in relation to the "non-white, poor, colonized" (p. 110). Kane (2007) draws attention to Fanon's interpretation that the inferiority of the colonized only comes into being "through the other" (p. 356) which then gives rise to structural consequences. However, as Kane (2007) notes, Fanon (1963) went further, noting that the judgement of human worth and esteem reveals that when human comparison is produced, a sense of inferiority /superiority is created. This results from each seeing the other as what they are "not", due to "racial signification" (Kane, 2007, p. 356). Thus, Fanon (1963, 1967) understood that difference is revealed and the "devaluation associated with difference" (p. 110) should therefore be understood as historically constructed and recognized in the "epidermalization of inferiority" (p. 11).

Kane (2007) highlights Fanon's (1967) concept of "skin pigmentation" (p. 11) becoming infused with a hierarchical connotation, in the colonial world. Riggs (2008)

asserts that racialized differences are learned through contrasts. The "racial *other* has race" (p. 3), while the white *self* is not racialized. Fassin (2011) also emphasizes Fanon's findings, that the body becomes perceived as "the site of the racial experience" (p. 420) yet he considers historical association of the body and race as fundamentally connected, taken for granted or as Posel (2001) and Hoyt Jr. (2016) contend, habitual. From these perspectives, race can be recognized as deeply embedded, and that this inner connection between the psyche and the social reveals that experiences of racism (racial inferiority) are felt and impact lived social and economic life (Fassin, 2011; Posel, 2001; Hoyt Jr, 2016). Fanon (1963, 1967) and others discuss the "materiality" (Riggs, 2008, p. 3) of race and the role of discourse.

Kane (2007) citing Fanon (1963, 1967), and Riggs (2008) draw attention to race being unable to exist prior to its "materialization" (p. 357; p. 3). Riggs (2008) emphasizes that the materializing of race is done to "legitimate, perpetuate and maintain white dominance" (p. 3) thus "bodies become markers of race to legitimate power, hierarchy, social worth and the subjectification" (p. 3). Fanon (1967) perceived language as the integral system through which race travels and becomes internalized, especially the concept of inferiority (p. 11). Racist propaganda, institutions such as schools, churches, the criminal justice system and language were all alternative systems of power put in place by colonial forces, used to legitimize white supremacy and to eradicate and replace the traditional systems (Indigenous) of the colonized (Kane, 2007; Fanon, 1967). Although scholars Omi and Winant (1994) are formative theorists communicating and

debating the concept of racialization, Fassin's (2011) research and conclusions regarding racialization fit very well with this thesis.

The process of racialization is generally accepted as resulting from a relationship of domination wherein an ascribed identity is thrust on to *others,* to maintain domination.[34] In time, the racialized group may begin to identify as ascribed, often embracing the ascribed identity. The racialized are robbed of "possible alternative identifications" (Fassin, 2011, 423) and are subjected to judgement which is typically negative, involving "disqualification and stigmatization" (Fassin, 2011, p. 423). This internalization of race however, reinforces it. Fassin (2011) maintains that more focus is needed on "how bodies become racialized" and "how race becomes embodied" (p. 421) recognizing that the body was both "signifier" and "ultimate evidence" (p. 420) of race. Consequently, the racial experience is not intellectual, rather *felt* and is a form of "symbolic subordination", "an act of domination" (Fassin, 2011, p. 425).

Fanon's (1963) used the "racial optic" (p. xiii) to analyse the colonial experience. His racial, self-identification as a black man became more then merely a consequence of his encounter with white people, but specifically with "the little white boy who labels him a Negro, not only an exotic curiosity but also a frightening creature" (p. 422):

> "Look Mama! See the Negro! I'm frightened!" Now, they are beginning to be afraid of me. I made up my mind to laugh myself to tears, but laughter had become impossible. (p. 94)

[34] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racialization, n.d.

Fassin (2011) describes this as "condition and experience" (p. 430). He astutely directs us to think further, not in terms of the *body* but rather *embodiment* and *racialization* rather then *race* (p. 421).[35] He points out that racialization occurs when the "racial schema" (Fanon, 1967, p. 11) takes over the body thus revealing ascription to be "the foundational act through which racialization is produced," (Fassin, 2011, p. 421) the enforcement of difference. He then asserts that by ascribing skin colour, two racial subjects develop, "the person assigned to his blackness and that of the one who assigns it, revealing his whiteness" (p. 422). Riggs (2008) notes that the racial other has race, while the *white* self is not marked with race. DuBois' (1903) reveals that essential to discrimination is how others observe you, not how you picture yourself. Riggs (2008) agrees, explaining that racialized systems are based on the concept of self and other "marked by a particular way of viewing." (p. 4). How this translates to the lived experience is vital to understanding the negative implications for the racialized person such as the case with Coloureds, in South Africa. Dubois (1903), Fanon (1963, 1967) and Fassin (2011) offer stellar examples of the impact of racialization on non-whites. These findings will be used to examine the life narratives herein.

DuBois (1903) notion of "double consciousness" (p. 2), is yet another layer within the virulence and complexity of racialization and remains an important insight relevant to non-white (Coloured) identity. These early findings explain the damage to the self image caused by racialization. DuBois (1903) found that the racialized person becomes caught in an inner conflict created by the difficulty of reconciling their own identity given their

[35] Fassin (2011, p. 421) directs us to also see Csordas (1994) and Miles (1989).

repeated attempts to demonstrate the best portrayal of self (p. 3). This inner conflict then leads to feelings of failure as the racialized person is unable to express their true self, resulting in a more damaged self-image. DuBois'(1903) conclusion is that white prejudice produces "self-questioning, self-disparagement, and a lowering of ideals" (p. 6) in the non-white recipient. Citing Bourdieu (2000), Fassin (2011) highlights that racialization "exerts a form of symbolic violence upon those who are ascribed" (Fassin, 2011, p. 423). Consequently, racialization can not be simply stated and remains elusive to those who have not been subjected to it. Racial othering is a complex and enduring phenomenon exemplified fittingly in the identity resilience of diasporic Coloureds. Aside from racialization, diasporic movement is also concomitant to settler colonialism and has a long- lasting impact on identity:

> People whose sense of identity is centrally defined by collective histories of displacement and violent loss cannot be "cured" by merging into a new national community(Clifford, 1994, p. 307).

MIGRATION AND DIASPORIC MOVEMENT

Many scholars (Gilroy, 1994; Clifford, 1994; Butler, 2001; Cohen, 2008a) attest to changes in the modern world affecting the intricacy and meaning of diaspora thus necessitating a broadening or refining of the definition and features, to appropriately address its legitimacy, classification and applicability, in more recent times. This refinement of the meaning of diasporic movement has allowed for a more accurate understanding of the causes of recent human migrations. The dispersal of Coloured South Africans during the apartheid era has typically been considered an emigration.

Reviewing the scholarly findings on diasporic movement allows for a more accurate depiction of the Coloured emigration at this time and the related implications for the individuals involved.

Clifford (1994), like Butler (2001) and Cohen (2008) reiterates that Safran's (1991) classical model of diaspora is generally accepted as a thorough framework for assessing diaspora. Safran (1991) stipulates that the following should *largely* hold true to define a diasporic movement: 1. dispersion from an original area to at least two outlying places, 2. individuals within the displaced group preserve a "memory, vision or myth" (Clifford, 1994, p. 304) about the original homeland, 3. a belief by the displaced that they will not be wholly accepted by the host country, 4. that there will be a return to the ancestral home when the time is appropriate, 5. commitment by the displaced group exists to maintain and restore the homeland and, 6. group consciousness and solidarity are significantly defined through the continued relationship with the homeland (Clifford, 1994).

Clifford (1994), Butler (2001) and Cohen (2008) refine the delineation, adding to the definition and implications. Emphasizing that diaspora is not merely about transnationality and movement, Clifford (1994) indicates that it may also involve political struggle, particularly when people are displaced. His portrayal of diasporas as being entwined in "powerful global histories" (p. 302) involving resistance, adaption, suffering and displacement is particularly relevant to the focus group under consideration. Butler (2001) highlights that having knowledge of the trauma or unusual situation related to the distinct crisis in the homeland which caused the diaspora, can indicate the level and type

of violation experienced by the individuals within that dispersal. Cohen (2008) contends that there is an implication "of victimhood at the hands of cruel oppressors" (p.1). Gilroy (1994) points to the "authoritarian association" (p. 207) related to the movement which he calls "forced" (p. 207). Clifford (1994) refines the definition further highlighting that diasporic movement is indicative of "longer distances, longer separation and separation from homeland by vast oceans" (p. 307). Butler (2001) adds that the following should be present: a two- destination minimum (after dispersal), a significant number of people migrating from a similar ethnoracial community, and a connection to the homeland whether actual or imagined (p. 194). She stresses the importance of understanding that *any* group leaving its homeland in considerable numbers "differs dramatically from individual or small group emigration" (p. 199). Gilroy (1994) adds that such a movement is indicative of a "reluctant scattering" (p. 207) and of coercion rather then simply being an unobstructed decision to leave one's homeland. Cohen (2008) indicates the implication of a critical need to *leave* associated with the term, resulting from push factors such as slavery, severe socio-political or racial discrimination, indenture or genocide (p. 16).

Pertinent to this thesis, Butler (2001) asserts that a diasporic movement can occur voluntarily or by forced movement such as migration, a refugee movement, exile, self exile, an ethnic conflict or due to a natural disaster (pp. 201-202). Whether real or fictitious, there should exist an enduring belief in the possibility of return. There should as well be an aspect of "diaspora consciousness" (p. 208), exemplified in cultural retention, return discourse and attempts at return. Cohen (2008) outlines that certain indicators not only establish the conditions, but reveal the original migration and are

“qualifying adjectives” (p. 16) such as; imperial, labour, trade, victim, or displacement.. Furthermore, he emphasizes the contradictory feelings to home and host country experienced by diasporic peoples and the allegiance felt to home country. Particularly relevant to the life narratives within this thesis are the psychosocial implications of a diasporic movement.

Clifford’s (1994) sentiments are aligned with Said (1979, 1983), Gilroy (1994) and Hall (1999) who draw critical attention to the “defining tensions” experienced by the displaced. (Clifford, 1999, p. 312). Clifford (1999) saw these as exemplified in the unique, lived experiences of diasporic individuals wherein “loss and hope” (ibid), “separation and entanglement” (p. 312) of being here and recollecting being there are continually present. Hall (1999) notes that diasporic individuals are caught in the “binary structures” (p. 228) of “past/present”, “here/there” or “us/them” (p. 228). Echoing Bhabha’s (1999) “third space” (p. 207), Hall (1999) adds that “the past never ceases to speak to us” (p. 228). Bhabha (1999) and others (Fanon, 1967; Said, 1977; Spivak; 1993; Clifford; 1994; Hall; 1990, Wang and Totosy de Zeptnek; 2010) relay the existence of a corresponding hybridization, reflected in the reality of their lived experiences and the intricacies of negotiating these multiple realities and issues at once. Relevant, as well, to this thesis is Clifford’s acknowledgement that diasporic members share the characteristics of “longing, memory and (dis)identification” (pp. 312-313), homesickness and issues with belonging and spirituality. Nevertheless, he adds that they have adaptive traits such as strong survival and improvisational skills and that they exhibit resolute flexibility and hope. He also notes that politics, social status, gender, age and profession additionally

influence identity and experience (p. 312). Clifford (1994) focused on the female diasporic experience, historically overlooked in discussions on diasporas.

Clifford (1994) draws attention to the point that diasporic women face more of a demanding and emotional experience regardless of whether they achieve more freedom, independence and agency then they previously had in their homeland. Their challenges are revealed as being augmented by many factors: continued attachment to the "homeland, culture and tradition" (p. 314), the numerous, daily challenges related to the pressures and demands of work and home, maintaining contact with the homeland, dealing with the children, financial issues and negotiating new and enduring forms of patriarchy and an uncertain future. When discussing diasporic movement, immigration, settlement and integration are all concerns and therefore require consideration within this thesis.

By the time Coloureds immigrated to Canada in the 1960s, there had been a change in immigration policy from choosing individuals from *preferred* countries to those with the desired characteristics such as education, age and language (Parai, 1975; Omidvar and Richmond, 2003). It was due to this change in immigration policy which seemed more inclusive (as it was based on a point system, family reunification and the acceptance of refugees), that Coloured South Africans were readily accepted in Canada.

The point system judged applicants on a combination of factors, allotting points based on merit of education, ability to sustain oneself independently or through family, age and location of settlement in Canada (Parai, 1975**).** Immigration inspectors however, have the capacity to make final decisions on cases. At this time, Canada was said to have

become officially “multicultural and anti racist” (Omidvar and Richmond, 2003, p.12), wherein newcomers were encouraged to become citizens in a very reasonable amount of time, thus giving them access to full rights.

Wayland (1997) points out that historically, multiculturalism rose up out of “political bargaining” (p. 12) between the British and French as well as established European communities during and after Canada’s establishment. Wallis, Sursan and Galabuzi, (2001) assert that multiculturalism has successfully masked that Canada is structured on colonization and racialization. Multiculturalism, however, has also been recognized as contributing to a failure to produce the open/ free society, based on equality, that Canada is reputed to possess, while the successful “diversity management” (Chung, 2012, p. 7) of its population also contradicts its worldwide reputation. Canada nevertheless demonstrates a "reality of social exclusion” (Omidvar and Richmond, 2003, p. 12) for its newcomers.

Omidvar and Richmond (2003) assert that an antiracist perspective is essential to overcoming and dealing with the reality of the social exclusion of refugees and racialized immigrants (p. 14). Dua (2005) sheds light on antiracism as premised on an ongoing colonial project and the incapability to acknowledge Canada as a “colonist state” (p. 121). However, at the same time, Indigenous people continue to be overlooked and are still caught in the "choke hold" of colonialism. Bauder (2011) points out that this persists as the “national imagination in a settler society is immigration while denying the ‘ethnic principle’ of territorial belonging” to the Indigenous (p. 517).

Chung (2013) notes that the government of Canada has a "dark history with immigration policy" (p.11) and a history of excluding non-whites. It has a complex history based on a "structural hierarchy of racial inequality" (Wallis, Sursan and Galabuzi, 2010) while it has endeavoured to erase its crimes against the Indigenous. Bohad and Iacovetta (2009) reveal that Canada "portrays itself as enlightened" (Chung, 2012, p. 7) while there remains longstanding racism, restrictions on immigrants and a colonial history. Dua (2005) views Canada as having a "geography of colonization" (p. 122) and embedded racism. She sheds light on how Canada has chosen to deal with racism independently rather then as part of a larger framework of ongoing colonization regardless of the intersection of settlement policies and ongoing colonialization (Dua, 2005, p. 136). Until this is known, all racialized immigrants coming to Canada will remain oblivious to their integral role in prolonging ongoing colonialism.

Lawrence and Dua (2005) assert that Canada's immigration system has failed given the association with Indigenous eradication and racialized immigration. Moreover, they note that "the process of reconstruction of home away from home is premised on ongoing colonization of Indigenous people" (p. 129) which must be recognized as contributing to a modern-day colonial agenda (Lawrence and Dua, 2005). Therefore, although people of colour are agreeably "victims of white supremacy" they are also complicit in it (Chung, 2012, p. 16), as is the case with Coloured South Africans who underwent centuries of brutal, colonial rule which lead to their dispersal.

Dua (2005) notes that people of colour have participated in projects of settlement by being accepted into a land stolen from others who are still here. Their very entry into

this country places newcomers in a colonial relationship with Indigenous people, making them complicit in the continuation of colonization of the Indigenous people, and in "erasing genocide" (Lawrence and Dua, 2005, p. 135). Immigration places both immigrants and Indigenous Canadians in a complex relationship, largely unknown to immigrants who do not see themselves as being intertwined in the ongoing Indigenous plight (Lawrence and Dua, 2005). Canada's immigration policy went from discriminatory (1953 policy) to accepting only the most skilled and educated individuals while its racialized immigration (refugees/displaced persons) has created well documented, collective experiences in poverty, lack of jobs, low education and low employment (Richmond, 1994, 2000)**.** Therefore, by immigrating and attaining freedom and voting rights, immigrants have inadvertently become tied up with negatively affecting First Nations people (Dua, 2005).

Settlement often presents common issues for newcomers related to housing, access to social services, language classes and produces new and often unexpected implications for women, children and family life (Clifford, 1994). The new demands of work (schedules, cost, independence) often creates unanticipated absences from the home, pressures and role changes within the family network which all play an integral role in successful adjustment while having real life implications (Omidvar and Richmond, 2003). Settlement is not simply a matter of adjustment during the formative stages of life in a new country, rather it is now recognized as a life long process for newcomers with several stages of adjustment (Omidvar and Richmond, 2003). Giles (2002) provides a well documented account of the experiences of immigrant Portuguese women which exemplifies the daily issues they faced related to adjustment, integration, language

acquisition, rights, gender inequality and changing roles. The feedback by the informants herein corroborate many of her findings (discussed in later chapters).

Giles (2002), like Clifford (1994) discusses how more complicated and multifaceted the immigration process is for women than it is for men. Overlooked frequently are the issues faced by children of immigrants who frequently find themselves in more challenging situations than before. Parents, for example often work long hours leaving children at home, with older siblings typically having to care for younger siblings and having to assist in the cultural adaption of parents. Omidvar and Richmond (2003) draw attention to the apparent lack of sufficient community- based services which deal with settlement asserting that this is due to the inability of government to recognize the long- term needs/benefits, reflected the lack of adequate funding (p. 8). Qadeer (forthcoming) found that ethnic enclaves can assist in supporting immigrants by facilitating networking and reducing isolationism especially for women and children. However, according to Qadeer, these enclaves can also hinder integration within the broader society and economy. Stemming from many factors, immigration, the selection process, (lack of) settlement and integration policies, racialization and gender, family dynamics are unquestionably affected, and this contributes to additional stress and tension for all those involved (Omidvar and Richmond, 2003; Giles, 2002). Coloureds were found to assimilate well given their cultural similarities to Canadians. Their sought-after skills also allowed for greater economic independence.

The informant narratives below reveal individual experiences and shed light on the unique, Coloured, diasporic identity and the factors influencing its resilience.

CHAPTER 3

LIFE STORIES

Initially my choice of informants centred only on the need to feature similar aged male and female adults, classified as Coloured in South Africa, who immigrated to Canada roughly within the same period (1965-1970). After the passing and illness of my initially intended informants, I was finally able to secure Gavin, a man in his mid sixties who came to Canada as a teenager, Eve (82), a former teacher and, Pieter (90) who was also a former teacher. All three participants came to Canada between 1966-1967. It was critical that all informants had first- hand knowledge of life in South Africa and apartheid, had a familiarity with the political climate at the time, could recall memories of their departure and could relay their experiences of life in Canada. I also wanted to interview individuals who had different careers. Gavin was a skilled labourer while Eve and Pieter were teachers.

GAVIN: THE RELUCTANT IMMIGRANT

> I have a dream sometimes (pause), that I wake up in my bed and its in Albert Rd. Landsdowne [South Africa]. And I'm just that little Coloured boy. And (pause) I was the happiest. So, my whole life here (he is teary and stops). I've done what I'm supposed to do. I got a job, work… raised a family. But, there's a hidden part of me…that…I don't belong here.

Gavin and I met unintentionally at an emotional gathering: the funeral of one of my initial informants. A relative of mine introduced us to each other. He was approachable and after a bit of "chatter", I learned that his family had visited us when we were all young, shortly after we had all come to Canada. When the discussion came up about this thesis, he quickly jumped at the chance to be involved. Now 65, and living outside of Toronto, Ontario, he recently retired after a long career as a skilled tradesman.

As we began our interview session, I remember thinking that, like most Coloured South Africans, it was not easy to decipher Gavin's ethnic background. When asked, he disclosed that he was often mistaken as being First Nations or Latin American, then he immediately declared that he was "racially" mixed (this theme is explored further below). Gavin has retained a slight, South African accent only evident at the end of a few words or when he becomes animated. Witty, intense and sincere, this self- professed agitator claims to meet confrontation head on, or rather, he finds that he often runs into conflict with others. Without hesitation, he immediately volunteered that he has a keen ability to detect racial prejudice which others do not see. Gavin was eager to begin the session and to discuss being a Coloured South African immigrant. He disclosed that this was the first time he had spoken about most of what follows.

FAMILY

Gavin is the oldest of three boys. He and his family were from Landsdowne in the Cape Flats, an area just outside of Cape Town, South Africa. His mother was a

hardworking seamstress and his father, a skilled tradesman. Gavin described his family as being from the upper echelon of the Coloured community in South Africa.

Gavin's mother's side reveals typical gaps in ancestral knowledge, not unlike most Coloured families. He relayed that he was told only "bits and pieces" about his extended family and that there were always "certain" members of the family that no one spoke about:

> And that's what bugs me about Coloured people. And not to say that I'm any different. That's what's in us... We ignore certain parts of our family.

He relayed that there were only a few photos, if any, of these individuals and interestingly, he noticed "the photos had been doctored to make the people look lighter". The family photos that he said he had access to were of the "fair" relatives, "with lighter features and a sharper nose." Gavin's maternal side was from the Claremont area. He mentioned that many of his mom's *"*more- fair*"* relatives left South Africa for England, in the early 1960s. Immediately thereafter, he turned the discussion to his father's family, recounting that his paternal grandfather was English and that his grandmother was Dutch, "strictly Dutch. And… we don't know any more!" He describes them as follows:

> …the girls are all White and out of the five boys, two of them, the twins, my dad and his brother, they took Coloured cards. The others stayed White.

Being mischievous and not happy with the answers he was given, Gavin said that he did not hesitate to ask his grandmother or his uncle prickly questions such as:

> When did the ink fall into the milk?

Gavin was told that his great-grandmother was an Irish immigrant who came to South Africa as a young woman. He discloses however, that there was no discussion about his great-grandfather, her first husband, nor were there any pictures:

> … but I said "Where is the picture of his father? You know all the many hundreds of pictures that my grandmother had! There's not <u>one</u> picture of my grandfather? Now, my grandfather was dark, right? We don't look like Irish!
>
> … but now they can't tell me anything about her (first) husband. Then she did marry another guy, a White guy and I *have* a picture of him.

Gavin had a suspicion that his maternal great-grandparents were from St. Helena. This is a common response circulating amongst Coloureds, however, they usually lacked the evidence to support this claim.[36] He surmised from some other pictures that he stumbled upon that 'perhaps' they were Portuguese or Italian:

> So finally, when my mom's sister Dorothy passed away, I got a picture from her, of my grandfather's father. But anyway, this guy looks like a typical (pause) like you've seen pictures of the Italians. He's got a moustache, he's got fairly nice features. OK! <u>This</u> is grandpa P's father, from St. Helena! <u>He</u> married the Irish women!

Interestingly, Gavin chatted about a few details that he knew about St. Helena such as its association with slavery, racial diversity and that Napoleon was imprisoned there. Without hesitation, he divulged that he was aware of the reality that Coloureds experience racism. In fact, he stressed that they even display prejudice toward their own people and

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[36] St. Helena is situated off the west coast of southern Africa. It was a naval station strategically located between Europe, India and the eastern trade route. It was also known as a base for the British slave trade suppression in the Atlantic. Many slaves from Africa, India and the Orient who were housed on St. Helena, and eventually ended up in South Africa. It is also the location of Napoleon's imprisonment and death.

even between family members. Gavin shared a family example involving his father and his grandparents who were so upset that his father wanted to marry someone "darker", his mother. Without hesitation, his father left home permanently. It is noteworthy that it was extremely rare for a Coloured boy to do this, because it was customary for Coloured boys to live with their parents "no matter what!" until they got married:

> It used to bother him that his immediate family got split up and that my grandparents, my dad's parents, never attended his wedding. When he told them who he was marrying, they said "We will <u>not</u> come to your wedding." So, my dad left home.

> My uncle would come to visit us. My mom would never go [to visit his father's family]. I never knew why she never went. Only when we came here to Canada, she told me how my dad's family resented her.

Gavin quickly turned the conversation to discussing expatriate Coloureds. He also revealed:

> Well what can I tell you? As sure as tomorrow is Monday, they'll tell you the White thing that they know about their side!

Gavin's response refers to how common it is for Coloureds to readily relay that they have relatives who are "white". Perhaps an often- inadvertent response, it nevertheless reflects how negative it was to be considered non-white in South Africa and the importance of reinforcing a connection with "whiteness". Gavin dwelled on the fact that many of his family members exhibited prejudice and judgemental behavior, even to other Coloureds and without question toward Blacks and Indians:

> The thing I know is that Blacks were just lesser then them (Coloureds)

> An Indian is beneath us…you don't marry a Malay/Indian, they'll disown you!

Gavin nevertheless confessed that although racial prejudice in Coloureds continues to bother him, he admitted he's guilty of it as well:

> So, ya, it's (pause) hard. And like I say, I tell people, I'm as guilty as anybody else. And that's what that country has left us with.

Gavin also explained that possessing *anything* indicative of a British lifestyle, such as habits and culture or even speaking with a British rather than an Afrikaans accent was admired within the Coloured community. He then disclosed that his own family members were openly enamored with all indicators of *whiteness*, especially those related to British culture:

> My Uncle thought he really was, like (pushes his nose up), the Queen's cousin. Ya, you know…all my mom's Aunties. When you go to their house and uh…especially the one Auntie, everything is completely British. You have to have manners and all this sh**. And they aspired to be like Royalty!

> Cause when you grow up there and you're Coloured, its ingrained into you that the more- White you can be is better. Even in [between] your siblings. People separate siblings, so now we want to be what we're not." We're not accepted.

GROWING UP DURING APARTHEID

Gavin was only fifteen when he left South Africa in 1966. Therefore, many of his memories centred around his school life and friends, prior to leaving. He recounted his school years and spoke of being fond of school. He had very good marks, especially in

history and math. He also spent time conveying that the school curriculum was very one sided, limited to British and Afrikaaner subject matter:

> Typical British. Shakespeare, all the British poets, authors. Dickens! I never knew a South African author. Never ever knew a Black person who wrote a book. A streamlined, British curriculum. We had to learn Afrikaaans.
>
> We were never taught the real history of South Africa.

Gavin added that there was little mention of the Indigenous peoples or Black South Africans, except for the mention of a few wars which might have been fought against Whites such as with Shaka Zulu.[37] Gavin revealed that it was through his own reading and experiences outside of school, especially after he came to Canada, that he learned more about the protest movements in South Africa and other topics which should have been discussed or included in South African history.[38] His school years were not all studious. Gavin admitted to being full of mischief, being thrown out of class often and jokingly, he said that he was "the teacher's pet"! Gavin revealed that in South Africa, Coloured boys typically went to school until they were about sixteen, at which time most looked forward to entering the work force, usually as tradesmen. With a rather streamlined education and control over the school curriculum by the government, dropping out of school at such an early age had long term, negative implications for

[37] Shaka Zulu was the famous and ruthless Zulu warrior and King. He brought together numerous chiefdoms into his kingdom, perfected warring methods especially with the assegai (spear) and shield methods and close proximity fighting. Shaka was generous to Whites, offering land, he admired their technology, military developments and culture however he was also known to be ruthless and expected loyalty and strict training amongst his own people (South African History Online, n.d.).

[38] Topics such as genocide, concentration camps, the involvement of the British in more destructive behavior committed against non-whites than the Dutch, were things he had only read about after emigrating.

Coloureds. Gavin spent time during our sessions recounting those last years just prior to departure for Canada.

The period just prior to leaving South Africa was fondly remembered by my informant. He expressed that he was well liked and had many friends “all over South Africa.” He repeated that living there was the happiest time in his life. However, as favorable as these times were for Gavin, they tended to mask the brutal reality of life under apartheid. Becoming accustomed to a life under surveillance, daily issues with racism and other invasive, apartheid restrictions seems to elude many Coloureds, especially those who left as teenagers. From the feedback during casual conversations with community and family members it is apparent that Gavin is not alone in this.[39] However, he relayed numerous incidents which demonstrated his obvious anger over racism, government policies, close calls with the police and how he took the law into his own hands against Whites. He spoke of a few examples which occurred on trains or at train stations. These were related to the laws governed by the Separate Amenities Act[40]:

> My mom had to walk a mile out of her way just to come back the “right” way to her stop. I was already at the point where I was going out by myself, without my parents. I knew that I couldn’t go here, I couldn’t go there. Being *told* I couldn’t go there. But how it affected me, when I was still living there, was like, oh ya! OK. So, I took a chance [defied the signage] we were caught and told to go to the other side!
>
> When we got off the train, for non- whites…but, the Whites used to use it because it was more convenient! So, the first set of steps, so we took it. So, there was a Black policeman there and as soon as we got off the train and he saw us there he

[39] I have heard many Coloureds say that apartheid did not affect them or that it wasn’t as bad as people say it was. Historical amnesia and contradictory impressions of SA are not uncommon.

[40] The Separate Amenities Act (1953) legally segregated all public spaces and facilities according to race giving apartheid a “public face” as stated by the Apartheid Museum.

> said “No!!” [motions that he ran after them]. The very next day we waited at the top of the steps. We waited for the White kids to come out and then we took it upon ourselves to act out on it, push them out of there because we figured well! This is ours, right?

Gavin admitted that his parents never discussed anything contentious at home and that like many Coloureds, his parents were not political. They never discussed the brutal situation in South Africa during apartheid, therefore, he gravitated to his friend’s parents, some of whom were involved in protest politics. It was through them that he said he was enlightened about the reality of what was going on in South Africa:

> I used to follow some of my friends’ parents who were teachers, and some were involved with the A.N.C. I was aware of, in 1961 when the Blacks called for a General Strike in South Africa and the Coloureds didn’t support them. I remember there was an African man called Robert Sobukwe and that, he was sort of like, <u>more</u> involved than, than Mandela was! Their father got an exit visa to come here and all.

Gavin was a teenager when he left South Africa and although he was aware that apartheid existed, he was not cognizant of how many laws there were, nor the specifics about most of them.[41] He was however, aware of some of the laws directly affecting Coloureds.[42] He described a few of these such as the Group Areas Act and we discussed how they affected his everyday life.[43] Surprisingly, he spoke of the particularly unfair treatment Coloureds endured under apartheid which he felt had been overlooked by most

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[41] Not knowing much about apartheid legislation is common amongst Coloureds. Little was relayed to the public about any specifics of this legislation, especially to non-whites

[42] Gavin spoke of the Group Areas Act, Population Registration and the Immorality Act.

[43] The Group Areas Act (1950) created segregated areas for residence (and work) making it a criminal offense for one racial group to reside or own land designated for another racial group (Thompson, 1990, p. 194; Dyzenhaus, 1999, p. 71).

outsiders. He mentioned forced removals, segregated seating at sport activities, on buses and trains, the intrusion into Coloured marriages and the derogatory stereotyping directed at Coloureds, from all sides White, Coloured and Black. One personal example he recounted exposed the reality of life during apartheid, hidden sadly, within a favorite memory he has with his mother.

Gavin and his mother had a ritual of meeting on Saturdays after her work was over. He recounted that she would order egg salad sandwiches from the lunch counter at Woolworths. He lovingly recalled that they were cut in triangles. Still his favorite today! Then they would go and sit on the bench in an area called the Parade. There, they would chat and eat their lunch. It was their special time together and he looked forward to it each week. It would only be years later that Gavin realized why they always sat where they did. The Woolworth's lunch counter did not allow non-whites to be seated in their establishment. Hearing this was disheartening for me as Woolworth's was a store regularly frequented by Coloureds and spoken of fondly. It was shocking to find out that it was a segregated business. Sadly, when Gavin and I spoke of situations like this, he often made statements such as "you see, that's what that country left us with" or "this is what they did to us". Nonetheless, he also told stories or events which contradicted this:

> …you know what I kinda think? In South Africa, it was better to be a Coloured person, because you knew who you were. Right? That's the devil, what we had to deal with. He told me [the government] "my place is here" and I can be quite happy with that. Don't venture over here, and he's told you that. And if you do go here, well, you suffered the consequence.
>
> So ya, I was well- aware of things …of my place in South Africa.

The concept of "knowing one's place" was an everyday reality for Coloureds. In fact, to

“know your place” is also a common phrase used by Coloureds especially when scolding children, demonstrating how common it remains in the everyday vernacular.

Even though Gavin was aware of the blatant inequality and racism and the unsavory experiences he went through while growing up during apartheid, strangely, he often revealed a peculiar acceptance of (or resignation to) his position in South African society:

> Never angry at that time. Well, we knew the board [apartheid signage] did say “we’re not allowed”.
>
> I used to tell my wife this all the time, blatant racism is better than subtle racism.

THE DREADED DEPARTURE

Some of Gavin’s relatives and his parent’s friends left South Africa in the early 1960s. He relayed that his parents had considered their own options about a year before departing:

> But I think my dad and mom, they applied to go to Australia. Prior to 1966 or whatever, Australia had an All White Policy and it was very rare for Coloured South Africans to go there (pause). To be accepted to go there. But my dad knew somebody here, in Canada. He was like an older brother to my dad. So, my dad wrote to him. He sent my dad some newspapers …got a job before he came here. My dad was a welder/sheet metal worker, skilled trades.

As I watched Gavin’s reaction to this part of the discussion, it was apparent that his memory of the departure is still painful, personally. He clearly remembered the details

and events leading up to the departure, and especially the day they left on the passenger liner, *The Southern Cross*. Gavin's parents were both forty and he and his brothers were fifteen, twelve and nine when they boarded the passenger liner for England before heading to Canada. The actual decision to leave was quite difficult for Gavin and his father. For his mother and brothers however, it seemed much easier.

Gavin's father was torn. In South Africa, he had worked at the same job for decades, with his twin brother. They did everything together and even lived only four doors away, as adults. Going to a new country would mean that he would have no other family members nearby. Gavin's mother on the other hand, had many friends and relatives already in Canada. As a fifteen-year-old, Gavin was not enthused about emigrating. He said that he tried not to think about the move the whole year prior to leaving, until the last few days. Gavin had no hesitation discussing the departure but was unable to disguise the enduring pain it caused:

> The goodbyes were very sad. Me, as tough as I was, we had to board the ship (silence) So, a lot of my friends from school came and ah…I remember the morning (pause, he clears his throat). I still get emotional (he looks out the window, hands clenched, teary eyed) (long pause) and I…uh…looked at Table Mountain getting smaller and smaller (silence) and it...

Both Gavin and I cried during this part of the conversation and it took us both a while to continue with the conversation. Although I asked him about the voyage, Gavin did not spend much time on any details which occurred onboard, nor did he expand on the stop overs in Las Palmas, Canary Islands or in England. With relatives in England, Gavin and his family were fortunate to have some familiar faces waiting for them and a place to stay

for the next week. After this short break, the family boarded *The Empress of the Seas* for the transatlantic crossing and eventually arrived in Montreal, in September 1966.

CHALLENGING FIRST EXPERIENCES

Gavin recounted that even though his family had relatives in Canada who met them on arrival and assisted in their initial adjustment, he made it clear that it was not a smooth transition. He was very unhappy. In fact, he and his father continued to feel this way for years, while his mother and brothers seemed to adjust more easily.

With their arrival in September, Gavin and his brothers were off to school almost immediately. As the oldest, Gavin was expected to go unaccompanied to the new school, register and get himself set up so that he could start classes right away. Gavin remarks with a lot of emotion, that as a fifteen- year-old, in a new country, unfamiliar with the way anything worked and feeling out of place, he found himself in an incredibly difficult and vulnerable position. To make matter worse, he didn't anticipate that the entire school was almost exclusively white. This was something Gavin was not prepared for. The guidance counsellor with whom he met, suggested that with his good marks, he should go into an academic program and that he had to take French. He refused. He wanted to do what all Coloured boys do, to prepare to work as a tradesman. Being adamant about going into a trade, he was willing to move down a grade to pick up preparatory classes rather than to enter the suggested academic program. Although Gavin had overcome the initial hurdle of registering for school, the rest of his school experiences were equally rough.

On the first day of school he was held up at the office over paperwork and consequently was late for class. He confessed to being nervous and intimidated and easily recalled how everything came crashing down on him. He was very scared, unhappy and homesick:

> The door is closed, and I looked through that little window (motions to form a small rectangle) and I say "Man, I can't do this". So, I turned around, went down the hall and went on the bus, home. So, I skipped my very first day of school! I sat in the apartment. I looked out the window and thought, "what am I doing here?"

In this new school of 1200 students, only Gavin and two others were non-white. He repeated that his adjustment was incredibly slow and difficult:

> For the first couple of months I never talked to anybody. I just stuck to myself. I hated this place. All I knew in my head was, how can I get back there."

He acknowledged that even after months of attending school, he continued to feel out of place. He felt alone, without familiar faces and friends and he had no social life. After some time, he learned that there was a soccer team at the school. Gavin loved playing soccer in South Africa and thankfully, he was able to find acceptance amongst the Italian boys at the school who he relayed were also not well accepted by the other students. He admitted, however, that even though the Italian guys were also not accepted, they were a confident, proud group. He admired these qualities and he remembers feeling conflicted by what he had seen in them because Coloureds never banded together like that. This realization made him feel very down. Nonetheless, in his favour, Gavin admitted to having an unexpected attribute:

> I found the best way to overcome that was I was never shy with girls. And, girls over here, they are less prejudiced over here. I had an easier time with girls. So, when you're 16 or 17 and you got a girl friend? Who gives a sh** about anything else!

No matter what, Gavin continued to relay that his adjustment remained problematic. As a young teenager he confessed that he created a façade to hide his vulnerability, his confrontational manner. He felt it served him well. Simultaneously, Gavin's father was also having trouble adjusting to life in Canada. However, they never spoke about it together.

Gavin's father was fortunate to have had a friend who assisted in securing a job for him prior to arriving in Canada. Although positive, this meant that he had to immediately start work, leaving no time to become accustomed to this new environment. Reflecting on things during our discussion, Gavin relayed that in retrospect, he realized that his father must have really suffered immensely, perhaps more than any other family member realized. In Canada his dad was alone. Although he told of many get togethers, organized by his mom at their house, Gavin revealed that his dad did not really enjoy having a lot of company. He also disclosed that his father refused to spend any of his money for the longest time, because he was hoping to return to South Africa one day. Gavin's mom on the other hand adjusted well.

Gavin recounted that his mom was able to get a job quickly and that she continued to be the social butterfly in the family. Having her sisters, some relatives and friends already in Canada helped tremendously with adjustment. Later, she was able to bring her

parents over as well. He discussed that her life was enjoyable. Smiling broadly, he fondly remembered that she always loved to entertain:

> So, my mom used to throw parties all the time. So, they used to dress up, long dresses to a house party! When my mother was alive, my mom's house was like Grand Central station.

Gavin recalled that his younger brothers also seemed to adjust much better then he did. Nevertheless, he confessed that he hardly thought about their wellbeing in those days, since he had his own problems. Even so, he did mention that one of his brothers had a "darker" complexion and he felt that this had an impact initially on his adjustment, at least with being accepted:

> Oh ya, my mom went [to the school] then it clicked, it was the same experience that I had when no one talked to me. Now my middle brother, he never talks much about what happened. Now he's a little more-fair than us. He didn't have to sort of like adjust. They wouldn't look at him so much differently like me or my younger brother. But, we never discussed that so much amongst us.

Gavin often reiterated that life in Canada was challenging. He spent a lot of time on issues he had with racism and confrontation.

LIFE IN CANADA

We briefly discussed that Gavin had a rather short, first marriage and that he has a daughter from this relationship, who remains part of his life. He told me that he met his present wife in the 1970s when he went to Alberta with a friend, at the age of 25, after the breakup of his first marriage. He recounted that his wife was from a Ukrainian, farming family who had always lived in western Canada. She is *very* well liked and does

not have a mean streak whatsoever. She is also kind, objective and always sees the best in people. He said that he is the opposite to her and tells of how she still keeps him in line. After moving back to Ontario and marrying, Gavin and his wife had 3 sons.

Through the years, the couple kept busy and involved with their sons sports' activities, managing teams and taking their boys to various lessons. They clearly worked hard to provide a good life for their family. Their jobs afforded them a good standard of living and a good retirement income. His wife has a job with the school board and Gavin said that his line of work was rewarding and challenging. Nonetheless, during his working years, Gavin admits to encountering numerous issues with co-workers, many of which were racially motivated.

Gavin recounted repeated, contentious incidents centered on prejudicial comments or racial inferences which led to physical confrontations. There were times when he was mistaken for the helper and not the boss and other times when blatant racial comments were hurled at him. He vividly retold at least six incidents which occurred and made mention that he could recount many other racially motivated incidents but chose not to during our interview. Nevertheless, as he reflected on these situations with me, he recognized that it was likely due to the wide diversity of nationalities working near each other, coupled with the obvious shortage of visible (non-white) minorities within his trade, that tensions always seemed to run high at his work place. Regardless, Gavin also recalled many similar incidents outside of work, which he has gone through:

> I just happen to mosey over and there is raspberries, strawberries and fruit and the cashier is posted there. She's "Are you looking for something?!" (In a tone) And here's the S.O.B in me. I looked at her and I say "Ya!" I said, if somebody said,

> "Excuse me, is there something I can help you with?" The tone helps. But like suspecting me! What? Am I like casing the place and I happen to be brown! And, I know things go through people's heads, and now I'm aggressive, hey! I learned that back home already.

Such regular occurrences reinforce to Gavin that racism is alive and well in Canada. This makes him feel very vulnerable. Gavin believed his behavior stems from supressed or vulnerable feelings and inferiority because of his experiences and the normalisation of racism in South Africa. He readily admitted:

> Ya, to think that we have this innate hatred stuck in us, for whatever reason. We don't even know why it's there, other then its drummed into us that you're inferior.

> I will not step over that [line] and put myself in a vulnerable position for someone to slight me…

Gavin communicated that due to the extremely racialized society and the ill treatment of non-white citizens in South Africa, the time he spent growing up there in his formative years, strongly influenced him, making him think that "Unconsciously, it just happens." Although he is still not happy being this way, Gavin repeatedly stated that it was difficult to change "and how can I feel slighted when in my own brain I would do the same thing to a darker person?" What he said bothers him most in Canada is hidden racism. Ironically, he revealed that the situation in South Africa was better because "blatant racism is better then subtle racism" and "I never know whether the person is genuine [here in Canada]". Although his family continues to remind him otherwise, these impressions of racism in Canada contributed to his self-confessed issues/feelings of vulnerability, inferiority, belonging and acceptance. The interview reinforced for me the

extent of trauma caused by racialization and how enduring it is. As well, no matter how much he said that he understood Coloureds and connected primarily with being Coloured, the subject of his irritation with Coloured immigrants often surfaced throughout our conversation.

Gavin spoke of being frustrated with Coloured mentality. He felt that South Africans who now live in Canada were not very different from those Coloureds who remained in South Africa. He described them as ambitious and boastful, often prejudiced and judgemental especially regarding members of their own community. He said that they seem to have a continual obsession with "colour" as well as being misinformed politically about their own country:

> In Canada now… The evening never ends without somewhere, the Coloured subject comes up. It cannot be helped [It always happens].

> So now OK, we might be equal in skin colour but then (as Coloureds) I'm gonna look for another reason I have to be better than you.

He relayed a joke which clearly demonstrated his opinion of Coloured tendencies:

> I heard somebody say, if you put two South African people in a room and you discuss the coffee table, within five minutes, the subject will come up, the shade of it and then it will morph into colour…that's how ingrained it is.

Growing up in apartheid South Africa, racial incidents were part of the everyday lives of Coloureds. Gavin sadly disclosed that his father, although dark himself, had real issues with "colour". He recounted a scenario in Canada when his own daughter was playing in the backyard with a friend who was black. Gavin's father immediately said

"No, no, no!" to the little girl and told her to go play elsewhere. He divulged that his father could not understand why his granddaughter would want to play with a black girl. Although Gavin was not happy about this reaction, unexpectedly, he revealed his own issues with race during our sessions, confessing that he had many of these same racist traits he blamed Coloureds as possessing.

Gavin admitted that he had substantial issues with his daughter's decision to marry a black fellow. Today, as a grandfather of five, he has both biracial and white grandchildren. Although he said that it hurts him to feel this way, initially, he was not able to feel close to the darker grandchildren, who openly love him:

> I never had much to do with them. They make me feel guilty because they're always concerned about me. Now, who's the better person? They're like "Grandpa, grandpa, grandpa!" And when they're not there, I know it's that guilt that I have inside of me. I see them more now and that makes it bad.

He went on to disclose that he felt conflicted at the same time about his lighter grandchildren:

> And I said you can't experience what I go through because my own brain is telling me this, cause, this is how we grew up. The lighter ones…well… the lighter hair and eyes…but don't get too excited because then you're one of those (pause). But there's no getting away from it.

Race and prejudice are problematic topics with which my informant still grapples. He relays that he has a heightened awareness of race and racial difference. Thus, he sees racial issues everywhere and acknowledged that he thinks about race almost every day. Nevertheless, Gavin confessed that the racist incidents he witnessed or had to continually endure in South Africa made him better, sharper and more alert in meeting confrontation

head on. He was proud that his perseverance made him who he is today. These experiences assisted in him acquiring a keen ability to discern prejudice better than most people. Another topic was his continual confrontations with people and his indifference to other people of colour. He attributed this to life in South Africa:

> …you see when I grew up I always had to fight for my square inch. You were never sure. So, I don't give a sh** about the Black guy's problem. I don't give a sh** about the Muslims guy's problem because they're gonna have to fight for their little square inch, the same way I had to work my way into the system.

After a short time, he revealed that he did not like feeling this way. I sensed his sincerity. Nonetheless, he believed it will be difficult to change because "it is ingrained into us." A strange thought went through my mind as I reflected on some of Gavin's responses. No matter how much rejection, psychosocial indignity and emotional pain Coloureds endured throughout South Africa's troubled history, many tended to overlook, minimize or even forget this when reflecting on their lives in South Africa:

> But socially, I think I would have had a better social life if I would have stayed in South Africa (pause) amongst my own.

> I know what I kinda think, in South Africa it was better to be a Coloured person because you knew who you were…

Gavin is not alone in his belief that in South Africa there was a strong sense of belonging, contentment and community cohesion. He divulged that he has not experienced this in Canada "I'm not 100% happy here." In South Africa, he said he "knew who he was." In Canada he continues to be tied to the past. What became apparent is that Gavin's strong

allegiance to South Africa stood in the way of his successful integration into Canadian society, in finding acceptance here and thus in feeling settled. Paradoxically, as attached as he is to his homeland, what was puzzling was that he had not returned to South Africa even though many of his family members and friends had done so within the past three decades. It was only during the 50th anniversary year of his arrival in Canada, and after much convincing, by his younger brother, that Gavin finally returned home.

HOMEWARD BOUND

Returning to South Africa was an emotionally charged and ambivalent experience for my informant. It was extremely emotional and a decision which was not solely his. After some cajoling by his brother, he finally decided that it was time. Adding to the emotion that was already bound up in his return was that his son unexpectedly joined him on the trip.

Gavin recounts that he was adamant not to do anything "touristy". He merely wanted to revisit his old stomping grounds and to reconnect with family and friends. He simply wanted to be normal and to experience everyday life at home again. His relatives and friends, however, wanted to show him a good time and had planned to take him to events, clubs and wineries; thinking this would be the best way to showcase the "new" South Africa. Sadly many of the old, memorable places, were not as he had recalled.

> …we're moseying around in Cape town. We went to the gardens, Adderly St. and I say, what's that? I'm very disappointed. He said "why?" Wow! This place is a dump compared to when I knew it.

> And then one day we're near the Parade, which to me was shocking. My vision of that Parade grounds was huge, but it was a little parking lot!

Regardless, he also relayed that it was a strange feeling to easily remember directions to various streets and places. However, when they were taken to the larger tourist sites, such as Signal Hill, Gavin realized that it was the first time that he had been there! It was at that moment that he had a stark and (sur)real reminder that during the apartheid era, non-whites were not allowed to go to "certain" public locations.

An important part of the trip reinforced something which had haunted Gavin throughout his years in Canada: that his relationships and friendships were so much better and stronger in South Africa:

> These are guys I haven't seen in fifty years! When they heard I was coming, when I got there, and they saw me, within five minutes (!), it was like I'd never left. I don't have one friend in Canada with that kinda relationship.

Although Gavin enjoyed many aspects of his return, he was conversely confronted with the reality that Coloured people had not changed their so-called "negative characteristics" in South Africa, even after democracy.

Gavin recognized that Coloureds, including some friends and family, were even more prejudiced then he remembered. They seemed even less tolerant, especially of Blacks, and demonstrated this in words and actions. One disturbing example was when he witnessed the treatment of a young Black girl, who was a maid, at a friend's place. She had been relegated to a tiny room, and it was understood that she was doing *all* the household tasks. He and his son had a hard time witnessing this. Perhaps more troubling

was that when they attempted to help with dishes that night, they were promptly told that it was "her work". Gavin also drew attention to Coloureds still being in the same dubious position as they were during apartheid. They continued to be forgotten and treated poorly:

> So now the tides turned. The Blacks, don't want nothing to do with the Coloured people!

After a lovely dinner by the seaside, while taking a walk, he experienced another reality check as an interracial couple crossed his path. The people Gavin was with commented in a joking manner calling out, "Oh my God, another Top Deck!" A bit confused, Gavin remembered that Top Deck was the name of a chocolate bar with two layers, cream and chocolate. This once fond treat now had a negative connotation. Gavin did not know how to react at that moment. He also wondered what his friends were thinking or perhaps saying about his situation since his wife, in Canada, was also white. Sadly, his eyes had become open to the many, lingering realities within the Coloured community; the mindset, the thousands of rows of township shanty houses, the extreme poverty, addiction and crime. This made him feel disappointed and discouraged. His comments demonstrate how conflicted my informant remains:

> So, I don't envy them because I know they still have to live under those crap conditions, poverty all around you, the crime…

All in all, Gavin was treated well, and he and his brother were able to re-establish ties with family and experience the country of their birth. Additionally, being able to show his son his homeland was an unexpected pleasure. Not surprisingly however, it was only after going to South Africa that Gavin's son fully realized what life had been like for his father:

> Dad! You know what? I know why you're **** up. I would be too, if I had to live and grow up like that.

Gavin's narratives demonstrate that he is obviously still conflicted, "Is my life fulfilled? "Can I feel 100% happy…? No! My roots… [are] there." On his return to Canada, Gavin recounted going to his parent's grave more aware of what his parents had done for their family:

> When I came back, I went to my parent's grave. And, other than my own personal hang-ups, on the whole, I appreciate what they did. And with all that natural beauty, the amount of poverty that I saw…

Standing at the graveside, he said he reflected on how unbelievable it was that a dressmaker and a tradesman had made such a good life for their children! His youngest brother had a stellar university education and owns his own pharmaceutical business. His middle brother is the CEO of a large drug company and Gavin was skilled tradesman:

> Do you think at forty any one of us would have grabbed our children and gone to a country so far away? A place we know nothing about and try to hack out a life for us…? (pause) They knew there is no future.

Gavin was both happy and moved during our time together discussing his experiences as a Coloured South African and his life history. As our session ended, I asked Gavin whether he would move back to South Africa if he had the chance. Without hesitation he answered, "No!"

Interviewing Gavin was both fascinating and unnerving as I was reawakened to the issues still faced by immigrant Coloureds. Was his family's diasporic movement a

success? Gavin believes that his mother would have felt that the move to Canada was a success. Based on his youngest brother's achievements, "if she used him as an example and ever questioned whether she did the right thing or not…he's the example, that she made the right decision." His own self worth was reflected in his comments, "I never aspired to what my parents wanted me to be…I ended up being a working guy, I didn't go to university".

Although discussed in more depth in the Conclusion, reflecting on Gavin's life narrative reveals many of the elements of the core principles influencing Coloured identity, as outlined by Adhikari (2005). Moreover, many of the issues associated with racialization and brought forward by DuBois (1903), Fanon, (1963, 1967), Kane (2007) and Fassin (2011) are also evident.

The assimilationist aspects (Adhikari, 2005) were reflected in his family's omission of "certain" family members, demonstrating British culture, moving to Britain before the more major exodus and distancing from those who were "darker". Intermediary status and derogatory stereotyping, as well as the embodiment of being ascribed "Coloured", were reflected in Gavin's vulnerability and telling statements. They reveal his acquiescence with and resignation to his lot in life. As such, these comments are relevant: "there's a line…I will not allow myself to be vulnerable", "its what's in us", "it's what that country did to us" and "I knew my place". His self -described ability to detect racism, his expressions of racism and his tendency to attach many of the negative characteristics used to describe Coloureds in South Africa, on others, should not merely be thought of simply as Gavin being racist himself, but, more appropriately, as Fassin

(2011) asserts, a common result of being severely racialized himself. Shame, inferiority, self- questioning and knowing one's place are also threads throughout Gavin's narratives and are significant expressions of Colouredness (Erasmus, 2000; Strauss, 2009; DuBois, 1903). His ready anticipation of being slighted, knowing what someone is thinking, reacting to a "look", feeling degraded without being directly told anything, being overlooked as having notable capabilities because he is non-white, in his field or assumptions that he could be guilty of some kind of crime, anticipating being wrong or guilty of an unsavory action are all reminiscent of the "racial optic" (Fanon's 1967, p. 94), "double consciousness" DuBois (1903, p. 2) and reminders that human comparison of interiority /superiority is created where there is "judgement of human worth and esteem" (Kane, 2007, p. 356). All in all, within his narratives, Gavin demonstrated complexity and contradiction, typical of Coloureds.

EVE: A BITTERSWEET LIFE STORY

Eve was born in 1936, in Wynberg, Cape Town, South Africa. The youngest of three children, she had an older brother and sister who were six and seven years older respectively. Her parents were in their forties when Eve was born, and she relayed that she was doted on. She said that her mother was a well- known seamstress often frequented by "magistrates" and other notable people who would have clothes made. She also specialized in bridal and other formal wear. Her father was an accountant, primarily for an Indian businessman. Eve described her father as "well dressed," and having many hobbies and interests. She relayed that he loved reading, especially British literature,

often quoted Shakespeare and was a lover of classical music and foreign languages. He spoke English and Afrikaans fluently, as well a bit of Swahili, French and German. Eve's parents were mixed race. However, she had no idea of their ethnic background aside from their frequent reference to British deportment, manner and dress. She knows that her father was listed as European on his birth certificate and that her mother was Coloured. Eve disclosed that she had almost no contact with her mother's family but that there was talk of her family being from St. Helena. Her family did, however, have more contact with their paternal side. Her father's family was somewhat well off and quite British in manner and culture. She remembered that even during the war, her father's family used proper place settings and ate with knives and forks. She has pictures to attest to this. Eve recounted that she, herself, was raised in a religious home (Anglican), and that her family was very British in deportment: "We were an English family." At that time, life was very good, and she was happy:

> Well I was just enjoying...Life was great for me you know. I had no cares.

Unexpectedly in 1942, at the age of forty-six, Eve's mother passed away of a heart attack, leaving her motherless at only six years old. Everyone's life changed dramatically after this. An indelible scar was left on Eve, for the rest of her life.

Eve recalled that, after the death of her mother, her father had great difficulty dealing with the loss and had many personal challenges. Recounting her life after her mother's passing, she said that the family then moved out of their house and into their paternal aunt's home. Living in only two rooms, they then moved a few years later, to another aunt, until her father, six or seven years later, managed to get enough money for

their own place. Eve spoke of no one realizing how to help children to grieve in those days, and that she was feeling quite left out and lonely. Three years after their mother's death, her siblings, who were fifteen and sixteen, had left school "had gone by the wayside" and were working as "a domestic helper and brick layer." Eve reveals that once the family had a home of their own again, her family life was "often unsettled" as there were many disputes between her father and brother. By the time she was eleven or twelve, she was given many household tasks: cleaning, cooking and making lunches for her brother and father. Her sister was married early, and had moved out. Looking back, school was Eve's saving grace. She spoke of close girlfriends, and liked school very much.

Eve remembered being a very good student: excelling in English, creative writing, and most other subjects. She also mentioned that her history classes centered only on European history. She revealed that there was very little mention of Africans aside from the those "African warriors" who fought the colonists such as the Zulu. When asked about the Indigenous peoples of South Africa, she did not have much knowledge of them aside from knowing terms like "Bushmen" and "Hottentot".[44] Surprisingly, Eve revealed that she never had been face to face with an African or an Afrikaaner person until she was in her twenties. She clearly remembers the fateful day that the government changed to the racial purist National Party (N.P.) and life for all South Africans changed.

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[44] *Hottentot* is a very negative term used to describe Indigenous people, and is often used in a broad sense, not referring to a particular group.

APARTHEID

Eve recalls being about twelve when the NP came into power. She recounted that there was some talk amongst the school children about the election and its implications. However, Eve disclosed that "the change" was not spoken about at the school by the teachers. Rather it was "kids [who] discussed it…at recess. What an awful law!" Eve admits that she did not understand exactly what apartheid meant until she was a teenager. Her understanding came only after discussions with friends and after she spoke to her father about the situation. Eve's initial response during our meeting was that "apartheid was a terrible law" which everyone knew was implemented with force: [45]

> Because they had a bigger hand, a bigger hand, you know! They just rode over everything [took control, dominated].

Selling the system of apartheid to the masses, however, required innovative explanations by the government, which Eve relayed were only communicated occasionally on the radio and in the newspaper. Apartheid was touted by the government as bringing cohesion within racial groups.[46] This propaganda obviously worked, as witnessed by a statement she made at another point in the conversation:

> It really wasn't so bad you know. We had our community. Positive [apartheid] because it brought the people [racial communities] together.

[45] It is worth noting that "apartheid" is used quite broadly by South Africans and can refer to a specific law, a set of laws instated by the Boer government, a regime or a period of time in South African history.

[46] Native Affairs minister and then President Voerword was known to have used this explanation as a "selling feature" prior to and during the implementation of apartheid.

Historical amnesia about the nature, lived experience, and even the implementation of apartheid, is very common in South Africa amongst Coloureds (Stevens et al, 2013, p. 23). Notably there are often conflicting and contradictory responses to various aspects of the process. Eve remembered the day she was classified, when the Population Registration (1950) came into effect, and what it meant to her. She recalled how upset everyone was when they had to go to the government office to be formally categorized and registered. She and her boyfriend at the time, Daniel, refused to exhibit anything but sullen faces to the authorities when their identification photos were taken:

> So, we went, and we didn't smile (pause) and we had the picture taken… Because we were being forced to take that test!

Eve mentioned that this was a common form of protest that young Coloureds used, at the time, to show their disapproval for the incoming, racialized system. As classification was based on "visual" and social criteria, due to their immense racial diversity, Coloureds were the recipients of the harshest and most demeaning forms of testing. Under the Group Areas Act, families were often separated as "preferred" racial areas were established to separate the races and provide Whites with prime real estate. This resulted in countless forced removals of Coloureds from certain "preferred" areas such as District Six which were then zoned as White Only. Eve told me that this happened to friends and family. She spoke of a school friend who "could not see his mother [because they were classified differently]. They only could meet at night. It was terrible!" Family friends were also faced with this difficult situation: "the father was classified White, the mother White, two of the children were Coloured and one was White." The father refused to move from

their home or to have his family separated. This family friend also disclosed that numerous inspectors came to the house attempting to "reason" with his father, to follow the policy as set out under apartheid. He refused to comply, and Eve's friend believed that it was only because his father was considered White, coupled with their home being in a Coloured area, that they stood a better chance of staying together. As harsh as apartheid was, strangely, Eve did not question its unfairness during our conversations. Her responses demonstrated a more passive acceptance of the situation "It just meant we couldn't do certain things, you know" or "I just went with the flow". Eve's opinion about being Coloured was telling.

Eve revealed that as a Coloured person: "We always thought we were less valuable than Whites". When asked to clarify she responded, "Just from the way they [Whites] talked [about us]." When asked to expand, her response was "I don't know". Throughout our interview Eve did not utter a complaint or negative comment about the British. Additionally, although she lived for almost twenty years under the apartheid system, many of her responses seemed to infer that apartheid applied more to Blacks than the reality of the situation, that it was directed at *all* non-whites, herself included:

> I don't recall…I just thought it wasn't fair. There were always things the Black person was subjected to in court.
>
> Blacks would know their place. Felt out of place. They worked on train lines, delivering milk… garbage.

Eve was not aware of how many apartheid laws there were nor how many were directed specifically at Coloureds. She was surprised when I revealed these details to her. Eve also had little opinion about politics. She said that, personally, she was not involved politically

at all. During our sessions, Eve often became very quiet and did not readily offer much in terms of answers. She often shrugged, nodded or waited before answering. Her responses were short, or she replied, “I can’t remember”, or “I don’t know.”

When Eve was fifteen she met a young man named Daniel. She recalled that he was bright, charismatic, and brought a great deal of stability and a new viewpoint on life to her. Daniel and Eve met at Trafalgar Highschool, a well- known school for Coloureds in District Six. Many notable Coloureds taught or attended this school, including numerous politically oriented individuals who were instrumental in non-white protest politics during segregation, and later during apartheid.[47] He was a few years older, yet they were only one grade apart. Eve was a grade higher than similarly aged students because she was very bright. Daniel’s family was poor, and that hindered his ability to attend school in the early years. Eve said that they were inseparable for the next seven years. However, the decision to marry, even after dating for so long, was not well accepted by Eve’s family. The reality was that Daniel was dark and from a Dutch and Coloured background.

Eve drew attention to Coloureds sometimes speaking with a “put on” [pseudo] British accent and how they were “very taken” [enamoured] with anything associated

[47] Notable individuals were:Dr. Abdurahman a physician, councillor and the leader of the first non-white Coloured protest party APO. His daughter Zainnunnisa (Cissie) Gool was a civil rights leader, a major advocate of the poor, tutored by Mahatma Ghandi, first Coloured women to receive her MA and later law degree/called to the Cape Bar (1962), major player in the later non-white parties. Harold Cressy was a teacher/principal at Trafalgar High School and activist, founder of the TLSA, first Coloured male to receive a degree from a university (1912). Benny Kies was a prominent political leader and teacher. He started NEUM a Coloured political party and was editor of the Educational Journal, the TLSA newspaper. Mr. van der Ross was a life- long Coloured activist, educator and author, former principal at Trafalgar High School, achieved his PhD in later life and was part of Mandela’s democratic government after 1994. Reggie September attended and taught at Trafalgar, was also a prominent activist founder of SACPO, the Coloured, political party which existed at the height of apartheid in the 1950-1960s.

with being White; straight hair, lighter hair, skin or eye colour, manner and habits including tea time and formalities. Her family was no exception. She spoke of her father as dressed "European" and being "standoff-ish with Blacks", and that her family "only spoke English", "hated Afrikaans" and was "mannerly and proper"." Eve disclosed that her family was not happy that she was marrying someone "darker" than she was. Although her father did not say too much while they dated, aside from drawing attention to their few years age difference, it was "understood" that the relationship was not acceptable. When asked who had issues with them being together, her response was:

> Quite a few. Aunties and that (pause) on my dad's side. It was all because… he was too dark, you know [she looks side ways and down]. No, I heard it through the grape vine. Well… I knew that they had felt like that.

Nevertheless, without her family present, Eve and Daniel married in March of 1957, in a small wedding in St. Paul United Church in Cape Town. Afterward, the couple simply "made the best of the situation", carrying on with their lives. Eve's father passed away about seven months after the wedding. She relayed that he had many health issues, especially after her mother had died:

> He had ulcers and gall bladder…it was cut out. He had problems with his gut. He was very sick.

Thankfully, Eve's father had left the newlyweds a little money and given the relocation of many sectors of the population under the Group Areas Act, they were able to buy a small home in Wynberg. Coincidentally, their house was situated on a border street, with

Whites living across the road “Yes… it was. South Rd. The boundary. You couldn’t go over on the other side.” Eve disclosed that one of her favorite neighbors, who happened to be White, as well as the man from whom they had purchased their house, did not want to be relocated:

> Nurse Bain… never wanted to move from that place. She had to sell up her house. She didn’t want to sell it. Group Areas would just give her anything for it.[48]

To distract from the realities of apartheid, Daniel made a beautiful garden with many lovely flowers and shrubs so that they and their future children did not have to face the realities of apartheid. The Separate Amenities Act (1953), however, changed the social behavior of Coloureds and had a direct impact on their everyday life. Again, even though Eve’s memory of this period was that things had drastically changed, her reaction was passive or acquiescent:

> It just means that you can’t take part in many things.

> It meant that I always kept my way. I didn’t go to any places where there’d be no Coloureds allowed…um Bioscopes [movies]. I never went to it. That part of my life I didn’t have. No entertainment (looking down).

Eve recounted that there were lovely beaches, with breathtaking scenery such as Clifton or Hout Bay, which everyone frequented before apartheid which were then

[48] Groups Areas commissioners would simply come to residences deemed to be rezoned for a particular “race”, give the residents/owners a short window of time to move out or it would be claimed government property. One former real estate agent relayed that Coloureds were given very little and it was only for the value of the land, nothing else was accounted for. Short time limits were given and then the residence was repossessed. If opposition occurred, I was told that they were jailed.

personally involved in any political movements, as a teacher from Trafalgar High, it was not possible to overlook the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA) as an influential and relevant political force working on behalf of the Coloured community for decades. We discuss that during the apartheid era, these individuals were swiftly dealt with, typically jailed after home invasions by police; anyone associated with them faced the same fate. Some of Eve's friends had parents who were politically involved, and arrests were common in Coloured neighborhoods. However, she relayed that she was not witness to anything, even though violence and protests had indeed become more prevalent in the streets. What Eve remembered were dramatic changes to Coloured franchise by way of individual apartheid laws, education, job possibilities, residence location, and acceptance.[49] She provided a personal example of what happened during apartheid that did alter her viewpoint about the gravity of the situation in South Africa for Coloureds.

After graduating as valedictorian at Trafalgar High, Daniel's desire was to pursue higher education. He applied to University of Cape Town, and was hopeful for a bursary. However, immediately on attendance at his scheduled meeting, he was told that Coloureds were not allowed to attend. This was a life altering moment for him. Now the reality of apartheid had "hit closer to home". As well, given the serious restrictions on Coloured education and employment, many non-whites attempted to "pass" for White (or

[49] The Groups Areas Act (residential and business spatial separation), Job Reservation Act (restricted and segregated employment along racial lines, reserving the best jobs for whites and more manual labour and lesser positions or similar positions with less pay for non-whites), The Coloured Person's Education Act (limited and segregated education/schools along racial lines).

Blacks attempted to elevate their status to Coloureds) to gain access to education, employment or to retain "relative" privilege. There were numerous examples of such efforts within families that Eve knew, including her own. She recounts the personal toll that such compromises caused and the continual risk of being exposed and punished if the attempt "to pass" was unsuccessful. [50] In addition, the likelihood of punishment on members of the extended family was taxing. Eve recounted her cousin's situation:

> It was terrible… he used to come to us on Sundays. He was distressed.

Apartheid caused untold stress and pressure for all non-white citizens due to all encompassing and readily amended laws, punishment and surveillance.

Notably, a family friend (and initial informant), spoke of how common it was for Coloureds to therefore be suspicious of others and to be cautious in all undertakings. They had ongoing concerns about personal safety, especially the fear of reprisal by the police. These issues stemmed from the strict monitoring and swift wielding of punishment by government officials in South Africa during apartheid, "No one knew who to trust". "You never knew when they [authorities] would come". Eve relayed an example of her concern for personal safety in an incident involving Daniel who was walking home from a day of teaching. On that day, the police began shadowing Daniel, driving very close to him in their squad car. They began jibing him and questioning him out of the window of the car about where he was walking and why. As he was walking, trying to

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[50] Family members were unable to associate with each other or had to go to great lengths to meet in secrecy. The Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act complicated the possibility to meet up given the restrictions on area of residence, where one could walk, meet, eat, frequent as everything was separated racially.

avoid contact with them, they began yelling at him to get out of the area, immediately, or to face arrest. She reinforced that Daniel was simply walking his usual route home, minding his own business.

As the 1960s progressed, racial tensions were exasperated by several factors that were occurring in South Africa (during apartheid): increased non-white political protest, the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960,[51] increased militancy of the ANC, prominent leaders jailed or forced underground for fear of reprisal, consecutive sentences, escalated police violence against non-whites, and the Rivonia Trial in 1963 (when Mandela and his comrades were sent to jail indefinitely or were exiled).[52] All of this resulted in the full implementation of the Grand Apartheid.[53] Eve disclosed that Daniel was gravely concerned about the situation, given that, at this point, they had three young daughters. Eve said that during these trying days, the Coloured teachers (TLSA) began meeting surreptitiously more often then before to discuss protest, dissatisfaction and where the country was headed. Most teachers were of the same mind; grasping the precarious position Coloureds held and their similar predicament for the future. Daniel was often in attendance at these meetings, which heightened his resolve that leaving was the only option for the safety and future of his young family:

> He went to some meetings. Yes…sometimes at the school. After school they'd (teachers) come to the house and talk about such [political] things.

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[51] During the Sharpeville Massacre unarmed protesters rallied against the Pass Laws. 69 died, 180 injured.

[52] Nelson Mandela and other members of the ANC or those affiliated with him were arrested and sentenced to 27 years in prison on Robben Island. This was a method to get rid of any possible non-white political leaders. Numerous others were killed, banned or sent into exile.

[53] Grand Apartheid extended existing apartheid laws, added greater limitations on all non-whites, increased and extended punishment and tightened any "apparent loopholes" which allowed non-whites any liberties of any kind (political, social, individual).

Eve recalled that Daniel was "adamant to leave", while she had reservations.

During that time, most Coloureds were speaking of Australia, England or Canada as options for emigration. Eve said neither England nor Australia were ever considerations because of the reputation both countries had of still being racist societies. She says that Canada was the best option regardless of "how cold and very far away it was". Although Canada also had an All White Immigration Policy, by 1967, this had changed. The Point System meant there was a very good possibility of immigration for educated Coloureds, given their skill set, age, proficiency in English and willingness to assimilate.[54]

NO LOOKING BACK

Eve divulged that she was not keen on the idea of leaving South Africa from the beginning. She did not want to separate from her side of the family, friends and her home. Eve had never, ever imagined that she would leave South Africa, "It was my home," she said. Even though difficult, life under these conditions somehow still seemed bearable, to her. She had her school, her family, her church, her community. Eve relayed that Daniel had no hesitation in wanting to leave. He had spoken to her about it for over a year. Even

[54] The Immigration Policy in Canada at this time was based on a Point System, family reunification and refugee status. Most Coloured entered based on their high skill set, age, ability to speak English (Mullholland, 1997; Mugabane, 2004). During the early 1960s Coloureds were emigrating by the hundreds per year. By the mid 1960's the numbers were 638/year and in 1967, 1492 Coloureds settled in Canada. Moeno (1981) states that there was little differentiation regarding ethnoracial background therefore these numbers could be different.

today, she sounded as though she was reluctant to leave, but had conceded. Leaving South Africa, however, was no simple task, and it was an enormous expense.

Eve described that Daniel arranged all the paperwork and plans to emigrate to Canada. It would take about a year until they were able to depart. Although unsure of most details today, when asked to expand, she recounted sadly that leaving the country meant selling everything the family owned, severing all familial ties, and starting all over in a country they knew nothing about. To qualify to leave the country, there were mandatory meetings with government officials. Eve recalled it being a long interview "2 hours or more…they were police". When asked why they wanted to emigrate, "He [Daniel] said its for the best of his children". Interestingly, Eve revealed that there were also compulsory inoculations needed before emigration was cleared. She recalled that immediately after going through the interview, there was a doctor waiting in an adjacent room, to give everyone shots. She relayed that their inoculation was for yellow fever. This story was corroborated by many family friends who also had the same needle. According to one, they were told to have particular inoculations because they would be flying over the Congo and might contract an illness! Additionally, Coloureds who were emigrating often had to pay a fee to the government, "$300R per child and $150R per adult". Eve said that they were never told what this fee was for. However, all these steps were mandatory before their official paperwork was released. To pay the government fee was unimaginable for Eve's family, as it was comparable to almost five months full time wages. Although Eve and Daniel had a home, they had an extensive mortgage. After selling their home and paying outstanding bills, there was little money left for five people

to travel overseas. This added pressure, of knowing that there would be such a small amount of money left when they arrived in Canada, made it imperative that Daniel find work almost immediately after arriving in Canada. Nonetheless, in the short remaining time before leaving, there were more immediate issues to deal with.

Eve told me that the biggest hurdle the couple had was selling their house. For Eve, it was parting with family and their personal belongings which had they struggled to acquire and leaving her beloved cats behind which hurt most. More than anything else, leaving her sister behind was terribly heartbreaking, as she had been widowed recently. Emigrating would be the only possibility of getting her sister and her sons out of South Africa, and for this, it would be worth the separation. Eve recalls being very distressed over this whole process, and she revealed that her health was compromised because of the stress. Regardless, they were committed, and plans were on schedule.

As Eve and I discussed the days leading up to the actual departure, she became very quiet, more so than at any other time during her interview. Telling me how they packed, sold things off, or gave her treasured items away, made her emotional. After a long silence, she answered “I just never looked back. It was very surreal.”, “It’s too upsetting.” The night prior to the departure was spent on the ship. She automatically remembered that the ship was named *The Southern Cross.* Eve revealed that she felt very strange and could not rest. She tossed and turned the entire night. She told me that her older daughter, who was eight at the time, seemed to understand what was happening. However, the two younger ones were simply playing. When asked to describe departure day, she again becomes silent.

Through tears, Eve explained that she remembered standing alongside a huge crowd of emigres on the deck of the ship. Everyone was waving to the crowd below. She revealed that her sister and close friends were dockside and that her sister remained there, waving a white hankie. Both sisters remained in place, inconsolably sobbing and waving. Neither one moved. They continued to wave until each could no longer see the other. Even at 82, Eve vividly remembers, “Yes, Wednesday. It was the 11th of June.” “We weren’t talking. None of us spoke”. She also recalled feeling very seasick during the journey, and that she was barely out of her room. She then disclosed that the girls had no problem finding things to play with, and that Daniel joined other Coloured fellows in discussions, playing cards and games. Eve hardly expanded on the voyage. Nonetheless, she did say that they stopped in Las Palmas, Canary Islands. The next stop was England.

Landing in Southampton, weeks later, “everyone was exhausted”. She recollects that after disembarking, they took a taxi to a hotel which had been pre-booked. However, when they arrived, the concierge abruptly told them that there were no rooms for them. Fatigued and confused by the situation, Daniel presented his paperwork to the concierge, and again he was told that the hotel was fully booked. This went on for some time, and Eve recounted that Daniel then told the concierge that it was simple: they would put their bags down and sleep right there, at his desk! They were not going anywhere. They had booked, things were already arranged months ago, and they were not leaving! She said this did not matter. So, down went the bags! Eve recounted that they were in that position for some time when the hotel manager approached and told them that he had luckily found an available room. Everyone was totally exhausted, and

that night, they simply fell asleep. The next day, the family set out on the town to see a few the sites of London.

In London the family visited Piccadilly Square, Big Ben, Windsor Castle, and Number 10 Downing Street. After a few days, they returned to the dock to resume sailing. This time, it would be the last leg of their very long journey across the Atlantic to Canada. Eve recalled almost immediately, that the ship was named *The Sylvania*. Although she has very few memories of being on the boat itself, she does remember that her husband won the chess tournament, and some small details such as dinners and what the children were doing. What she remembered vividly, was seeing land for the first time when they reach Canada, and also travelling down the St. Lawrence River. Eve recounted that everyone was silent and glued to the upper deck as they approached the Montreal harbour. After almost a month, they had finally reached Canada.

Eve reminded me that it was Expo '67 when they arrived in Montreal. The numerous Coloured families who had left South Africa together had travelled over 12,750 km, touched the soil of four different countries, three continents and spent close to a month on two ocean liners, before their new lives began. Eve recalled being both relieved and anxious aside from being completely fatigued. The next challenge however was finding the train station to get to Toronto, yet another foreign city in which they had "no idea of what to do or where to go." Hours later, they boarded a train headed for Toronto. It was an eight- hour journey before they arrived at Union Station, Toronto. Again, they had another long wait. Eve recalls that they waited over an hour for a taxi.

Daniel had met with a fellow teacher prior to leaving to arrange these details Eve said. She disclosed that sadness, joy, nervousness, anticipation, fear and resignation all came over her simultaneously. With three small children, a few pieces of luggage, and one crate with belongings, they began their new lives.

AN UNANTICIPATED LIFE IN CANADA

Daniel was very busy when they arrived. He began asking other immigrants to give him their impressions of Canada and where to find supplies. He set out to find an apartment for his family as he was careful not to intrude on the help he and his family had already received from fellow South Africans. Soon, Daniel and others began to assist and support incoming Coloureds who were arriving one after the other. Meeting them at the airport, train stations or elsewhere, helping them to settle, to find supplies, jobs or offering them a place to stay at their new apartment on the Danforth. Eve recollected that Daniel was reading the *Toronto Star* a few weeks after arriving, when he came across a classified ad for a teaching position in a northern Ontario town called Penetanguishene. They had no idea how to say the name of the town, or where this place was located, but Daniel could not refuse to pass up this chance for a teaching position. Eve recounts that Daniel again rented a car and solicited the help of another South African friend who had been in Canada for a longer period. Luckily, he was able to assist. Eve said that during the drive up north, she felt “it was like going to the end of the earth.”

Penetanguishene is a small, French Canadian town that had a population of just over 5000 at that time. "Mr. LeClair met us somewhere and then took us up to the school". This gentleman was the school board trustee and the local shoe store owner. Eve recalls how nervous they both were as their future depended on Daniel having a successful interview. Although well prepared, much to Daniel's surprise, Eve revealed that there was only a brief interview followed by a quick response, "Yes! We'll take you." Daniel was shocked and could not believe his good fortune. Prior to leaving the room, Mr. LeClair asked, "What does your wife do for a living?" When Daniel replied that she was also a teacher, he said "Well, we'll take her as well!" And with that, they were *both* employed! Not only was this an unexpected success, but she told me that they were also given a house to rent and even though they were not Catholic, the girls could attend the same school. Remarkably, the family was set.

Within a few weeks, Eve and her family were moving to Penetanguishene. They were even able to get furniture from a local businessman, on credit! The little house was on a friendly street with lots of children and only a short walk to the school. Eve reminisced about meeting the new neighbors one at a time, preparing their classes for the upcoming year, and meeting the close- knit staff. The school was run by the Order of the Grey Sisters who welcomed the family wholeheartedly. Eve fondly relayed a wonderful story of looking out the window on the first morning of school and seeing dozens of children gathering on the front lawn of the family's house. Little by little the crowd grew. Much to their surprise, the children were waiting for the family: to walk with them to school. Eve fondly remembers this story, smiling as she reminisced, "We were surrounded by a crowd of children," all walking together to school. Eve recounted that

this was not simply a one-day event, but that it carried on for the entire year, perhaps longer.

As the new school year began, the children settled in while Eve and Daniel adjusted to the new school curriculum, teachers and classes. Eve remembered some of the new adjustments they faced. She relays how hard it was to decipher and pronounce the many French names; Beausoleil, Lesperance, Robitaille, Buttineau, Robillard. In no time the new teachers were well known for their teaching style and qualifications. From then on, things went smoothly for the family in this small community in north Simcoe. Daniel was known for his hands-on, thought provoking, and challenging teaching style. He was animated and enthusiastic. His science class had an incubator, a dark room, and a chemical lab. He encouraged good behavior, debating, and that the students achieve their best while emphasizing mental math, pop quizzes and open discussions. Daniel would introduce the Science Fair to their region, encouraged Fastmatics, a televised math, quiz show, started a regularly scheduled musical and Variety Show, and introduced the recorder to the school. Eve was also a well- respected teacher.

Eve was well loved by everyone, especially her students. She was vivacious and caring. She taught her children plays, did puppet shows, and she regularly sang with her class. Later, she became well known for her school choirs. The family had a busy life as the children played numerous instruments and continued to sing publicly as they had done in South Africa; adding competitions, weddings and charitable events to their list of events at which they performed. In these early years, many of the South Africans tried their best to get together on weekends.

Initially, many fellow South Africans would drive up to visit Eve and Daniel to escape the city and to be by the Great Lakes. She told me they would recollect, eat foods they made back home, and chat about old times. The men would sit together talking about the old country and its future. She said that discussions always became political. The women, on the other side, spoke about their children and family they missed. However, Eve admitted that regardless of the visits and a busy life at school and home, she had great difficulty adjusting to her new life, on a personal level.

Eve often cried and suffered from homesickness and depression. She disclosed that about a year after coming "I was on a lot of medication. Around 12-13 pills. High blood pressure and depression I think… Lots!" Regardless, she had little alternative but to keep going. She felt that Daniel seemed to fare better and immersed himself in the girl's activities, driving everyone to their lessons. As the girls excelled at their individual instruments, they soon became talented musicians requiring more advanced lessons which meant weekly trips to the Royal Conservatory of Music, Toronto. After a few years, Daniel set his sights on something he had not been able to do in his home country: to attend university.

Within a short time, Daniel began studying at Wilfred Laurier University's satellite campus about 45 minutes away from home. Eve recalled the hectic schedule of fulltime teaching, children's activities, and studies. Yet, he still managed to be an exceptional student. However, Eve said she typed out all his essays! Eventually, he also attended York University where there were more courses in line with his degree in Economics and English. Daniel graduated with honours. Within a few years, Eve's sister

arrived in Canada, and a year later, they were also able to get her sons to come over.

"Over the moon" with their arrival, Eve began to feel much more satisfied with life in Canada. She and her sister thoroughly enjoyed each other's company, and they all lived together for a few years. After some time, as the boys had outgrown a small town like "Penetang", they all moved to Toronto. Eve and the family saw their favorite Aunt regularly as they were in Toronto most weekends for the children’s music lessons. Eve also went to university, attending Wilfred Laurier’s satellite campus in Orillia as soon as Daniel finished his studies. She graduated with a degree in Sociology and Anthropology a few years later. Life was busy, and everyone was achieving. At that time, they were also able to buy their first home, and Daniel again created a lovely garden which was always in pristine condition with outstanding flowers. Eve remembered that life was never too busy to give back to the community.

Aside from performing at weddings, recitals and at local churches functions, there were Outreach concerts, organized by other South African immigrants in Toronto that the girls were asked to perform at. In 1979, during the Vietnamese refugee crisis, Eve and her husband were instrumental in assisting in their area by sponsoring, finding jobs, and housing and teaching English to the newcomers. Without government support or any infrastructure set up to assist, they created their own books, improvised, pooled resources with others, and helped for the next few years with the steady influx of refugees in their home. Life was progressing well, accomplishments were noticeable, and the family’s schedules were extremely busy. By the fall of 1981, all the girls were in university and Daniel and Eve were finally on their own, beginning to think of settling

down after a hectic thirteen years. Unexpectedly, however, before being able to take advantage of their time together, Daniel began to feel very ill.

Eve recounted that although typically in good health, a non-smoker, a non-drinker and active, within weeks, Daniel was diagnosed with primary lung cancer, in the advanced stages. Everyone was shocked and devastated at the terrible prognosis Daniel received. It was the early 1980s and this diagnosis was ominous. In a shocking coincidence, Eve's sister was also diagnosed with cancer around the same time. Unfortunately, for both, the treatment caused many secondary issues, and the family was completely overwhelmed; fearful of the well-being of both. Realizing the inevitability of the situation, the two oldest daughters decided to get married, and shortly thereafter Daniel's health deteriorated rapidly. Although there were many moments of great courage, support and hope, on Easter Sunday, only eight months after his diagnosis, Daniel passed away at fifty years of age. The following year, Eve's sister also succumbed to cancer. She was a similar age.

Eve recalled that she spent the next number of years either in crippling grief or attempting to fill her home and life with "things". A huge gap remained. Regardless of the birth of grandchildren and another wedding in the family, Eve was unable to cope.
Even when she was able to finally return to South Africa and reunite with family and friends, her trip was marred by the reality that she was alone.[55] Of note is that she did not expand on this return. What she recounted next is truly unbelievable.

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[55] Eve went to South Africa in 1985 and 1987.

The following Christmas, Eve recollected that her stomach seemed rather distended. After a hurried trip to the emergency department at the local hospital, she was rushed to Toronto Wellesley Hospital, and immediately went into a lengthy surgery. Eve had a massive, rapid growth tumour which needed to be removed immediately. She was diagnosed as being in the final stages of malignant lymphoma and given only weeks to live. Although devastated by the news, once again, with a lot of family support and heavy treatment (seven months of chemotherapy and dozens of radiation treatments) she began to feel better. Eve tried desperately to recover, and although, in time, she was successful, the loss of Daniel and her sister continued to haunt her. Slowly, life returned to some semblance of normalcy.

Returning to teaching and to her great passions, gardening, choral performances, student's recitals and charitable visits helped to fill her days. Eve also tried self-help and frequented several grief counsellors, still attempting to come to terms with her losses and to learn how to start living again. After her retirement, Eve decided to start teaching private vocal lessons. This was a wonderful time of fulfillment and rebirth. Her students performed remarkably well, and she was lavished with praise. No matter how well things went though, Eve continually felt alone.

The next few years were a mix of ups and downs: more health crises and another major operation (a triple bypass). With continual support, Eve again recovered well. In time, she attempted, yet again, to carry on with her life, returning to her former routines.

The next few years she experienced quite a few happy moments filled with the arrival of more grandchildren, vacations, and a move closer to her children near Toronto.

Eve moved to Mississauga and easily met new friends. She picked up with some members of the immigrant community and became a billet for exchange students from Germany who would become life long friends. Sadly, another family tragedy occurred with the death of her fifth granddaughter who was born prematurely and with a fatal heart condition. Although this heartbreak also took its toll on her, she had no choice but to find her way again. After a few years there was another grandchild and finally, Eve began to come to terms with her many losses. It had taken almost three decades to get to this point.

Within the last four years, Eve had moved to a retirement residence closer to her eldest daughter in the east end of Toronto. However, not long after the move, Eve suffered with health issues yet again. Since then she had two mini strokes, and an angioplasty. She now lives in a long- term care facility and has a more -quiet life. Her mobility has been compromised and she is now in a wheelchair, fulltime. Eve finds comfort in having nurses close by. Most days are spent sleeping or resting. Her once dramatic and animated personality has given way to a whisper and much less movement. These sessions have been a learning experience in many ways for both of us. It is the first time that Eve has revealed this much about her family life in South Africa and her feelings about her experiences there and in Canada.

Eve's life reflects many of the issues raised in the scholarly discussions on racialization and is in line in many ways with Adhikari's (2005) perception of Coloured

identity as being influenced by the core principles: assimilationism, intermediary status and hidden examples of derogatory stereotyping and marginalization. Eve's diasporic experiences clearly reflect Clifford's (1994) and Giles (2002) findings related to the more challenging experience(s) of female diasporic individuals. Overall, Eve's issues were often not wholly apparent, but, rather veiled in the narratives of her family background, her silences, her passivity and acquiescence, and her inability to move forward at various stages in her life.

Although Eve did not voice overt, assimilationist tendencies pertaining to her life in South Africa, her narratives confirm: her description of her family as "British in culture", dressing European, only speaking English and her not revealing to her own family about the racial issues of her extended family. She also did not want to speak to this during the interview, not speaking as though apartheid directly affected her, but rather only Blacks are all examples of assimilationism. Her intermediary status was revealed through her life narratives in the expressions: "we just felt we were not as valuable [as Whites]," and "just went with the flow" and in her frequent silences, shrugs and sighs. These are indicators of passivity, acquiescence and submissiveness. Sonn (2013) speaks of "unspoken memory as a way of coping with dehumanising experiences, the denial of dignity and related shame generated by apartheid oppression" (p. 136). Bowing to authority, being agreeable and going along with a given situation are common associated traits which accompany an intermediary status (Adhikari, 2005, 2009**).** Although derogatory stereotyping was not apparent in Eve's narratives, her reactions (or lack of reaction) reflect an attempt to quell the historical stereotypes reserved for Coloureds such as vulgar, rude, uneducated, uncultured, drunkenness or loose morality.

Eve also strove for higher education and she revealed "manners" as something that was important to Coloureds (Adhikari, 2005). These are common strategies used by many Coloureds to overcome the negative associations related to being mixed. Her helplessness, reliance on medication from an early age, lack of power and political standing or desire for it, reflects marginalization, the last of the core principles defined by Adhikari (2005). Many of these indicators outlined by Adhikari (2005, 2009) can be recognized as indicators of racialization such as internalization of inferiority, devaluation (from difference/classification) and shame, evident in her silences about her family's prejudice, not revealing her personal trials with her husband and her family because he was "darker", passively accepting and not having a negative opinion about such a brutal, racist policy as apartheid and the regulation of belonging as seen in her issues with belonging.

PIETER'S JOURNEY

Pieter has just turned ninety-one. He lives in the Niagara region, in a long- term care facility now as he had always loved the proximity to Wine Country and the Shaw Theatre. Prior to this, he had lived in the greater Toronto area since he came to Canada in 1967. Pieter is a retired school teacher and when he lived in South Africa he was a school principal. Aside from being an educator and avid theatre goer, he relayed that he was also an artist who enjoyed the McMichael Gallery in Kleinberg, Ontario. Until only a few years ago, he volunteered there and taught art classes. At this age, his speech is more

measured and well thought out. Nonetheless, his use of the English language is still impeccable. Pieter speaks with only a slight South African accent, but his phrasing, word choice, and the lilt in his voice is somewhat indicative of a British speaker. Although he now loses his train of thought here and there, he is easily brought back on track with a bit of coaxing. He has a dark complexion, a short brush cut, and wears glasses. During our sessions, Pieter was quick to take the lead, directing the conversation mostly toward his childhood and his departure from South Africa.

A FASCINATING HISTORY

Pieter was born in the Transvaal, in a small, rural town named Campbell, in the Kimberley area of South Africa. Referring to himself as “a Kimberlite”, Pieter spoke fondly of his upbringing. As the middle child within a large family, he revealed that his upbringing was very healthy, full of love and “very Christian”. He spoke highly of his loving family, who shared a life of simplicity, living off the land. His love and admiration for his parents was wholly apparent:

> She was a wonderful woman. If I could only have half (pause), half her endurance and perseverance and helpfulness but (long pause). She was a wonderful woman. And he did everything. I cannot fault him one iota. My father was revered [within the community of Campbell].

Pieter proudly disclosed that his father was a brilliant man who would surely have been a medical doctor if the situation had been different in his own childhood. Although lacking a formal education, Pieter said that his dad had special abilities.

> He knew about weather conditions like no one can. He knew about herbs and all these things, like nobody else, because, if there was anything wrong with our stomachs and so on, he would go out and know exactly where to find it [medicinal herbs] and bring it (pause), the plants, boil it.

Pieter recalled that his father was well respected in Campbell and that he was often called on to make natural remedies for the local and area townspeople who were ill. Furthermore, if there was a crisis in the area, he was trusted as someone who would be asked to come to mediate or investigate, often with the authorities.[56] Pieter explained that in their town, townsfolk were of every background, but his father was welcomed into everyone's home.

> Everybody called him *Oom*. Oom. So, Oom is actually a type of, you know, (pause) revered.

Oom is a term of respect, reserved for Indigenous elders in the Khoi, San and other Indigenous South African cultures. Traditional healers are some of the most revered in their communities. Pieter's father was also allowed other rights which non-whites did not have:

> He could vote. He had a franchise and he exercised it and it was not easy. Not one day of formal education, but he was respected by the Whites in the area.

Pieter has good knowledge of his family background compared to most Coloured South Africans. He knew that his paternal grandmother was German. That was reflected in their surname. He also knew that she was a teacher who settled in the Windhoek,

[56] Indigenous people are well known as being expert trackers, easily able to decipher/interpret human and animal activity with traditional skills.

Namibia area where his father's family was from. Surprisingly, she and her husband were a mixed- race couple in the 1800's and they were married. Pieter knows that his paternal grandfather's family was also mixed:

> She married into...what is that? (pause) A Herero family. His mother's side was mixed, with sort of a yellow race (pause). Indigenous. More Eastern. He was not a full bred Demerara either or whatever. Old Grannie, they called her, she came from Germany to come and start a school there [Namibia] because there were a lot of Germans there.

Pieter disclosed that his German grandmother was a deeply religious Methodist and that she spoke Dutch and later Afrikaans. She had eleven children. Pieter's father was the eldest of her children. He also has knowledge of his paternal grandfather's side.

Pieter recounted that his paternal grandfather's family was wealthy, owning a huge herd of livestock in Namibia. In the mid 1800's, they decided to migrate to the Transvaal, landing in the Kimberley area. Pieter revealed that his father was unable to attend formal schooling because he was chosen by his father to tend to the family's large herd. A large herd was a prized possession, and tending it was a respected occupation within the Indigenous tradition. Pieter's father, however, wanted to have an education. He discussed that his father was so interested in attending school, that be decided to teach himself. He recounted that his father would "run to the schoolhouse" when his day of herding was finished, "to ask the teacher to show him just one letter, number or concept". He did this each day. Then he would run home and practice during and after his chores with the animals. Through self-teaching, Pieter's father learned how to read and write.

With great admiration, Pieter disclosed that his father was therefore determined that his own children would have access to an excellent education:

> He built up everything that we had. One day he said to me, "When I saw what was going on… I don't have the education but you guys! I'll <u>strive</u> to see that you guys have the education".

Pieter had a good grasp of this mother's background as well, stating that she had Dutch and German parents and that she was originally from the Transvaal. He informed however, that his mother was born out of wedlock and, therefore, she was adopted into another Dutch family, who sorely mistreated her:

> She was adopted by the family and then and she was treated like a servant (pause) Like a servant!

Pieter recounted that his mom was a talented seamstress who made beautiful clothing and household necessities for her family and for sale. He repeated often that she was a "wonderful mother" who doted on each of her nine children. He could not say enough about what a kind and caring person she was, stressing that she also helped at the church and within the community:

> And I would like to have another mother like her and I'll be the happiest cat in town!

Pieter relayed that his mother was also very well received by townspeople, of all nationalities. Unsure of the details of his parent's meeting, Pieter was aware that his mother was reclassified Coloured to marry his father in the early 1900s, as segregationary laws were already in place. As I glanced at the wall, there hung a

beautiful portrait of a well- dressed family. The couple in it was noticeably mixed-race. It was his family. He looked lovingly at the picture as he explained who each person was. Pieter spoke highly of his life in Campbell. He recounted, once again that they had Christian upbringing, a close family bond, fresh food and nice clothing, handmade by his mother. He also said that no one in the family was ever ill given their consumption of organic food and the homemade remedies supplied by his father:

> He knew exactly what we ate, what went on. Mother was the same. All of those, in combination. It was wonderful!

Pieter recalled that his father always had an interest in the studies of each of his children. He often spoke to them about politics and current events, including race relations such as segregation and later apartheid. All of Pieter's siblings had a very good education. Most became teachers or ministers. Pieter had the highest education of all the children. He relayed that this made them very proud. He spoke of an "idyllic childhood" and indicated that racial issues, even apartheid, were not very apparent in their town of Campbell.

Pieter disclosed that segregation was not very apparent or enforced in this mostly Coloured, Griqua community,[57] as they were in other more urban areas of South Africa. A comment he made during our discussion however, seems to contradict this:

> Well it was sort of assumed that the Blacks had to go around the corner to get their mail.

[57] The Griqua are descendants of Afrikaaner Trek Boer and Indigenous Khoi as well as run-away slaves and Africans.

Pieter stated that his family was somewhat insulated from the rampant prejudice going on in most other parts of South Africa in this small, secluded town. Nevertheless, Pieter and his brother would go through a major adjustment when they moved to Cape Town.

When Pieter and his younger brother were in their twenties, they came to Cape Town to look for work after they had finished their formal schooling. Although Pieter was aware of apartheid, when he came to Cape Town, racism and racial oppression were brought squarely into his every day life. He vividly recounted that this was the first time he experienced blatant racism and "it was so appalling". In fact, his first encounter transpired in the home where they had rented a room, on the very day they arrived.

Prior to dinner, Pieter and his brother noticed the table was set up for the evening meal. However, they would soon have a shocking experience:

> We came there and went to a place which we booked [rented], on Broad Rd. And these people (long pause/shaking his head in dismay). My brother and I had to eat in the kitchen, alone, and everyone else was sitting there in the living room [eating together]! It was shocking you know, to say the least.

It was apparent that he was still shaken by the experience as he kept repeating the same line over and over "and we had to sit in the kitchen! It was shocking!" To make matters worse, he relayed that they were barely acknowledged as being occupants in the house. Additionally, Pieter expressed that he continually saw the rift between the races during his time in Cape Town, even within the Coloured community:

> …and of course, Wynberg [the Coloured community of this area], was always behind them [Whites]. Like little dogs, running after the Whites! They played Whites [pretended to be White].

Pieter had gone to the Cape Town area to look for work as a teacher and was successful in finding employment in Diep River and then Athlone. Soon after, his excellent qualifications resulted in him becoming a principal of a school at Kenilworth by the late fifties. During this time, like most teachers, Pieter became involved with the Teacher's League (TLSA), which was also the foremost Coloured protest party, led by many prominent teachers. Throughout his time in Cape Town, Pieter was struck that teachers in the League, and Coloureds generally, had difficulty being eligible for insurances or loans. Soon he and a few of his associates debated the validity of this and decided to establish a small finance company called Finesco. It assisted fellow Coloured teachers in acquiring much needed loans and insurances. Pieter was the chairman. Unfortunately, although Finesco was a seemingly like- minded group, within the Teachers' League, there were often contentious issues:

> Yes, highly political. Highly political…it was (pause). Like the community. Too liberal, toward the Whites.

Pieter spoke about the League and how he felt that many members were becoming too liberal, too aspiring, and too interested in achieving a *White* lifestyle, in the sixties:

> Teachers Education and TLSA. I said no. I don't trust these fellows. There were [however] a couple of those fellows, Benny Kies [58] and all those guys, in this organisation, the Teachers League. I was associated with them.

Although in agreement with many TLSA members, Pieter stated that he was not part of

[58] Benny Kies is mentioned in an earlier footnote as being a teacher/principal at Trafalgar High School and a political activist during the apartheid era.

the political movement that later resulted in the jailing and banishment of many teachers. However, as a new teacher and recent resident of Cape Town, Pieter worked very hard. Like most Coloureds, he needed to supplement his income as the non-white teacher's income was substantially less then their White counterparts.

Being multitalented, Pieter easily augmented his income as a Coloured teacher by doing bookkeeping and small banking for a well- known wood company, owned and operated by a well-known Indian family. It is here that he met and fell in love with the oldest daughter of this prominent family. Pieter held his wife's family in high esteem. He mentioned a few times that they were a wealthy, upper class family within the Indian community. He was easily capable of handling the company's books. He was also doing all of the business and family financial matters. It was precisely because of his education and his accounting capabilities that he became an invaluable member of this family-run business, even before marrying their daughter:

> When I came there, on a senior role, they were thrilled to have me in. And although I don't have the colour [because he was "darker"] …they were thrilled to have me because they had the money, but they had no education [and he filled that gap].

Pieter said that his wife was a well raised, church going, vivacious young woman who was also a talented seamstress. He spoke fondly of their wedding being beautiful, and remembered that his wife and her best friend made his wedding clothes out of the "finest materials", stitching each piece with "love and care". He pointed to a wedding picture on his shelf and he marvelled at how beautiful his suit and her dress were. I noticed how lovely they were. Now, with their lives beginning as a couple, Pieter

recalls that he felt very content in his personal life.

By the beginning of the sixties, Pieter and his wife had two sons. Although he seemed to have everything he needed in his personal life, he told me that these happy moments were becoming more and more overshadowed by the tumultuous events occurring within South Africa at the time. By the early sixties there was an escalation of racial violence. It quickly became apparent that the situation was deteriorating, and that Coloureds were facing a grim future. He then disclosed that educated Coloureds began discussing this. Everyone expected an imminent bloodbath. Pieter's response demonstrated these feelings:

> That came about because things did not work out the way we thought it would, you know, number 1. Number 2, the political climate became very dicey, number 3, I felt within myself that the best way to have a life for my family, was to get out.

Many non-white groups had to go underground or meet secretly at the time. The TLSA began meeting more regularly and as discussions centered on the Coloured predicament, fear and disillusionment became widespread. "Like-minded teachers" were coming together to formulate plans and to discuss their options. Leaving the country was steadily being considered the only option for their survival:

> I had a discussion with Mr. H. [a fellow teacher] and (pause) we were sort of having a very close relationship at that point. He said something about emigrating.

Through this mutual teacher and friend, Pieter was introduced to my father, shortly before our

departure for Canada in mid 1967. Together they planned their arrival in Canada and other pertinent details.[59] Educated Coloureds such as Pieter realized that the government could not legally refuse their application to emigrate. Besides, if skilled, within an acceptable age group and English speaking, one may be successful at emigrating to an English-speaking country like Canada. Nonetheless, even if all the criteria was met, the transition, planning and success of emigrating was neither straightforward or guaranteed:

> I sent in an application for a passport on January the twentieth…it took me six months to get that document (pause) which is entitled to me, as a citizen of the country!

> I think it was about 7, 8 or 9 interviews. Not interviews but interrogations! They didn't want me to leave. Because I was an educated person…and will come and blurt out against them. That is what they were afraid of.

After months of numerous interrogations by three agents, Pieter recalled that he was completely fed up and decided to simply ask one of the officials about this suspicion. Unbelievably, his response corroborates:

> "We're a bit afraid that you'll get overseas, and you'll blurt out things!"

With the publication ban and the severity of oppression and violence escalating, the South African government did not want to risk having issues with Amnesty International or with their numerous foreign investors. He recounted that as a steady stream of educated Coloureds apply to leave South Africa toward the latter part of the 1960s, the government

[59] Coloured teachers assisted each other with details, knowledge sharing, job possibilities, settlement and the like, prior to their departure and after arriving in Canada.

became more concerned with what was occurring. As a result, longer wait times for applications to emigrate became common,which then held up the possibility to receive passports, make plans, sell belongings and make travel arrangements:

> Every time I came there they said, “We have information” [against him] and I said, “No. What is information?” They said “No”. There’s some information on me (meaning they had some incriminating information about him). Every time I was interviewed there was 3 of them interviewing (interrogating) me.

A shroud of fear also hung over the non-white community. If anyone was caught planning or meeting in groups, they could face reprisal because of new laws put in place to crack down on dissention.[60] Surveillance became more and more prevalent. Another method used to deter, or delay emigration was the charging of fees per head to leave the country. This further hampered the emigration process. Pieter remembered that fees of “150R per adult and 300R per child” were put in place and had to be paid immediately after receiving your passport. He recounted that the amount and scale of planning needed "to pull off" an emigration in secrecy, was massive and stressful. He also mentioned how difficult it was to continue his jobs with the absences needed to meet with officials each time they unexpectedly called him in. Timing and planning were critical to success in leaving. He then changed his strategy:

> You see, I was on 3 months vacation already. I had to be free of my responsibilities from the Board of Education. So, within that time I had the freedom to be moving around and doing something for myself (planning).

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[60] The Suppression of Communism Act was put in place to ensure that anyone could be detained and jailed if *suspected* of literally anything which was not covered under any other existing law. Individuals could be detained or charged with plotting against the government. Gatherings of more than 2 people were therefore outlawed.

Finally, when he had just about had enough, Pieter decided to try an new tactic: to appeal to one of the younger investigators whom he saw regularly hoping that perhaps he would be pliable. To his surprise, it worked! With that, Pieter soon received his paperwork and could finally begin making travel arrangements.

Pieter had planned many aspects of his departure and related arrangements with fellow teachers. He was to depart with Mr. H, (a fellow teacher) and his family, on the same flight. Instead of booking with the usual travel agent used by most Coloureds, he decided to book with another, as he continued to be concerned about safety while devising a successful exit plan: [61]

> I thought, "He's Indian and they [Whites] have a greater grip on him." So, I went to another fellow there in Cape Town. He's a White fellow. Now, he knows the situation [in South Africa with Coloureds] and I told him everything I'm going to do. He said "I know exactly the situation you're in … I will see that anything I can do for you, I'll do".

Pieter also said that he paid this gentleman the additional monetary fee mentioned above, suspecting now that it was accepted "under the table". After many months of meetings and with his paper work now in order, just prior to his fortieth birthday, Pieter was ready to depart. He was to fly to Malawi, then Paris and finally, over the Atlantic to Toronto, accompanied by the fellow teacher (and his family) that he had made plans with, prior to leaving South Africa.

[61] Most teachers used Ali Mohamed, an Indian travel (see Venter, 1974). Coincidentally, he was also our travel agent.

AN UNNERVING DEPARTURE

Pieter recalled the airport scene and saying goodbye to his wife and family. As emotional and hectic as it was, he said that unexpectedly he noticed that the three agents from his interrogations were there! He recounted that they simply stood still, watching him. Nervous and concerned that he might be stopped, Pieter's mind raced as he thought of how best to deal with the situation while simultaneously not alarming his family, already devastated with his impending departure. He decided to wait for as long as possible, and to then make a clear run for it in full view of the pilot and crew. Pieter rationalized that if he was the last person to board, he could make it:

> I could see these three fellows. I knew them by that time. I knew them! They were sort of there (and he points), on the periphery. Standing there (pause). My family was there. My in- laws were there, some of my people were there too. So, I stood there. The call came that it is time to board now. I could see the fellows were watching me.

Pieter said he was "thoroughly nervous", more so for his family as they would be remaining in South Africa for a few more months before their departure, another plan he felt was best. However, standing at the airport that day, he was not so sure:

> So, when the call came that I must almost board the plane now, I got through the gate. I now greeted all of them. I walked from here to there and I looked back and they waved at me and I waved at them. And slowly… I did it.

Pieter walked slowly and methodically to the plane. He confessed he was feeling very apprehensive. The crew had been waiting on him and were agitated, but Pieter, although frightened, was confident of the decision he had made to ensure his

safety and successful departure:

> I wanted to be visible so that the captain would see me. Yes. Now, when I got on the plane it was such a relief (pause)! I kept looking at the door. Kept looking at the…and, when I saw the door closing, I said, yes! (silence) You still have that kind of that inbred fear (he places his fist on his chest).

The weight of the whole situation came crashing down on Pieter. He relayed that he was consumed with apprehension, that the authorities would accost him. He emotionally recounted:

> I was sitting there, and I was shaking. I was definitely shaking as to whether I would make it. When the plane started moving I said, maybe something's going to happen now! It started. It got to the runway and then, it went in to the air!

When they landed in Malawi, Pieter got out to stretch his legs. Almost immediately, a man came uncomfortably close to him. He began to speak to Pieter casually about how beautiful Malawi was and other frivolous details. Pieter intuitively realizes that this man is from the authorities although it seemed like a casual conversation. It was a form of intimidation Pieter knew well.

> And he says to me "Well this is a beautiful country." I knew he was connected to the Cape Town municipal authority. So, I said it is beautiful and he asked me "Are you going to England?"

In what can he considered a sheer act of defiance Pieter responded:

> No, I'm going further than that. He says, "Where to?" I said, "I'm going to Canada!" Because you know, at that point, I couldn't care less!

As planned, Pieter was to be traveling with the fellow teacher who had introduced him to my father shortly before we left in June of 1967. Since we were leaving first, this common acquaintance thought we could assist once Pieter got to Canada and we did just that. Not only with Pieter but with many other immigrants as well. However, during Pieter's heart stopping airport circumstance, this fellow teacher "bolted" with his family, without so much as acknowledging Pieter once he was on the plane. Regardless, Pieter had little time to worry about this, he said he simply assumed this man did not want to risk his own family's safety and therefore he was avoiding having Pieter nearby. Nonetheless, on their arrival in Paris, this same fellow again jumped into a cab and left Pieter on his own, with not so much as a glance. Knowing no one and feeling very strange and concerned about what had just happened, Pieter had no choice but to merely begin walking. He hoped to find some lodging on the way. Strangely, out of nowhere a woman with a South African accent approached him:

> She came to say, "Have you got a place to stay?" I said "No". I will never forget that, and she said. "don't worry I will get you a place".
>
> Yes, she was South African. Her brother was with us in Cape Town… I knew him. He was with that little Finesco.

Pieter relayed that as wonderful as it was to have such good fortune, he could not rest that night in Paris. He knew no one. He was in a strange country and in a stranger's house. He was terribly nervous. Pieter's mind poured over the events of the past twenty- four hours, of the past year. He worried about his family, but the reality of the situation was that he

could not contact anyone. He was just shuddering:

> Very nervous. Very, very nervous. Not so much for myself but for my family.

The next day came quickly and Pieter was unsure of what to expect. Much to his surprise, he was taken to the airport and before he new it he was on a flight to Canada. He could not believe it! He had finally made it. On arrival at Pearson International, Toronto, Pieter was picked up at the airport by an insurance agent who had befriended many South African Coloured immigrants. It was then that I learned:

> Through your dad. Your dad knew him!

> And your dad said to me [in South Africa prior to our departure], as soon as you get to Canada, I'll see if there's a job (pause). He found some places where I could get all that information. Your dad told me! And, put me on to a guy. He took me to the Board of Education. He was an Inspector and he signed me up [gave him a job].

That night and over the next few weeks, Pieter had dinner with us and stayed between our apartment and another fellow teacher's place. And with that, Pieter was set.

NAVIGATING LIFE IN THE NEW HOMELAND

Pieter continued to relay that he was *lucky* in many ways. Thankfully, the few acquaintances he knew who were already in Toronto, assisted in his adjustment and helped with important matters such as finding him a job, an apartment and life insurance. Regardless, often the simplest things were difficult to navigate; how and where to grocery shop, bank, how to take transit, where to find things for their homes. Each day presented

new challenges. Nonetheless, Pieter was relieved and thankful that his new life had begun:

> It was a step in the door. I knew now I had a place where I can go [to work]. I have a home where I can walk. It took me about an hour to walk from the school because I didn't know the lay of the land, of how the buses run. I went, and I bought myself a loaf of bread, some chops, everything worked out. Then I said well, I have to go [to get supplies], I went to Honest Eds.

Although his new position was rather specialized, working with boys who had learning disabilities, the inspector was wholly confident that Pieter could manage, given his credentials. An unexpected response came from Pieter about an early meeting with this gentleman:

> He said "Come". And he took me to a restaurant where we could sit and eat you know! My thoughts were, hey! I could not even, in my <u>own</u> country, sit and eat with a White guy and here is this fellow coming, who doesn't know me, and he was honest! And I said to him, "I have no experience in this work that I am doing now." He said, "Don't worry, I will arrange it with the principal there"

Pieter was having great success in establishing his career and setting up his living arrangements. However, being unable to communicate with his wife was distressing him.

When Pieter finally reached his wife by phone, she was inconsolable, as were the boys. He reassured her that things would be fine, even though he worried himself about their ongoing safety back home. Finally, after a few months, Pieter's family was slated to arrive by ship, landing as usual, in Montreal. Thankfully, aside from a few logistical issues on the boat which occurred when his wife was by herself with two small children, there were no major glitches. Luckily, for Pieter, he was on such good terms with his

principal that he was given a few days off to travel to Quebec to pick his loved ones up. Pieter fully remembers the events of that day after taking the train station in Outremont:

> And when I had to go down to the wharf, and when J*** saw me, she came running out there! The boys came running! They were all crying (pause). So, that was that, and that was the start. My family was distraught you know. And I could see (pause). And I was trying to pacify them all. It was the first time out [of south Africa] and now she [his wife] has to make a new beginning. She was distraught but when she saw me there… (Pieter looks down, exhales and sighs).

After a few seconds of containing himself, he was elated. saying that with the family reunited, their new lives could begin.

The boys attended school almost immediately and Pieter continued to teach with great success. Pieter and his family remained in their first apartment for several years before moving to a larger apartment. During that time, they often spent their weekends getting to know the city, visiting other South Africans and remained faithful church goers. There were new challenges, experiences and moments of real happiness and contentment. However, Pieter reveals that his wife was often down.

Leaving South Africa meant that Pieter's wife moved away from her family and their beloved home for the first time in her life. Besides, this move was also indefinite, more than likely permanent. For most Coloureds, it was rare to emigrate with any extended family. This made the decision to leave even more difficult. Compounding this harsh reality, he draws attention to the escalating political situation in South Africa which they knew their families were facing, making the adjustment and stress overseas substantially more taxing. Pieter's wife was missing her parents, her friends and was

overwhelmed by the reality of never going back to her home country. He described how daunting the move was for her disclosing that his wife continually asked him to return home. He relayed that he could only pacify her by saying “Yes, soon.”, knowing full well that it was simply not possible. Thankfully having some South African acquaintances somewhat nearby, helped to ease the pain and reality of the situation.

Pieter then spoke of coming up to Penetanguishene to visit my family and his experience renting a car. He and my father were like-minded and seeing each other here and there was an utter pleasure for both men. Pieter shared that he walked for almost three hours to get a rental car at a Dodge dealership in the West end. Then, he drove up north with his family, without much knowledge of how to get there. It was Thanksgiving weekend and he keenly remembers that there must have been over thirty people at the small house for dinner, all newcomers. He recounted how busy my parents were cooking, getting things for everyone, entertaining and reminiscing. On the ride home, unexpectedly, it began to snow. Yet another new experience. While driving as he said, “at a snail’s pace” everyone was nervous. The car slid and veered, and Pieter disclosed that he had to hide his own fear to assure his family everything would be alright. Finally, he dropped everyone off at home and drove to the dealership to return the car. Dressed in only a thin jacket, Pieter walked home. It would take him over two and a half hours to get back. He admitted however to being concerned about his safety that night given his memories of life in South Africa. The decision for a non-white man to walk alone at night would not end well. He continually reminded himself that he was in Canada. However, Pieter recounted that this innate fear bothered him more than being frozen to the bone.

Pieter's first teaching position in Canada remained challenging and he disclosed that he continually questioned his capacity to be successful at the position. The principal however, was convinced otherwise. A few years later, Pieter did get another permanent position in a mainstream public school, a position he kept for decades. This was a rewarding job and he made a positive impact on his students and the school. However, as well as everything was going, Pieter relayed that he often thought about racism and wondered when it would surface in his work or everyday life in Canada. He said that he also discussed this with other South Africans when they met casually. Nevertheless, he said that he and many other Coloured teachers rarely experienced discrimination in Canada. Once he had enough security in his job and the family was settled, Pieter set his sights on another burning desire, a return to higher learning.

Pieter made every effort to go to university, something he and other immigrants were unable to do in South Africa as Coloureds. He attended York University in Toronto. He recalled being a diligent student and that although he had a very busy, full time teaching position and was helping to raise his family, he successfully completed a Master of Arts Degree. Regardless of this huge accomplishment, Pieter disclosed his desire to return to university, yet again, to complete his doctorate. Coincidentally, he was adamant to write a thesis about Coloureds and their experiences in South Africa. While Pieter was fulfilling his dream, his family was also finding their way.

The boys went to a local school and became busy with extracurricular activities. They began enjoying their new lives in Canada and had interest in the Cadets and music. However, Pieter again discussed that his wife had a very difficult and long adjustment to

life in Canada. He told me that he worried about her since she was very melancholy and cried a lot. He mentioned that he tried to encourage her with a return home in the future and he also promised her family reunification. After several more years, Pieter and his family were able to get few members of his wife's extended family to Canada for a visit. In fact, one of his wife's nieces was a qualified nurse and with their assistance, she eventually emigrated as well and lived with them.

Having a family member in Canada dramatically helped Pieter's wife. He spoke of buying a lovely house outside the city, that they had a beautiful garden and kept very busy with school, work and extracurricular activities. They were also actively involved with their church and related charitable work. He repeated that many of "the fellow church goers became very good friends" of the family and remained so to this day. After a decade or so, life in Canada began to feel more comfortable and things were running smoothly.

When Pieter got together with other South Africans, he and the men would play their favorite card game, *klaverjas*, eat well and reminisce about South Africa. Political discussion was always part of the evening as were discussions about how lucky they all were to have made it out of South Africa and to be living in a country as free as Canada. Nevertheless, there were always concerns over the wellbeing of those left behind and a nagging suspicion lingered that some members of the community might be "risky" meaning that they might be spies. Even today, as Pieter recounted, he spoke in a hushed tone. All in all, Pieter attended some South African functions over the years, but he said he kept this to a minimum, preferring to attend more church functions and charitable

events. He recalled becoming fed up with the “Coloured mentality”, competitiveness, narrow mindedness and aspiring tendencies. He reasoned that although no one can doubt that Canada had been good to everyone, strangely noticeable was that, within this immigrant community, many people became ill, most often with heart attacks and cancer. Going to funerals became common but never commonplace. Unexpectedly, illness struck Pieter’s family.

Pieter’s wife was diagnosed with cancer about fourteen years after coming to Canada. Her treatment began immediately and was rough. Together they struggled through it. At the time, many of his dear friends including my father had passed away. All had cancer or heart attacks, all were very young. Pieter did not want to discuss this subject much aside from saying that it was incredibly difficult. Sadly, during his wife’s treatment, Pieter’s mother passed away and given the situation, he was unable to attend the funeral. As his wife’s illness became progressively more serious, it took a definite toll on everyone. Though she experienced a short remission, Pieter’s wife eventually succumbed to her illness. She was only in her early 50s. He and the boys were devastated, as was everyone else in the community. A difficult period of mourning lay ahead. Needing to come to terms with what had also happened to his mother, Pieter realized that he had to return to South Africa to rebury his mother in the family plot.

Pieter did return home to move his mother’s remains to their family’s home town plot in Campbell. He commented about how surreal but comforting it was to have his parents together, once again. One of Pieter’s brothers had become a minister and presided over the exhumation and reburial. He relayed that many townspeople were in attendance.

This brought him much-needed peace of mind. Surprisingly, this was all that he relayed about his return to South Africa. The next number of years Pieter tried his best to keep exceedingly busy as he was broken hearted. He and his boys now had to face a life which had been severely altered.

In time, Pieter's older son completed a good education and found a great position at a renowned aircraft manufacturing company. He also maintained an active role in flying and eventually bought his own personal aircraft. He married a young lady, herself an immigrant from the United Kingdom and eventually had two sons. Pieter's younger son struggled with juvenile diabetes and was unable to find his way after his mother's death. He unexpectedly passed away in his late thirties. This was yet another shock and trauma for Pieter's small family. To add to the sorrow, Pieter's wife's niece died a few years later. She also had cancer. Reflecting, Pieter relays that there were many moments that he was incredibly distraught, but he knew he had to persevere.

Pieter remained a faithful Christian. He traveled, returned to painting, went to concerts, the theatre and enjoyed wine country. He frequented the McMichael Gallery, held classes and always thought about moving to the Niagara Region. Unexpectedly, in his later life, Pieter was also diagnosed with cancer. Although, faced with this sobering news, he pushed forward and recovered well. He did not expand further. Notably, he began to write a manuscript and seriously considered returning to university to complete the dissertation he always wanted to write. However, several years later, Pieter had a stroke and once again he had to embark on working diligently at a long recovery. Yet again, he did well.

Within the last few years Pieter experienced a few mini strokes but remained fiercely independent, living on his own. Reluctantly, he was moved to a retirement residence in Niagara- on- the-Lake, a much-loved region. With some assistance he attempts to remain independent. Pieter is still able to have thoughtful discussions and retains his positive outlook (after a bit of persuasion) and sense of humour. What was most concerning for him now, was being amongst people who were not "capable" anymore. Over the past few months Pieter became weaker and now spends most days bedridden or in his wheelchair. When asked if I can visit, he always says "Yes, next week. When I'm feeling better!" He says these same words each time I call. I am thankful for the opportunity I had to interview Pieter. His life narrative broadened my understanding of Coloureds and of my parents tremendously.

Pieter's life narrative also demonstrated many aspects found in existing research (Adhikari, 2005) related to Coloured identity influences and resilience in the areas of assimilationism, racialization, marginality and diasporic movement. Like Eve, Pieter's responses in this regard were not always obvious, but sometimes hidden in his description of activities or actions.

Pieter's manner of speech, religious affiliation and steadfast devotion, his deportment and cultural traits all demonstrated forms of assimilationism which persisted since his life in South Africa. His personal drive and resilience against difficult odds, his desire to attain more and more education and his acknowledgement that his parents-in-law accepted him because of his skills even though he "did not have the colour" (of skin) are examples of the influence of racialization featured in Fanon (1963, 1967), Adhikari

(2005) and Kane (2007). Pieter's relentless pursuit of higher education reflects its sheer importance, the deeply ingrained Coloured notion of education being emancipatory, and a path to acceptance and greater human worth, a by product of their marginality and the effect of being mixed race, in a severely racialized society (Adhikari; 2005). Having briefly summarized the life narratives individually, there are many common features which reflect the main themes (influences) related to identity resilience, corresponding tendencies (traits) and implications which will be discussed together in the following chapter, along with my final thoughts.

CHAPTER 4
REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Adhikari (2005) outlined four core principles which influence and caused the stability of Coloured identity construction: assimilationism, intermediary status, derogatory stereotyping, and marginality. These principles reinforced Coloured character traits, most of which overlap (Adhikari, 2005). A key aspect of Coloured identity is its complexity and inherent contradictions that have been directly affected by numerous social, political and historical factors as well as by Coloureds themselves (Adhikari, 2005). Several findings from my interviews and other research are discussed. They are related to influences (the core principles and associated "traits" as outlined by Adhikari (2005)) which when coupled with settler colonialism, racialization and diasporic movement, have contributed to Coloured identity and trait resilience.

ASSIMILATIONISM

Coloured assimilationism clearly dominated the interview discussions. Assimilationism vis-a-vis my interviews demonstrated fissures and cracks. However, assimilationist tendencies were unquestionable. Given the direct relationship between race and privilege in South Africa especially during apartheid, the closer to being White one was, the more resources and benefits were attainable. Tatum (1997), Posel, (2001) and Hoyt (2016) shed light on the existence of advantage based on race. Many scholars (Maylam, 2001; Kane, 2007; Fassin, 2011) attest to the existence of a relational

comparison which results in privileges and structural consequences including evaluation and racial evaluation that is felt and grasped economically and then internalized. The informant interviews exposed themes related to assimilationism centering on: an affinity to aspire to being White, preferences for indicators of *whiteness,* which fall into the categories of features, speech, culture and deportment, and, the existence of internalized White racist views, in line with Adhikari's (2005) findings.

Positive views about "whiteness" are revealed throughout the narratives gathered. The clearest examples came from Gavin as he spoke of whiteness, using positive adjectives such as "nice", "fine" or "you know, nice European features …" or in his assertion that, "there's an authenticity about being White". He also drew attention to how Coloured immigrants and resident South Africans will "be the first to mention their White relatives" in *any* discussion no less those discussions related to family ancestry. All the informants revealed the European roots within their family first. Eve's comments, regarding her father who "dressed European" and "no, we did not speak Afrikaans" or "we were an English family" are other examples. Notable is that Coloured assimilationist tendencies revealed a proclivity for all things related to being "British white" not to simply to being "white".

Vividly recounted was the tendency for Coloureds to embrace indicators of British culture over anything related to Afrikaaners. The British were thought of as more sophisticated, well-mannered, educated and refined, in other words, the height of civility (Adhikari, 2005). Each informant revealed that the British were held in high esteem. Gavin's response was unquestionable. His description that his uncle "was like the Queen's cousin", "like British royalty" and that he pushed his nose upward to exemplify

superiority made it clear what he was referring to. Eve's family also displayed a tendency to mimic British culture revealed in her disclosure that they favoured formal table settings, embraced 4:00pm tea time and exhibited a manner and speech indicative of the British. Pieter's manner, phrasing and word choice, coupled with a lilt to his voice are also unquestionably British. In addition, Coloureds still value this perceived "refinement" in manners and deportment. In our home for example, "proper manners," tea time, the use of tea cups and saucers versus mugs and a preference for formal table settings were the norm. Although Coloureds, especially educated Coloureds are bilingual, English is still preferred and spoken more often by immigrant Coloureds.[62] Typically, Coloured immigrants have not taught their children Afrikaans. This point exemplifies that although Coloureds tend to hold indicators of "whiteness" in high esteem, associations with the Dutch are not favored.

All informants aired a deep dislike for Afrikaaners and anything associated with the Dutch. Their responses such as: "Oh, they hated Afrikaans", "the language stood for the oppressor" and "They [the Afrikaaner] were sort of coarse, you know." all illustrates this. Terms such as "dwars" as well as the reference "Boere", carry a very negative and derogatory connotations within the Coloured community and are often used with reference to the Dutch or Whites. They remain in use by immigrant community members.[63] The tendency to assimilate with Whites, is often coupled with an over-all

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[62] Afrikaans is a blended language which is spoken by Coloureds. Although Afrikaans is predominantly Dutch, many words come from German, Portuguese, Indigenous languages (Khoi and San), African languages, Malay and other Asian/Indonesians influences (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_Coloureds); Shell (2012); Williams (2016).

[63] Dwars is a derogatory term meaning dumb, not bright, idiotic. Boere is the pronunciation Coloureds use for the proper term Boer (Dutch farmer). It carries a very negative connotation.

distancing from anything related to Blacks or “darker” folks.

Both Gavin’s grandparents and Eve’s parents and family members were not in favor of their choices of spouses who were of colour. This caused lasting divisions within both extended families, started their marriages off on a negative footing and reinforced ancestral silencing which endured well after the informants left South Africa. Comments such as; “The thing I know for sure, is that Blacks were just lesser” and “An Indian, is beneath us” confirm this distancing. Gavin’s comments directly confirm this: “cause when you grow up there and you’re Coloured, its ingrained into you that the more- white you can be (pause) is better.” In addition, any indicator of a genetic link toward being “darker” such as a dark skin tone, kinky or very curly hair, was not acceptable. This has always been an issue for Coloureds and a source of belittling or disparaging commentary. Hair straightening was observed as an obsession for Coloureds and continues even amongst immigrants in Canada (Adhikari, 2005). Like most Coloured women, I admit to being preoccupied with hair. I am well known for this. Admittedly, I often find myself thinking of words such as unruly, unkept or wild when I see frizzy/curly hair, especially my own. Most Coloured men keep their curly hair very short (or bald) and readily use product to keep their hair in line. Brylcream was a classic men’s hair product which was used extensively by Coloured men. In fact, it is featured in the District Six Museum, a memorial building, which is located at the site of this well-known, vibrant Coloured area, in Cape Town, that had been demolished during apartheid and its people displaced. As a Coloured with curly hair, you grow up knowing the comparison of *kroes* (frizzy/curly) with wild or unruly (behavioral adjective), equated with an association with blacks. Coloureds will admit that these terms carry a more- weighty, negative inference then what

is simply verbalized.

Each informant dealt with this topic differently. Gavin was more overt and direct with his commentary. For example, he stated that: “the evening never ends with somewhere the Coloured subject comes”. On the other hand, Eve and Pieter’s narratives were more obscure. For example, the older informants alluded to racial differentiation in the following manner: “Well it was sort of assumed if that person is black, he has to go around the corner to get his mail” or, “Blacks would know their place” or, “Felt out of place”. It is obvious in their more generalized statements such as “they worked on trains or delivered milk or garbage.” The internalization of White racist views is also noticeable in common occurrences of Coloured prejudice often directed at their own community members.

Gavin disclosed his family’s prejudice and provided many examples: his grandparents not going to his parents wedding because she was dark, his mother not letting a “darker” boy come over to play or his father being impolite to the little Black girl who was playing with his granddaughter. Eve’s family also did not attend her wedding. Surprisingly, Gavin also confessed to being prejudice himself, “I’m as guilty as anybody else. And that’s what that country left us with”. Although the other informants did not reveal any sign of harboring prejudicial feelings, some of their comments or phrasing could be misconstrued as internalizing racist views such as their inferences related to jobs associated with black people or acknowledging their perceived, lesser status. The informants did, however, recognize the propensity for white racist thinking within the Coloured immigrant community in Canada. This was one of the main reasons the

informants said that they distanced themselves from many members within the community. It was common to hear Coloureds act in such a way toward other Coloureds.

Coloured intolerance of other Coloureds also stems from overt displays of material wealth, white racist values and comparison by many immigrants. Some responses which exemplify this include: "Well, they're not our class" or "They're not "our" type of Coloured people." Gavin's responses particularly exemplify this:

> So why are they not our kinda Coloured people? Yet, last night there was a guy, just as dark, sitting at or table visiting. Why is he our [type of] Coloured but that guy over there he's not? So then again it comes (pause). Now, it not so much the skin colour, it's the features.

Coloured assimilationist tendencies and a striving to have indicators of *whiteness,* caused by an internalization of racist views, gave rise to a high degree of ancestral silencing, shame, self-questioning and disparagement (DuBois, 1903; Erasmus, 2000; Adhikari, 2005). Ancestral silencing is still common amongst expats.

Gavin called attention to this perfectly when he noted that Coloureds will not hesitate to tell you about their White relatives. Knowing the background of their White ancestors with certainty but having little certainty about relatives of colour or not ever mentioning darker relatives, is typical of many Coloureds (Adhikari, 2005). However, not engaging their immediate family in discussions of their own ancestral gaps is an obvious example of the continuation of ancestral silencing in Canada. Personally, our family had not engaged in discussions about extended family genetic ties, until recently. What was readily acknowledged was that our maternal grandmother was Dutch and that our paternal

grandfather *looked* European. It was only recently that a cousin brought to light that our paternal grandfather was Sikh and that our last name was Singh and not Daniels.[64] No one in the family was aware of this. Although not overtly stated, shame is a recurring, although hidden theme within the interviews. The shame associated with the possibility of being related to so-called *"*darker*"* nationalities remains unquestionable.

Strauss (2009), sheds light on the shame and confusion related to Coloured identity. She brings this forward through the literary writing of Coloured expats such as Wicomb (1998) and van Wyk (2004). Erasmus' (2000) research also reveals shame (and respectability) as a central expression of colouredness (Adhikari, 2005, p. 15). Gavin's admission that he had previously been unable to feel close(r) to his "darker" grandchildren stands as an example. He expanded, saying that his reaction to them made him guilty and ashamed. Consequently, during our interview, he questioned his own self worth because of his prejudices. This made him feel worse about himself, especially since the children loved him unconditionally. Eve approached shame and prejudice differently.

Eve's reluctance to divulge any information about her extended family's prejudice, and perhaps shame, became obvious through her many silences, shrugs and comments such as" I don't know", "I'm not sure", "it was generally understood" or "well, I just knew" when asked to expand. Eve also did not reveal her family's prejudice to her children nor was it discussed between Eve and Daniel after it occurred. Lorenz and

[64] Common amongst Coloureds and also supporting ancestral silencing is that many last names were given to slaves as they entered the Cape. Months of the year such as September, March, August, February are common last names as well as biblical names given as surnames such as Daniels, Solomon, Isaacs, Abrahams. These given names complicate ancestral identification and their origin, in slavery is largely unknown to those bearing these names.

Watkins (2001) aptly contend that this “silenced knowing’ (Stevens et al., 2013, p. 136) are understandings we carry with us, “that we can take refuge in” because it feels “dangerous to speak them to ourselves and others” (Stevens et al., 2013, p. 136). Suspicion can be also recognized as being a by-product of assimilationism.

Pieter worried for years about who could be trusted within the Coloured community in Canada. His comments that he was not “sure” of certain people reflects this. In Canada, he continued to question who might be working for Whites to monitor expats given the willingness of Coloureds to "follow the White lead" back home. His comments such as “and of course Wynberg [the Coloured community in this area] was always behind them (Whites) like little dogs…running after Whites” exemplify. Coincidentally, a substantial number of Coloureds living in Toronto came from the Wynberg area. Gavin’s suspicion is more about hidden racism which he believes is noticeable everywhere, in Canada. His numerous confrontations with other people, whether at work or in his daily life, are clear examples of how Gavin confronts this hidden racism. Sadly, these Coloured assimilationist leanings lead to more fracturing of the Coloured community in Canada.

Eve and Daniel moved up to Huronia for employment but were not hesitant to do so to escape the prevalent assimilationist issues often found within their community. Pieter and his family also moved to an outlying area of Toronto where there were no Coloureds for similar reasons. Gavin attests to Coloured mentality being predictable and not something he cared for. Nevertheless, this community fracturing can also be recognized as an example of how Coloured assimilationism is sustained in Canada.

Notably, this community easily melded with the host country population. Another obvious reflection of Coloured, community fracturing is the lack of cohesion and staying power of the few South African associations in Ontario. Although an anecdotal observation and perhaps subject to more research, once in Canada, very few children of Coloured immigrants married people from their own community. Gavin's narratives convey this, "South African boys [Coloured] marry White girls". Europeans were thought to demonstrate the height of civility, culture and education. Coloureds, especially the petite bourgeoise yearned to achieve these markers. Their obvious desire to attain this can be recognized in their deportment, another glaring example of assimilationism (Adhikari, 2005).

If you meet a Coloured person, one of the most noticeable characteristics is that that person will act or speak in an *overly* appropriate, manner or in what is often construed as an overtly sophisticated manner, indicative of European high society. Growing up in a Coloured household meant speaking politely, being seen and not heard, having very good table manners, acting in a so-called *civilized* manner, not being an embarrassment to others and "knowing your place". Both Gavin and I laughed as we said these examples simultaneously, demonstrating how well-known this is in our community. This exemplifies how understood it is for Coloureds to always be aware of their behaviour, socially. When asked what the most important thing Coloured parents expected of their children Eve said "manners". A positive aspect of the internalizing of perceived White values is revealed in the importance of education.

An underemphasized facet of the Coloured aspiring tendency is the emphasis placed on education. Coloureds (especially the elite) believed that education would assist tremendously, in the long run, in their attempt to achieve acceptance in South African society (Adhikari, 2005). Education was thought to be associated with respectability, manners and civility, all prized attributes believed to be the ultimate, emancipatory element, attainable by anyone (Adhikari, 2005, p. 91). It was of utmost importance in a society where non-whites could not escape their noticeable racial background. A well-known sentence my father used to say was "They can take everything away from you, but they cannot take away your mind, your education". Growing up in Canada, there was never a doubt that we, the children in my family, would not attend university and, we all certainly did. Although it was not verbalized often, it was generally understood to be the norm in our household. I admit to also feeling the same way with my own children, years later. A point needing emphasis is that all the Coloured characteristics which will be addressed tend to overlap, as do the core principles which influence them. This will become more noticeable as we examine Coloured attributes further.

INTERMEDIARY STATUS

Coloureds filled an intermediary category within South Africa's racialized system. Posel (2001) and Beinart and DuBow (1995) state that race was a determinant of everything during apartheid. Coloured intermediary status therefore displayed itself daily as devaluation was related to racial difference. Many of the informant responses attest to this racial *difference*, devaluation and inferiority based on race as highlighted by DuBois

(1903), Fanon (1967) and Adhikari (2005). The liminal position which Coloureds held in South African society contributed to characteristics such as: inferiority based on devaluation, acquiescence and passivity, competitiveness with other Coloureds distancing themselves from their own community and other non-whites and acceptance issues. Gavin inadvertently provided one of the best examples of Coloured intermediary status: "You're always second in the race, right?" Eve also revealed this sentiment in her comment: "We always thought we were less valuable then Whites". Although a surprise, even Pieter alluded to devaluation when he said: "and, once I was accepted, oh! She would do anything for me…I didn't have the colour, but they had no education". Insecurities such as these and feelings of not being good enough, continued to haunt Coloureds and become obvious in the typical tendency of immigrants to overdoing things, compensate, show off or simply voice their acceptance of not being good enough. Comments such as "It's drummed into us that we're inferior". or "Ya…the shade of your skin gives you privilege" and "…there is somewhat an…authenticity, about the White side of things". These statements attest to devaluation. From the interviews, coupled with personal knowledge of many community members, there seems to be an attempt to offset this inferiority or vulnerability by overworking, overthinking every scenario and overexplaining oneself. Coloureds also tend to work hard at excelling at whatever endeavor they undertake. The informant life narratives certainly attest to this. Regardless, Coloureds immigrants still tend to retain many insecurities and vulnerabilities as evidenced in the interview data.

Gavin often spoke of feelings of vulnerability or needing to overcome this vulnerability. This was central to his personality. His self confessed, confrontational manner and the continual issues with others, whether at work or even while doing simple tasks, in large part not only reflect vulnerability/ insecurity but the need to prove that he is "not" vulnerable. Interestingly, he often conflated vulnerability with the possibility of being slighted, reminiscent of his racialized past in South Africa: "There is a line…I will not step over it and put myself in a vulnerable position for somebody to slight me". Eve also alluded to having feelings of inadequacy at her job and within her relationship with her husband throughout their marriage. She attributed this to him being from a chauvinistic era but never considered it to be a residual trait stemming from her experiences with continual devaluation as a Coloured woman, in South Africa. Pieter spoke of not having enough experience for doing the teaching job he took in Canada, but the fact that the Inspector hired him a week after arriving in Canada is an indication that he was well qualified. Vulnerability, insecurity and self worth often lead to either anger or confrontation as per Gavin or passivity as per Eve. In Pieter or Daniel's case, vulnerability, insecurity and self worth were dealt with through more diligent work, multitasking or through the attainment of higher education.

Gavin often spoke with tension in his voice and he was continually dismayed with life and people's treatment of him, in Canada. This was exemplified quite often in his body language, head shaking and sighs when he relayed stories of perceived ill-treatment directed at him. Eve was rather opposite in her reaction. She often verbalised that she "just went with the flow" or that she "didn't give it much thought" or said "oh well" or

shrugged, sighed or looked down often to incidents which should normally have incited a stir of emotions such as prejudice. These submissive responses are meaningful. Sonn (2013) states that "unspoken memory is a way of coping with dehumanising experiences, the denial of dignity and related shame generated by apartheid oppression" (p.136). Eve's choice of responses draws attention to her passivity and acquiescence, another Coloured characteristic and an associated response to devaluation. Deference and bowing to authority, being agreeable and going along with any given situation are all common Coloured traits. Returning to the informant data, irrespective of how gruff Gavin was at times, he still uttered responses reflective of acquiescence: "He [Whites] told me my place is here and I can be happy with that." or "I think it was better in South Africa, at least I knew who I was." Often however, these insecurities lead to a tendency for excessive striving, boasting or competitive behaviors, amongst many expatriate community members.

Adhikari (2005) also sheds light on Coloured opportunism arising from the Coloured inability to defend themselves from severe racial oppression and to attempt to hold on to what little privilege they had in this intermediary category. The need for Coloureds to boast or compare reflects this. Coloured intermediary status contributed to feeling of needing to prove one's worth, resulting in inclinations to compare, judge and boast.

Indicators of striving and competitiveness were easily recognizable in how quickly immigrant Coloureds moved into middle class lifestyles and soon had all the overt indicators of not simply a middle class but often of an upper middle- class lifestyle

such as playing golf, joining tennis clubs, driving fancy cars, larger and larger homes. All informants relayed that boastfulness was a glaring aspect of expat Coloured behavior and a considerable "turn-off". Pieter commented that he infrequently socialised with anyone and only went to a few association meetings in the early years because of the “pettiness and competitive nature” of Coloureds. Along with an intermediary positioning in South African society, “knowing your place” was a common phrase.

Strauss (2009) is quoted as revealing that within the Coloured community, “it is important for one’s social and psychological peace that one knows one’s place” (Adhikari, 2009, p. 34). Ironically, although this is a commonly used phrase amongst Coloureds, knowing where they belonged is exactly what Coloureds continually lacked, historically in South Africa. Their “place” within South African society was ambivalent and elusive. This liminal positioning had a negative impact on their identity construction and contributed to ongoing uncertainties about where they belonged. The following description exemplifies this. Gavin relayed that many community members would agree with this general description of a Coloured person:

> Somebody who is confused on where he belongs, who he belongs to. Generally, somebody who has low self esteem, owing to the fact that he doesn’t always look as he wants to.

The third of the core principles determined by Adhikari’s (2005) relates to the negative typecasting Coloureds endured historically, especially during apartheid and demonstrates how porous the borders are between each of the principle's he highlights.

DEROGARTORY STEREOTYPING

Derogatory stereotyping reinforced the inferiority felt by Coloureds. Along with their ambivalent status and the barrage of inferences related to their multiracial background, Coloureds were the main targets of inexorable, disparaging stereotyping within South African society.

Fanon (1967) viewed language as the integral system through which race travels and becomes internalized resulting in feelings of inferiority (p. 11). The Coloured example demonstrates this well. It is therefore apparent that continuous condemnation and commentary "cloaked in negative stereotypes" (Petrus, 2012, p. 87), has greatly impacted Coloured self-perception over generations and subsequently, they internalised these racist sentiments. Riggs (2008), Hall (1999) and Fanon (1967) speak of the language of race or race and discourse. In South Africa, Coloureds had to endure a constant stream of demeaning allegations and they were constantly shadowed by this historically (Adhikari, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2009; Erasmus, 2000; Posel, 2001). Racialization or racist ascriptions reinforced many traits that Coloureds possessed.

Racialization and the attachment of negative stereotypes to the bodies of Coloureds caused long-term, irreversible internalization of negativity associated with their racial categorisation/their sense of self. Riggs (2008) reminds that the materiality of race is revealed in the stereotyping of "physical markers" (pp. 2-3). Thus, the body becomes the location of the racial experience, Fanon (1963, 1967). When asked which derogatory terms were reserved for Coloureds, the informants relayed terms such as: vulgar, uneducated, drinkers, loose and deviant. These are similar to those references

mentioned in Adhikari (2005, p. 11). The following description relayed by one of the informants further exemplifies:

> A Coloured is a teacher, with low self- esteem and is always drunk.

Fassin (2011) also acknowledged that the body and race are fundamentally connected, and that racialization is not intellectual, it is *felt* (p. 425). Reading the following informant response, you get a sense of this internalization: “You just feel...they don’t have to say a word.” Fanon’s (1963) concept of, “the gaze” (p. 92) invariably came to mind when this statement was made during the interview process:

> When you’re thinking that that person is accepting of you and then they give you that…that look (He slowly turns his head to the side and looks away, shaking his head as he reflects).

Gavin’s encounter with a White South African is yet another example:

> She dismissed us (without words) and made you feel like you’re worthless.

Of note is that unconsciously, the informants, used the words “feeling(s)”, “sensed”, “just knew” or they touched their chest, shook their heads or placed their heads in a lowly position or remained silent. These gestures and word choices demonstrate how racialization is internalized, how it is deeply embodied and internally painful. These inadvertent responses reinforce the connection between the body and racialization, confirming how racialization demeans, and is internalized, deeply embedded, traumatic and painful (Fanon, 1967; Fassin, 2011). Coloureds have continuously been the recipients of offensive humour and generalizations, historically.

Notwithstanding apartheid era shame, historically Coloureds were maligned. The following *Rand Daily Mail* newspaper received and posted a comment by a Mr. P. Stanley which exemplifies this from June 1926:

> Can any man commit a greater crime then to be born a Coloured? (Venter, 1974, p.2) [65]

Phrases such as *brown people*, *the others, Hotnots* and *the left overs*, were negative terms, commonly used to refer to Coloureds. Strangely, Coloureds often refer to themselves as "brown" and it is not uncommon for them to use terms heavily charged with negative connotations about themselves and other Coloureds, again demonstrating how internalized these impressions are and how White racist views were internalized by this community (Adhikari, 2005). Often unbeknownst to Coloureds, these aspersions illuminate their own shame and anger, reinforce their inferiority and verify how unaccepted they have been. Derogatory stereotypes and racialized comments directed at Coloureds historically were usually associated with substance abuse, criminality, being uncivilized, immoral or being tainted in some way (Erasmus, 2000). This, in turn, caused Coloureds to become exceedingly mindful of their behaviour, image and looks. Sadly, lacking the positive identification needed for a strong sense of self- esteem, stability and cohesion, they were often unable to overcome these attacks on their character. Without an option of freeing themselves of their heritage, Coloureds turned to education, good manners, passivity and acquiescence and hard work to offset or counter such continual defamation. For some, attaining such qualities was impossible, for others it became a life

[65] *The Daily Show* host and comedian, Trevor Noah is also a Coloured South African and his recent autobiography, *Born A Crime* (2016) exemplifies how common this negative connotation is.

long preoccupation and often a very personal goal to strive for, especially for the elite. Daniel's and Pieter's cases offer such examples. Acceptance and belonging are overlapping issues Coloureds face and are by-products of the core principles outlined by Adhikari (2005).

Gavin repeatedly spoke of his troubles with acceptance and belonging in Canada. Eve and Pieter's reaction and responses differed. Both Eve and Pieter's wife suffered in similar ways concerning acceptance, belonging and ultimately, they had great difficulty with adjustment to their new lives in Canada. Eve suffered from depression and isolation, often feeling as though she did not belong. Notably, she disclosed that she was not able to call herself Canadian, even today. She recounted how alone she felt for many years and that she was on numerous types of medication. Pieter also spoke of his wife feeling the same way disclosing that her homesickness and depression debilitated her. He relayed that this was ongoing for many years after their arrival. A few of our female, family friends also spoke of similar experiences with severe depression and being prescribed numerous medications within the first years of coming to Canada. The last of the core principles shaping Coloured identity is marginalization.

MARGINALIZATION

Marginalization reinforced many of the already apparent issues Coloureds had related to acceptance, passivity, helplessness, opportunism (negative sort) and pragmatism (logicality/positive) while often contributing to the development of an

indifference to other persecuted groups. Adhikari (2005) states that the small population size of the Coloured community coupled with their history of dispossession and persecution, slavery, and racialization made them incapable of mobilizing successfully as a group. Furthermore, a lack of power, voice and political standing gave rise to vulnerability, insecurity, lack of self and group esteem, alienation, as well as frustration and anger. An informant's feedback illustrates this:

> You see, when I grew up, I always had to fight for my own square inch. You were never sure, so I don't give a s*** about the black guys problem, I don't give a s*** about the Muslim guys problem because they're gonna have to fight for their little square inch, the same way I had to work my way into the system.

This eye for an eye reaction could be viewed as an attempt to assert their position, to retain or "reinforce Coloured relative privilege" (Adhikari, 2005, p. 19). The ill-treatment of Coloureds augmented the already existing shame, self disparagement, silencing and vulnerability they experienced. It also engendered self questioning, embarrassment over being Coloured, learned helplessness and finding fault in others, especially their own community. Again, what can not be understated is the perception Coloureds have of education, as the attainable means to offset marginality and achieve emancipation (Adhikari 2005).

ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

Having access to Atlas ti software allowed me to detect trends/themes and correlations which may have otherwise gone unnoticed. Overall, themes such as

assimilationism, the departure and racialization and information centering on life in South Africa (especially their early lives) were the major commonalities relayed by each informant. The sizeable amount of feedback related to assimilationism reiterated how prominent this factor is within the Coloured community.

During the interviews the word *Coloured,* and *White* were said most often (when considering references to South Africans). Subject matter surrounding these two groups was also conveyed in with similar frequency. However, the word "Black(s)" and information related to Blacks or other non-white groups were mentioned less often, in comparison. Interestingly, when there was a reference to Blacks, it largely related to the jobs they tended to perform or that they were disliked by both other racial groups. Alternatively, silencing occurred if there was a suspicion that the family ancestry may have included a black or even simply a "darker" person. This reflected the way Blacks were generally treated or considered during apartheid. From the word count in Atlas ti, the word *Black* or *Indigenous* were mentioned less then twenty times but *White* and *Coloured* were used in the hundreds of times. I argue that this disparity clearly reflects the assimilationist tendencies of Coloureds wherein there is more interest in all things/matters associated with Whites and consequently, a distancing from "darker" people. Other more common themes were related to the informant's childhood and life in South Africa, employment and illnesses. Interestingly, what was noticeable during the largely open-ended interviews is that leisure time or happy moments in Canada were not brought up by the informants. Narratives centering on the informants' departures, however, are worth further commentary.

The informants' departures were the most vivid and highly emotional recollections during all interviews. All participants were either moved to tears or silent when discussing their physical departure or preparations for departing. Reflecting on the interviewee departure experiences, many aspects which the scholars (Clifford, 1994; Gilroy, 1994; Butler, 2001; Cohen, 2008) brought forward regarding the delineation of diasporic movement were noticeable: the dispersal was due to a crisis in the home land; it was a "reluctant scattering" (Gilroy, 1994, p. 207) resulting from "push factors" (Cohen, 2008, p. 16) such as violence or persecution ; a substantial number of people were displaced; the dispersal occurred over a long distance/ over oceans (Clifford, 1994; Butler, 2001); there was a two destination minimum before reaching the host land (Butler, 2001); there was "loss and longing" (Hall, 1999, p. 228) and examples of the t*hird space experiences* (Bhabha, 1994) existence.[66] Other important details were also discovered, and these pertain to information about immigrant children.

First generation Coloured, immigrant children often demonstrate similar, residual characteristic leanings. If the children were teenagers when they left South Africa, they tend to have some, same- aged Coloured friends in Canada and amongst these friends, the typical Coloured dynamics also are visible. These include; lack of cohesion, striving, competitiveness, concern for indicators of "whiteness", distancing from darker nationalities noted in most having "white/er" spouses, loss, belonging issues and promotion of education. This could be understood as reflecting their parents' impressions

[66] *Windsong* (Yon, 2010), a documentary about jazz singer Sathima Benjamin, a Coloured South African who emigrated at the same time as the informants (to the U.S.) offers a similar account of experiences.

of South Africa/Coloureds or historical connections and generational trauma. Of interest, also is a common perception of South Africa held by immigrants.

Immigrant Coloured impressions of present day South Africa, tends to circulate around common perceptions also held by resident Coloureds: that there is more crime and deviance occurring now than what happened during the apartheid era; that foreigners (Africans) have flooded into South Africa and "changed" things; that the Black government is 'out to get' Coloureds[67]; that reverse apartheid exists and unbelievably, that things were better when Whites were in power. Having a better grasp of Coloured identity after this research, it is obvious that these comments seem to perfectly reflect the core influences (principles) of Coloured identity as outlined by Adhikari (2005). Still other similarities within the narratives surfaced.

All respondents did not have an abundant knowledge of apartheid legislation but seemed to be generally aware of some laws directly affecting Coloureds including the Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act and Immorality Act. During the apartheid era, there were continuous revisions to the racial system, increasing racial oppression and brutality and South Africa became quite a closed society with publication bans in full force. The interview data which relates to this is reflected in the stories of Daniel and Pieter who needed to meet surreptitiously for their TLSA meetings, plans to emigrate and in the fierce attempts made by the government to stand in the way of Coloured emigration by way of long wait times for receiving emigration documents, interrogations prior to

[67] The perception of the present black government being "out to get coloureds" relates to the lack of jobs given to coloureds due to new equal opportunity laws, the consideration to remove Afrikaans from universities, there is less funding to coloured townships versus black townships, no regard for township relocation as promised during the initial democratic years after 1994.

departing and in their monitoring of immigrants/exiles overseas by BOSS.[68] Pieter and a small group of men were known to discuss apartheid and some aspects of the ill-treatment experienced during that period. A striking observation during each interview session was that when speaking about qualms the informants may have had with the government or any topic related to the South Africa government, all participants spoke in a "whispered" -voice. This is another indication of how conditioned Coloureds were to relentless monitoring during apartheid which often led to some form of punishment, another inescapable fact of life during apartheid. Other similar story lines were of a more personal nature and not related to Coloured identity/traits.

On a more sensitive or personal level, all informants spoke of discordance among their immediate family that divided and separated them from each other, regardless of how small their immediate families were in Canada. However, none of the respondents expanded on this. I chose not to take the conversation further as it seemed deeply troubling to the informants. Discussion surrounding the incidence of terminal illness was very high. There was a spate of deaths shortly after Coloured immigrants came to Canada (this lasted for more then a decade and is worth further investigation).

Although much of the content in the data analysis seems to be negative or highlights the shortcomings of Coloureds, it must be noted that Coloured immigrants demonstrated remarkable resilience, had the capacity to rebuild their lives and were

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[68] Bureau of State Security. The word "BOSS" had often floated around in conversations amongst Coloureds, but it was not until I was at the University of Toronto (1983) that I would understand its meaning. A SA professor warned me not to get involved with any political activities on campus because BOSS monitored all emigrants. He revealed that they were always situated in his classroom at every university he lectured at since he left SA (in exile), to ensure that he was not divulging information about the brutal situation in SA under apartheid.

extremely hard working and dedicated. Coloured South Africans tended to fair rather well in their adjustment to Canada.

Coloured assimilation may have been a boon for Coloureds, allowing for the unexpected ease at adjustment that many newcomers, of other nationalities, did not experience. Coming to Canada educated, skilled, fluent in English, young, desperate to "make it" and having assistance from other South African immigrants, made the entry and initial adjustment smoother and removed the need for a reliance on governmental agencies or programs to achieve a sense of overcoming the initial hurdle of life in a new country. Coloureds also were familiar with eating a British diet and generally understood the dominant culture in most of Canada. Regardless, there was a vast change in lifestyle, the permanency of the move to this new country, a definite difference in climate and a longing for family, friends and a way of life amongst a familiar community, all of which posed personal challenges.

Coloureds differed from other diasporic groups as they tended not to have their own enclave which meant that the possibility for support, company and information sharing had to come about differently and often with more effort and planning. Gavin seemed to demonstrate the most negative feelings about the immigration experience. Eve's and Pieter's cases can only be judged by their stories of the numerous steps taken to adjust, their sighs and perhaps the stress related illnesses which arose in this community which they both suffered from as well. All in all, the Coloured immigrant experience in Canada has been successful yet bittersweet, complex and often contradictory, much like their identity.

> It is from those who have suffered the sentence of history- subjugation, domination, diaspora, displacement- that we learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking…
>
> (Bhabha, 1994, p. 173)

SUMMARY

This thesis focused on expatriate Coloured South Africans to establish whether institutionalized racism and diasporic movement impacted the resilience of emigrant, Coloured South African racial identity and self identification. Three theoretical frameworks grounded the thesis assertion: settler colonialism, racialization and diasporic movement.

Three Coloured immigrant life stories were presented, largely derived from open-ended interviews and, supplemented with some structured questions and a word association segment. Relevant data was retrieved from the interview sessions which assisted in examining the assertion of the persistence of Coloured identity and associated traits in Coloured immigrants. Augmenting the qualitative research was my personal recollections and knowledge, as a Coloured South African émigré, coupled with secondary, academic and documentary types of information on Coloureds.[69]

Memory is often considered created and may therefore be biased or limited. Regardless, narratives are known to be a valid and a persuasive source of information as exemplified by the interview data herein. What should not be forgotten is that

[69] Numerous documentaries and web pages related to various aspects pertinent to the writing of this thesis are listed within the bibliography and mentioned in the Literature Review.

"remembering" assists in the renewal of culture, individual healing and collective remembering (Stevens et al., 2013). DuBois 1903; Fanon, 1967; Adhikari, 2009; Fassin. 2011; Sonn, 2013; Stevens,et al., 2013; and Hoyt Jr., 2016 all attest to the fact that racialization is damaging, and that critical psychosocial liberation is for the emancipation of historically, racially oppressed people. Steven's et al. (2013) and Sonn (2013) assert the need to recognize the enduring influence of constitutional racism in relationships whether interpersonal or intergroup as crucial to overcoming the effects of apartheid's hold. Apfelbaum (1999, 2000) attests to the capability of "collective remembering provides the resource for belonging and social identity construction" (Stevens et al., 2013, p. 38), appropriately reminding us that these were the very things taken from Coloureds. Harris (2002) points to the need to use a multilevel method to achieve and construct a (national) collective memory, vital to rewriting a more precise history of South Africa. Tools and platforms such as the new Apartheid Archive Project,[70] online forums for Coloureds as well as discussions and life story accounts such as the interviews for this thesis can assist. Although these approaches can never capture the entirety of the social experiences and the frequent traumatic memories of life in such a severely racialized society, they will lend the support needed to assist in dealing with the issues faced by the people of South Africa, will provide the much- needed validation and foster healing (Harris, 2002; Bundy, 2000; Posel, 1999; van Der Walte, Frachi and Stevens et al., 2003).

Immigrant Coloureds do not often acknowledge the need to heal from their traumatic past, however, this journey is essential for all formerly colonized peoples. A

[70] www.apartheidarchive.org/site's

critical understanding of their historical past is as necessary as recognizing their identity resilience and the associated issues they face. Furthermore, critical to healing is an acceptance and rethinking of the nature of their historical dispersal(s), especially the diasporic movement and implications for tens of thousands of their community members overseas, during the apartheid era (Clifford, 1994; Gilroy, 1994; Hall 1999; Butler, 2001; Cohen, 2008). Coming to grips with these realities will be integral to taking steps toward overcoming the traumatic circumstances which have had real implications for Coloured experience and continues to direct their thoughts, actions and level of contentment in their lives today, as demonstrated by the individuals interviewed.

Writing this thesis was both liberating and debilitating. Coming to terms with my troubled heritage and instinctively knowing that this story needed to be told has been a three-decade obsession. Coincidentally, fear, self questioning, disillusionment, insecurity, embarrassment, vulnerability and exhaustion are just some of the countless feelings which have plagued the writing of this thesis. Concerns over truth telling, whether I was qualified enough to write this paper and obsessing over adequately representing my informants all hampered the original confidences. As my informants took the lead, reflected similar thoughts, displayed common Coloured traits and feelings, my initial positioning and confidence in this project was confirmed.

POSTSCRIPT

In mid February of this year my daughter and I ventured out on a long, meaningful voyage to my homeland for the first time in fifty years. My return to South Africa, like

many Coloureds was long overdue. The voyage was extremely emotional. Reconnecting with extended family I never knew, visiting people and places integral to my family life prior to leaving South Africa such as our home, the church we often performed at and the dock from which we left remain etched in my mind. Visiting places integral to the apartheid struggle and merely walking on the soil of my ancestors was incredibly moving. The experience was life altering. Nonetheless, this was not the only monumental moment of the return.

Prior to my homecoming and through my research for this paper, I learned of the direct, genetic relationship that many Coloureds have with Indigenous South Africans. Moreover, recent documentaries[71] demonstrating the connection of the First Nations peoples of Southern Africa to all human groups worldwide further promoted my interest in learning more about these important people and assisting in their continual struggle for awareness and basic human rights. In a sheer stroke of luck, I was able to connect with the Indigenous Liberation Walk 2018 through social media. This annual walk, in its 6th cycle was coincidentally celebrating the year of the feminine spirit and the group was elated to have us join. Along with Khoe, San, Korana, Nama and Rastafarians, we embarked on a 1300km, walking relay between Beaufort West and Cape Town. Our mandate was to raise awareness, bring hope, validate life stories and acknowledge the importance of South Africa's Indigenous people, our ancestors and more importantly, perhaps the world's earliest human group. Along the way we experienced gruelling heat through the Karoo (desert), aching feet, lack of food and proper rest which challenged

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[71] The documentary *Origins* (van Wijk, Shojai, 2014) features many of the walkers from the Indigenous Liberation Walk.

each of us on every level. Regardless, this could not hold a candle to the joy and inspiration we were able to bring to the hundreds and hundreds of people we came into contact with in many remote areas. South Africa's Indigenous peoples remain invisible and still live in dire conditions today.

As we converged on these small isolated towns, we spoke to locals, especially elders, played traditional music, did performances and speeches to let them know how important they are to South African history (and world history for that matter). We wanted to relay that they were not forgotten, rather they were loved and respected and that they should feel proud of themselves. We brought the promise that they should no longer be persecuted and that as the oldest human group on the planet, they deserved respect and at minimum the protection of their 2007 United Nations Declaration rights (UNIDRIP). After a few moments of taking in what we had said and what we detected as assessing our sincerity, no words were needed they simply smiled and began to crowd around us. Then, as if expertly choreographed, everyone began to dance their traditional Reildans.[72] Without question this was one of the most moving experiences I have ever witnessed. Through tear filled eyes we all stood together, watching in sheer amazement the happiness that came with the long -awaited acknowledgment of who they were as a people. If not enough, another poignant, personal moment came in the village of Vanrhynsdorp.

A well known elder, Ouma Lena came to me after a brief introduction wherein,

[72] Rieldans or riel is a lively form of dancing done by the Indigenous people in the Karoo based on fast paced footwork, turns and expertly coordinated movements. This form od dance was not allowed during much of colonial history.

she was told that I came from Canada. As she looked intently into my eyes, she slowly circled around me. Slowly, she touched my face with her well -worn hands and through tearful eyes she slowly said, “Ja…die meisie is part von uns…” [“She is one of ours…”]. She continued to speak: “but… (pausing but keeping me in her gaze), she’s mixed with Dutch. Yes! One of ours…(pause). She has finally come home.” With that, she pulled me to her chest and hugged me tightly. It was at this mutually, tearful moment, that I intuitively understood that a circle had been closed. Over all these generations, there had been so many breaks in this ancestral line due to ongoing colonialism. Our departure from South Africa was yet another example within this timeline. With all her traditional wisdom and deep, within her gaze, this elder had recognized this very journey in me. At that moment, in her presence, I instinctively realized that I was finally home.

> *Exile… It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile’s life, these are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement.* (Said, 2000)

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