

**GENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF IDENTITY: A STUDY OF FOUR WOMEN OF  
COLOUR.**

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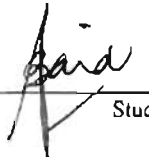
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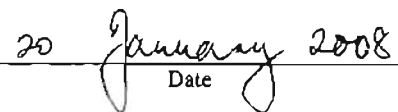
**In partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Masters Degree in Social Science  
(Counselling Psychology)**

## DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfillment / partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Masters Social Science**, in the Graduate Programme in **Counselling Psychology**, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of **Masters: Social Science (Counselling Psychology)** in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

  
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The participants, the women of my extended family, who have shared another journey with me.

### **ABSTRACT**

This qualitative study explores the psychological and social processes underlying the issue of generational transmission of coloured identity within the South African contexts of colonialism (pre-apartheid), apartheid and democracy. The concept of identity was guided by the theoretical approaches of Object Relations and the reflexive project of the self to further explore the lived experience and transmission of this identity. The lived experience of coloured identity of four generations of women within one family was examined. The four women ranging in age from 89 years to 23 years participated in individual semi-structured interviews. The data was thematically analysed. The major themes highlighted were: the interaction of personal identity and social identity; the politics of power and control on identity; the influence of socialization on issues of gender and culture; shifts or changes in identity within a generation or trans-generationally; and the generational transmissions in the reflexive project of the self. This study illustrates the challenges facing individuals, particularly women, with contested identities of marginalized groups. It provided insight into the underlying feelings of trust, shame, pride and guilt as these women negotiate the changing socio-political landscape of their country. It also explores the challenges of dual roles of insider and researcher.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Glissant (1992) in his *Caribbean Discourses* asserts:

We must return to the point from which we started. Diversion is not a useful ploy unless it is nourished by reversion: not a return to the longing of origins, to some immutable state of being, but a return to the point of entanglement, from which we were forcefully turned away; that is where we must ultimately put to work the forces of creolization, or perish ...reconnect in a profound way with ourselves, so that the strategy of diversion would no longer be maintained as a tactic indispensable to existence but would be channeled into a form of self-expression. (p. 26)

Identity is difficult to examine under ordinary circumstances, but when strands of gender, race and oppression are deliberately selected for scrutiny, the contentions become visibly entangled. Glissant (1992, p. 14) in his *Caribbean Discourses*, asserts that identity has to be examined within the “tangled nature of the lived experience.” This “tangled nature” became evident to me in the process of this study as I tried to unpack coloured identity of four South African women who have lived through all or some of the socio-political contexts of colonialism, apartheid and democracy. I discovered that the “tangled nature” was a metaphor for the complexities underlying this particular identity. The strands of gender, race and the socio-political contexts became difficult to separate. The gendered identity could not be separated from the racial identity or from the socio-political context of lived experience. The psychological processes of identity formation that underlie feelings of shame, mistrust and guilt become more complex in contexts of oppression, be it gender (patriarchy, paternalism), race (coloured) or the socio-political (colonialism, apartheid). In contexts of oppression identity is often ambivalent as

feelings shift from shame to pride, to guilt. What Glissant calls "entangled," in the South African context of coloured identity becomes synonymous with the word, "mixed." This word, "mixed" becomes an important and pervasive motif that runs throughout the history of coloured identity in South Africa. Mixed in this context has various connotations: it is the intermingling of race groups (miscegenation); it is the complexity of discernment of the physical appearance of people identified as coloured; it is the ambivalent feelings associated with this identity of coloured. All these refer to a range of mixes: the mixed race groups, the mixed feelings, mixed labelling and mixed physical appearances.

The purpose of this study is to examine coloured identity, in particular the transmission of this identity across four generations of women. This study will examine coloured identity as both socially and psychologically constructed. In examining the interplay of the psychological and the social contexts, it will look at the lived experience of coloured women through the biographies of their lives. It will thus also look at the sociopolitical contexts of colonialism, apartheid and democracy and their impact on coloured identity. The context of colonialism as defined by this study refers to the colonial legacy and the pre-apartheid era.

The selection of this topic of identity for research has not been casual or inadvertent. It has been a deeply personal journey of discovery on three levels: It is an exploration of my own identity firstly as a woman, secondly as a woman of colour, born and raised in South Africa, and thirdly, the participants of this research are members of my own extended family, all so-called women of colour. These women have related their lived experiences of coloured identity through the various socio-political changes in South Africa.

While there is an expressed confidence in my identification as a woman, gendered identity has been historically fraught with its own challenges. Women have been historically

marginalized in political, economic and social contexts. In much the same way that racial relations are based on positions of power and privilege, gendered identities share similar difficulties of the oppressed group. Paternalism and the primacy of male identity have shaped women's identities and opportunities over centuries (Burack, 2004; Seelig, Paul & Levy, 2002). While constitutions have adapted and accommodated the political advancement of women, the mind-shift of a woman as a second-class citizen to an equal, is still a work and struggle in progress. Chodorow (2002) argues that glass ceilings still exist and deny women's achievement. They become obstacles to her political, economic and social advancement and self-actualization. Tasini (2002) concurs with Holmes (2002) and Chodorow (2002) that glass ceilings are not just external creations of a male dominated society. They argue that the internalization of social prejudices create internalized glass ceilings. This internalization creates feelings of shame and mistrust and resonates with the concept of othering in racial identities.

While Fanon is regarded as a prominent writer on racial identity and its colonial origins, Burack (2004) has highlighted criticisms of his work. She has indicated that although Fanon has integrated the psychological and the political experiences of colonialism and its impact on identity, he has neglected the experience of black women. In fact, she contends that Fanon in his omission of the "black women's experience and his failure to interrogate patriarchy," has colluded with the dominant concept of a white male identity by which all other identities are judged (Burack, 2004, p. 31). Thus the black woman "serves as the other of others without sufficient status to have an other of her own." (Henry Louis Gates Jnr. cited in Burack, 2004, p. 31).

Collusion and shame are two powerful factors of marginalized identities, strongly affecting ambivalence. When Judge Edwin Cameron delivered his address at the "*Ronald Louw*



*Memorial: Get Tested Get Treated Campaign*” at the Howard College Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (May 2006), what resonated for me was his idea that the “external stigma all too often finds an ally within.” And while he spoke of the stigma of HIV/Aids infection, I attached it to racialised identity and in particular my feelings about coloured identity.

Cameron (2006) emphasized:

The most intractably puzzling part of stigma is not the part that lies in others.

It is the part that lies within ourselves. It is more insidious, and more destructive, than external stigma, for it eludes the direct politically-conscious confrontation that we reserve for discrimination.

Racial identities are the breeding grounds for discrimination, fear and shame as we try to negotiate our position on the margins of society. Our negotiations are bound by polarities of power and dominance, acceptance and rejection that constantly shift with political and social contexts. It is with this view that I elaborate on the second level of my identity as a woman of colour. The very term, “of colour” emphasizes the ambivalence of this identity

The term, “of colour” is vague and in a sense misleading and yet the choice of language is deliberate. It is a euphemism for the racial identification of people of mixed origins. It is a euphemism for shame, discrimination and prejudice which stigmatizes coloured identity. “Of colour” emphasizes the ambivalent and conflictual feelings of this racial identification, that is neither black nor white. I am somewhat more comfortable with the “of colour” identity than the historically-imposed identity of coloured. Yet that feeling shifts constantly. On the one hand I do not wish to be stereotyped by this imposed identity that restricted my advancement through political agendas of apartheid and the legacy of colonialism. On the other hand I do not wish my identity to be subsumed by identity purists, that deny my experience, frustrations and shame. And

yet again calling myself “black” or “of colour” would be my choice, but is also reflective of the conflictual feelings of a racialised identity. This is an identity that I have had to grapple with constantly even in present day South Africa on a personal level and in my interactions with others.

It is highly probable that selecting members of my extended family, begs the question *why?* Accessibility is an obvious response, but more importantly is the response that identity is personal. Using members of my extended family has allowed me to contain the focus of this research within the broader framework of identity.

What is perhaps unique in this research is the attempt to look at identity-transmission generationally. The generational transmission allows investigation into the sociopolitical contexts of each participant’s identity and thus provides the linking strands for each successive generation. As a South African woman, classified as coloured, this will also be my journey to the point of entanglement.

## 2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the theoretical framework I am going to examine Object Relations Theory in relation to identity and racist thinking, and Anthony Giddens' theory of the self as a reflexive project. All of which are important for the analysis. But before I do so, it is important to have a contextual understanding of coloured identity.

### *Historical context of coloured identity*

Glissant's (1992) "return to the point of entanglement", which Erasmus (2001, p. 24) describes as the "return to the point of difficulty" resonates with South African identities, particularly that of coloured identity. Coloured identity has been contested throughout South African history. Because the expression of coloured identity has been shaped by external socio-economic and political conditions of governance (colonialism, apartheid, democracy), discourses around this identity have fluctuated. The very classification of coloured has been bandied about over the last three centuries, with very little agreement. We are never just coloured, like black or white. Throughout the discourses, we are identified as coloured with a small 'c'; Coloured with a capital 'C'; "coloured" in inverted commas; so-called Coloureds (Frederickse, 1990); Eurafrikaners (MacMillan, 1927); the more colloquial "bruin-ous" (Ash, 2004); non-white; "mixed"; Cape Coloured; Cape Malay; Other Coloured.

Erasmus (2001) and Martin (2001) concur that there is no single homogeneous coloured identity. Coloured identity has many variations that are related to ancestral heritage, hybridity and creolization of cultures. Martin (2001), however, proposes that the identification of coloured is purely politically-motivated and can be subsumed by a black identity. According to Erasmus (2001) black essentialism is one of two discourses on identity that has impacted negatively on coloured identity. Together with Reddy (2001), Erasmus (2001) rejects the concept of pure

identities and cultures. Erasmus (2000b; 2001) argues that the concept of black essentialism denies coloured identity, the lived experience of marginality and complicity of privilege within the South African context. Black essentialism perpetuates the rigidity of black-white reductionism of identity; is based on biological signifiers; and is suggestive of racial purity, overlooking the varied ancestry and history of coloured identity (Erasmus, 2001).

The second discourse is the concept of the “Rainbow Nation” promoted in democratic South Africa, which fosters the idea of unity within ethnic and racial diversity. This hoped-for unity allows us to rethink our segregated past, to change our negative beliefs, monitor our thinking processes and adopt behaviours and thoughts that conform to the “Rainbow Nation” ideal. The idealized result of this reflexivity is the hope of overcoming decades of racial segregation in less than a decade. Erasmus & Pieterse (1999) and Erasmus (2000b; 2001) have argued against the concept of a unified national identity. They propose that the concept of a ‘Rainbow Nation’ implies that discrimination was essentially an apartheid orchestration. They further argue that this concept addresses only the difficulties of apartheid and ignores the colonialists’ contribution to discrimination.

Diversity has trivialized the marginalized position of the construction of coloured identity. This trivialization is problematic in that it creates negative reactions to the concept of coloured identity (Erasmus, 2001). From a review of the literature, this trivialization and depoliticization of coloured identity has caused mixed reactions. Some seek to reject the identity in favour of an ethnic identity. Others who have regarded coloured identity as a politically-imposed identification, have rejected it in favour of black essentialism (Martin, 2001). A further group wishes to create an exclusive coloured identity (Ash, 2004). These concepts deny the past realities of inequality and discrimination.

### ***Object Relations Theory (ORT)***

Object Relations Theory (ORT) is relevant to this study for three particular reasons. The first is that it shifts the focus of identity formation to the pre-oedipal period of early development (Doane & Hodges, 1992; Elliot, 1994; Flax, 1990), giving primacy to the mother as primary caretaker. Secondly, this identity formation takes place through the interaction with significant others, and thirdly, that this interpersonal interaction presupposes a context in which identity-formation occurs. This relational aspect of ORT, that the self develops in relation to others, is central to the understanding of identity-formation in contexts of racial discrimination and gender oppression.

ORT has two major proposals underpinning its theory of relation. The one is that the infant relates to others (significant others or things) in the external reality. The second is that, in this object-relating, the infant internalizes psychic representations of these objects which are an essential component of the infant's psychic self. Therefore the internal objects form "the building blocks of self structure and become the blue-print for establishing and maintaining future relationships." (Klee, 2007, p. 1).

Ivey (1990) proposes that in early development the infant initially perceives the mother as an extension of the self. The relationship between the two is primarily based on bodily functions of ingestion (oral) and expulsion (anal). The mother's primary function at this point is to respond to the needs of the infant. In the context of the mother's response to the needs of the infant, objects can be seen as good (positive) and bad (negative). The good object is perceived as harmless and non-threatening, whereas the bad is perceived as harmful and threatening.

Through these processes of ingestion and expulsion the infant 'takes in' or internalizes objects, i.e. significant others. Initially the breast is seen as a part-object (both part of the mother

and also an extension of the self). Because this part-object satisfies a need, the infant desires it to be under her control and therefore “ingests” this part-object. This ingestion or internalization of the object into the psyche of the infant is part of the identity-formation process. Objects can be internalized as part or whole and this forms the way the infant relates to others.

Ivey (1990) emphasized that internal objects are psychic representations of significant others. Because they are based on fantasy, Ivey (1990, p. 9) states that these fantasy representations have an emotional component, they therefore can be “manipulated and modified, introjected and projected, killed and resurrected by fantasy-determined psychic processes.” However, he proposes that these processes do not undermine the external reality.

Rustin (1991, p. 68) asserts that “the main power of racism lies at the unconscious level.” He posits that racist ways of thinking are essentially irrational, not factual, but rather based on primitive psychological functioning evident in early development. Underlying this irrationality is anxiety and the irrational fear of psychic annihilation. Building on Kleinian theory of Object Relations (OR), Rustin (1991) examines primitive defence mechanisms of splitting, projective identification and denigration to explore the irrational thinking of racism and the resultant emotions that this irrationality produces.

When ontological security (basic trust) becomes threatened by irrational fears of psychic annihilation, the developing infant uses various defence mechanisms of splitting, idealization, projective identification and denigration to overcome this threat (Rustin, 1991). The process of splitting relates not merely to the relating object, but also the emotional or affective charge and the context in which this relating occurs. Ivey (1990) argues that splitting therefore creates order and control for the infant’s psyche. This order and control is further supported by other defence mechanisms. In order to maintain omnipotence the infant splits the internal objects,

as the good object and representation is idealized to maintain its dominance over the bad. Objects are also expelled or projected onto external objects, thus externalizing the negative emotion or threat. The infant is displacing unwanted feelings that she has identified as threatening and thus intolerable. The infant cannot tolerate negative self-representations and therefore projects these intolerable representations onto others. Thus by projecting onto others the threat of the bad object is eliminated. Good objects are also displaced for safekeeping. Ivey (1990) claims that not only feelings but parts of the self are also displaced. Re-introjection is the taking back in or re-internalizing of the negative persecutory threat of the bad object in a more tolerable form that is no longer threat-invoking.

The recipient needs to contain and process these displaced projections. Once processed and rendered more tolerable for the infant, they will be re-internalized so that the infant's psyche becomes more integrated. According to Rustin (1991) parenting plays a major role in containing these displaced parts of the self.

Rustin (1991) proposes that in the context of racism, it is these irrational projections that form the paranoia of racial difference. Denigration in the context of racism becomes more explicit or obvious as repressed, negative self-representations are projected. In pursuit of omnipotence, the power of autonomy is extended to the external reality to manipulate the political, social and economic environments (context) to contain and justify these irrational fears of race. "Racism can thus be seen as states of projective identification in which hated self-attributions of members of the group gripped by prejudice are phantasied to exist in members of the stigmatized race." (Rustin, 1991, p. 68). The other in racist thinking becomes stigmatized by prejudice, which is based on irrationality. The self-other relation is often expressed in terms of white versus black in racist contexts, placing one group in a position of superiority over the other.

The very process of individuation (the separation of self and other) in racist contexts becomes an irrational way of thinking about difference, with strong negative emotions. In racist societies difference becomes a vehicle for discrimination.

***Giddens: The reflexive project of the self***

I have also used Anthony Giddens (1991), a social theorist, to further explore the relational context of identity, drawing particularly on his book entitled *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Giddens (1991, p. 14) posits: “Each of us not only ‘has’, but *lives* a biography reflexively organized in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life.” In this statement Giddens clearly links the social and psychological processes of the self. According to Giddens (1991) as individuals we monitor and reflect on our behaviour and actions (Billington, Hockey & Strawbridge, 1988; Giddens, 1984, 1991). Not only does Giddens (1984, 1991) introduce the reflexive process of self-monitoring, but also emphasizes the lived experience of the individual. The lived experience places the narrative or biography in context, thus the actions/behaviours of the individual are also contextualized. This lived experience is related in terms of a biography (a narrative or story).

Both ORT and Giddens (1991) emphasize the importance of the development of basic trust in the relationship. Trust is learned and explored through the presence and absence of the mother/primary caretaker. The infant has to learn that the mother will return. The opposite of trust is fear of loss and for the infant this would be fear of abandonment. Trust is therefore dependent on the reliability of the mother to return. The mother also has to trust that the infant can tolerate periods of her absence so that she too can continue with her own activities that are also part of her narrative. These periods of absence and presence also assist in the process towards autonomy. Trust is thus created through routines or regimens, day-to-day activities that



are routinely followed (Giddens, 1991). It is through routinized activities that the infant can maintain ontological security. These routinized activities form part of the practical consciousness ('non-conscious' awareness of our participation in daily activities that allow the individual to focus on the tasks at hand), they become the essential underpinnings of the process of reflexivity. In essence they allow the individual to continue with the task at hand and bracket out possibilities of risk that may threaten ontological security. This mutuality of trust becomes an essential component of subsequent relationships.

Giddens (1984, p. 55) explains that feelings of shame and embarrassment are played out in relationships with others, "involving both the self and other, and implies identification (recognition of self in behaviour or physical appearance of other) with and also complicity in the behaviour of other." Giddens (1991) states that it is at this site of interaction (the body) of early development where emotions of shame are first learnt. He further explains that shame is formed in relation to the appraisal by others. This is particularly significant for later relationships and the reflexivity of the self, especially where issues of race, gender and equality come into play.

Inadequacies as viewed by the self will be handled by learned prior experience of resolving feelings of shame and embarrassment. Giddens (1991) proposes that such issues are also resolved in terms of the correlate of self-esteem. The ability of the self to competently resolve situations of anxiety when appraised by others can be determined by the levels of confidence of the self in social interaction. The confidence at which she resolves anxiety-provoking situations of appraisal is relevant to self-actualisation. "Saving face" becomes a means by which exposure of loss of self-esteem is avoided. Giddens (1991) proposes that reflexive monitoring allows individuals to look at behaviours, placing them in social contexts and allows the individual to make sense of behaviour.

Guilt, according to Giddens (1991, p. 65), “is anxiety produced by fear of transgressions.” While shame is deemed the domain of the public, guilt is dealt with privately (Giddens, 1991). He proposes that behaviour is linked to expectations from both self and other. This is part of the appraisal of others. Guilt is the emotional process of dealing with not meeting those expectations either of the self or the other. Attached to guilt is possible regret. Regret for possible actions or for not acting, or both. The sense of blame moves back and forth between self and other and is only resolved when the underlying feelings of guilt are explored. Guilt exposes inadequacies. It is therefore my assertion that because of the threat of overwhelming anxiety that inadequacy implies to the self, that guilt is contained to some extent in the private domain. It can be addressed in a safer environment with reliable and trustworthy others.

#### ***Purpose of this study***

In the case of coloured identity, not only the socio-political contexts need to be explored, but also the resultant feelings of shame, loss and guilt. Erasmus (2001) asserts that specific conditions of marginality created coloured identity. It is the purpose of this study to explore both the contexts of marginality and the resultant feelings. The analysis and discussion of this study will be framed by the theoretical approaches of Object Relations and Giddens’ reflexive project of the self to explore the transmission of coloured identity

### 3. METHOD

The interviewer is the researcher and as indicated in the Introduction of this research, these participants are members of my own extended family. Participant 1, the *Mother* is also my maternal grandmother. She is the only participant who is directly linked to me. The other participants are members of my extended maternal family. Participant 2/the *Daughter* is my maternal aunt, my mother's youngest sister. Participant 3/ the *Granddaughter* is my peer. Participants 3 (the *Granddaughter*) and 4 (the *Great-granddaughter*) are directly related. Participant 3/the *Granddaughter* is the mother of participant 4/the *Great-granddaughter*.

My maternal family are strong adherents of the Christian Anglican religion. While all four participants follow the Christian Anglican religion, I follow the religion of Islam, having accepted Islam in 1987. My decision to accept Islam was a challenge for my own mother, as well as my extended maternal family. I am the only member of my maternal family who follows a religion outside of the various denominations of Christianity. My family's dissatisfaction with my decision to leave Christianity and follow Islam was not communicated to me directly. Much of their dissatisfaction was channelled via my own mother. My mother thus shielded me from the brunt of their dissatisfaction. While there has been general outward acceptance of my decision to follow Islam by my maternal family, I suspect some tensions still exist that are not voiced in my presence. These familial factors were also taken into consideration during the interviewing process.

The participants were interviewed in 2005. The ages mentioned are those at the time of the interviews. My grandmother, the *Mother*, is since deceased. The husband of Participant 2/the *Daughter* died in 2006. The *Mother* died in April 2006, a week after the death of participant 2/the *Daughter's* husband.

### *Participants*

The participants were four women, representing different generations within one extended family, who have been classified as coloured.

Participant 1, whom I shall refer to as the *Mother*, is an octogenarian (born in 1915). She has borne five children, four daughters (two deceased) and a son (the youngest). She lives with her second-eldest daughter in a previously designated coloured suburb of Durban. She is a pensioner and has been a widow for more than 35 years. In her employable age, she worked mainly in factories in the catering section. Being born in 1915, she has seen segregation, apartheid and democracy in South Africa. The *Mother* used a more autobiographical approach to the interview process, retelling much of her life's events. Due to her age (almost 90 years old at the time of the interviews), she had a more laborious mode of communication, with many pauses, word-fillers (uhm, er, etc) and incomplete sentence endings. This mode of communication made the interviews longer and often more difficult to follow.

Participant 2, shall be referred to as the *Daughter* is 67 years old. She is married with two sons. Both her sons live outside of South Africa. She has 7 grandchildren. She is the youngest daughter of participant 1 (*Mother*). She lives in the same suburb as her mother. Both participant 2 (*Daughter*) and her husband are pensioners. They live in rented premises, where they serve as caretakers of a retirement home. She has spent most of her married life as a housewife, occasionally working in the hairdressing and manufacturing industries. Born in 1938, she has experienced segregation, apartheid and democracy. The *Daughter* used a similar autobiographical interview style as the *Mother*.

Participant 3, shall be referred to as the *Granddaughter*. She is 42 years old, married with two children. She is a school teacher by profession. She lives in another previously-designated coloured suburb, where she owns her own home. She was raised by her mother (now deceased) and her grandmother (Participant 1/*Mother*). Her father died when she was 15 years old. Born in 1963, she has experienced apartheid and democracy. The *Granddaughter* had to be drawn into discussion with the use of prompts.

Participant 4, shall be referred to as the *Great-granddaughter*, is 23 years old. She lives with her parents and is completing her Bachelor of Commerce degree. Born in 1982, she has experienced the last 12 years of apartheid and 12 years of democracy. The *Great-granddaughter* had to be drawn into discussion. She initially raced through events in her life as can be seen in the transcription of her interviews (see Appendix D, p88). She showed some resistance to racial issues discussed. She was only interviewed twice, having indicated some reluctance to any further discussion.

### ***Procedure***

Consent was obtained from each of the participants. While none of the participants requested anonymity, I have not used their names. Semi-formal interviews were conducted with each participant. To reduce the impact of dual roles, a formal appointment was made with each participant for all the interviews. While the interviews were conducted at the homes of the participants (except the *Daughter*), they were conducted in the privacy of secluded rooms. The appointments were made for the specific purpose of interviewing and to avoid the overlap of social visits. Each participant was interviewed approximately three times on different occasions. Participants 1, 3 and 4 were interviewed in their respective homes to allow for a more relaxed environment, which would facilitate rapport and give the subjects a sense of empowerment

(Kaplan & Sadock, 1995; Mishler, 1986). Participant 2/*Daughter* chose her sister's home as the interview venue as she felt that the confined space of her rented premises did not allow privacy. Mishler (1986) suggests that the setting impacts on the narration. The venue that Participant 2/*the Daughter* chose was also the home of my mother. This fact, that the *Daughter's* interviews were conducted in my mother's home, seemed to impact on the interview. It is my interpretation that the *Daughter* gave a more socially desirable presentation of her life experiences because the venue had some connection to me.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Each interview lasted approximately one hour.

While there were no set questions for the interview, key areas that needed to be addressed were highlighted during the interview in the form of open-ended questions. Burgess (1982) concurs with Terre Blanche & Kelly (1999) that open ended questions should be non-directive and exploratory without being prescriptive. Key areas included the interaction of personal identity and social identity; the politics of power and control on identity; the influence of socialization on issues of gender and culture; shifts or changes in identity within a generation or trans-generationally; and the generational transmissions in the reflexive project of the self.

### *Data Analysis*

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. Hayes (1997) states that predetermined themes structure the analysis of large amounts of data into manageable proportions. The transcriptions were analyzed. Prior to the interviews and having reviewed the literature, I had anticipated the following themes:

- ❖ The interaction of personal and social identity: this theme will examine how the participants identify themselves, both personally and in the social context. The

participants' perception of how they are identified by others and the resultant feelings that these perceptions create will be explored in relation to feelings of trust, shame and guilt. By examining the social context, it will also investigate the influence of occupation, education and social status on identity.

- ❖ The politics of power and control on identity will investigate how the political events (colonial rule, apartheid, democracy) have impacted on identity. Each interviewee will have had different experiences. The theme will investigate the influence on the interviewee and how each participant was differently influenced. The eldest of the participants will have experienced several changes in political experiences, while the youngest participant may only have experienced apartheid and democracy.
- ❖ Shifts or changes in identity within a generation and trans-generationally. This theme would explore the impact of the familial relationship or what Giddens (1991) refers to as "kinship," on the transmission of identity. It would also explore the shifts in their identities as women within the same family within each generation and trans-generationally.

The following were the themes that I hadn't anticipated:

- ❖ The influence of socialization on issues of gender and culture. The role of women was explored. Gender socialization and the idealization of the male child was not a consciously anticipated theme. Cultural issues of religion and its role in socialization became apparent. Marital status (married, divorced), particularly that of women, carried social stigmas that appeared to be socially evaluated in terms of religious beliefs.

- ❖ Generational transmissions in the reflexive project of the self. This theme emphasised the feelings that were transmitted trans-generationally. The strong denial of African black ancestry was a surprising theme for me that was transmitted.

In researching identity across generations, not only am I exploring identity, but also what part of this coloured identity has been transmitted; the reasons for this continuance or loss; and the lived experience of being a coloured woman in South Africa. As I have used members of my own family in this sample, this research presented an opportunity for self-reflection on the issue of coloured identity. Being a woman, it also provided the opportunity to be both observer and insider. While this duality may be seen as biased and problematic, it allowed me greater access to my sample. This research allowed me to record a history of identity within my family and thus validate each woman's experience thereof.



#### 4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

##### *The interaction of personal identity and social identity*

In the process of identity formation, the development of a sense of self is part of the separation-individuation process, where the developing infant is able to view herself as an independent individual, separate from her primary caregiver (other), usually the mother (Elliott, 1999; Ivey, 1990; Klee, 2007). OR theorists propose that the psychological processes that underpin identity-formation occur within the relationship between the developing self and the other. ORT proposes that the developing infant is object-seeking (Ivey, 1990). Therefore the developing infant seeks to establish a relationship with significant objects/others (Elliott, 1999; Ivey, 1990; Klee, 2007). While objects (significant others) exist in the external reality, fantasised representations are also internalized. By internalizing representations of the other, the developing infant draws them into her own self-construct.

According to Ivey (1990) and Klee (2007) the manipulation and distortion of internalized objects serve as methods of psychic control for the developing infant. The context of a relationship for the developing infant implies that identity formation is both personal (involving psychological processes) and social (relationships with significant others). Therefore the social context in which the separation-individuation occurs is essential to the development of the concepts of self and other (Giddens, 1984, 1991). Giddens (1991) proposes that social identity is also linked to appearance and thus to appraisal by others. Appearance does not only include dress, but also the presentation of the social roles that we play in our interactions with others. Billington et al (1998) state that in their social contexts, women play multiple roles as mother, daughter, sister as well as their professional roles. Billington et al (1998, p. 50) posit, "The roles we play become part of our identities, how we see ourselves and how others see us. They are at

the same time objective, outside, part of culture and social structure, handed down across generations.” The relationship therefore of a personal and social identity are not entirely separate entities, but the very self-construct is influenced by the relationship with significant others. This influence of the social relationship on identity becomes evident in the recurrent responses of the participants, describing themselves as ‘mixed.’

*Participant 1/Mother:* Oh we said we were coloureds... Somehow that didn't worry us because you could go anywhere. Some of us had white birth certificates in the family. And they called you mixed because your father was white and your grandfather was white and er your father was mixed. Most of the coloureds just called themselves Europeans. ... we knew we were mixed blood that is why we took that [coloured identity]. ... Well, we didn't we didn't like it, but what was it then, we were mixed, two blood, two... that's it. (Appendix A, p. 3)

In the extract from the *Mother*, she identifies herself as coloured but qualifies her identification as “mixed”. There is a certain arbitrariness about this identification of “mixed.” White European is clearly identified as part of this “mix.” Black African would also be part of this “mix”, but it is not mentioned or even acknowledged.

The use of the terminology, ‘mixed blood’ and “two blood” returns us to the site of interaction, which Giddens (1991) claims is the body. It is at the site of the body that biological signifiers of difference are used to discriminate among races. Biological signifiers of skin colour, hair texture, size and shape of facial features (particularly lips and noses) and even eye colour were used to discriminate between people of black African and white European ancestry (Erasmus, 2000b; 2001; February, 1981; Gqola, 2000). Dark complexions, coarse hair, thick lips

and broad noses were racial stereotypes signifying black African ancestry. Light skin, straight hair, thin lips and noses, blue, green or hazel eye colour signified white European ancestry.

Not only did the biological signifiers discriminate physical appearance, but also implied behavioural and thus social difference. White signified civilized and educated while black signified savage and ignorant. Thus racial stereotypes carry an affective charge of appraisal (how they are seen and judged by others). Therborn (cited in Duncan, de la Rey and Braam n.d.) states that racism constructs in-groups (with which the self identifies) and out-groups (identified with the other). In-groups are usually the dominant powerful group. Therefore identifying with white European suggests a more civilized identity and is thus more socially acceptable than the black African.

Miscegenation has blurred the clear cut divisions of black and white stereotypes. People of “mixed” descent do not clearly fit the racial stereotypes of black and white. According to Erasmus (2001) miscegenation not only becomes the biological origin of coloured identity, but also the social-political context for its occurrence. Miscegenation traces its origins in South Africa to the early colonial period. The resultant offspring of the act of miscegenation are a mixture of the white European colonialists and the indigenous people, including the slaves brought in from the Far East (Dickie-Clark, 1964; Erasmus, 2000b; 2001; February, 1981; Martin, 2001; Patterson, 1953). The term “mixed” further suggests difficulty separating from what appears to be unconsciously viewed as the primary identity of white European. Therefore throughout her interviews, the *Mother* identifies the other in terms of their country of ancestry referring to them as “French,” “German,” “Rhodesian,” and “Mauritian.” Interestingly, the *Great-granddaughter* who has lived mostly in the socio-political contexts of apartheid and

democracy, also qualifies her identification of coloured in relation to the mix of European ancestry.

*Participant 4/Great-granddaughter:* I think most people knew I wasn't white. But whether I was Indian or whatever, they weren't too sure. But they used to ask: "How are you coloured? What makes you coloured? And like what are your grandparents and parents?" (*So what would you say to that? "What makes you coloured?"*) I'm mixed, I've got er.. then I'd say like what my grandfather ...grandparents were and go back and tell them. (*Which was?*) Everything! Well my grandfather, my father's father, they are German mixed with coloured stroke black. My granny's family were Scottish and Irish. And then my mother's father was St Helena. And my granny was Indian, Welsh and kind of mix. So it was a bit of every kind of blood. (*So how did it make you feel having to explain all that?*) I think it wasn't so bad because people didn't know what I was. So it was fine explaining that I am coloured because coloured is a variety of anything mixed together. Ja, these people knew I was coloured and not black or anything else. (*And you prefer to be identified as coloured?*) Well, I think yes because that's what I am (*laughs*). (Appendix D, p. 89)

The Great-granddaughter uses vague terms of "whatever," "er kind of mix," "everything," "coloured stroke black," until she finally says, "not black or anything." The vague terms suggest that her African black ancestry is vague. It also suggests the ambivalence of this part of her identity and that she is not identified by others as black.

Giddens (1991) proposes that because identity occurs within a social context, it is also formed through appraisal, that self perception is reliant on the perception of others. This sense of appraisal is evident in the *Daughter's* perception of her identity:

*Participant 2/Daughter:* .....well you went to a coloured school, so you just knew you were coloured, you know. ...you just accepted that's how they look at me, that's how I am. And we...er just accepted it.... (Appendix B, p. 30)

When an identity is perceived as negative, there is a desire to project that negativity externally. Lewis (1987) proposes that the term coloured is synonymous with illegitimacy and offensiveness. Illegitimacy was expressed in negative stereotypes of terms like 'bastard', 'half-caste' and 'boesman' (bushman). These terms were and still are offensive to coloured people. The *Granddaughter* clarifies her identity by finding an other within the coloured identification. The *Granddaughter* distinguishes between Natal coloured and Cape coloured, who becomes the recipient of the projection of negative stereotyping.

*Participant 3/Granddaughter:* well yes I did identify myself as coloured because you knew you were coloured and all the different race groups so we were classified as coloured so we kind of just accepted that that was who you were. ...well Natal coloured...well when you watched the Cape coloureds they were different. The Cape coloureds were different to the Natal coloureds somehow. The mixture was different, I think. I think here [Natal] was maybe Indian and white and black to a lesser degree or a different type of black person who constituted the coloured mix here as compared to Cape Town. (Appendix C, pp. 61-62)

Dickie-Clark (1964) states that the coloured people of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) can trace their ancestral heritage to the Europeans, St Helenas, Mauritians, Africans and some immigrants from the Cape. Thus the only difference between coloured people from Natal and the Cape was that the indigenous people of KZN were predominantly isiZulu speakers and there was also more immigrants from the islands of Mauritius and St Helena.

Each of the extracts above reflect the participants' ambivalence of this identity of "coloured." While the participants may have "accepted" the identity, it is also seen as an identification over which they appeared to have little control. Yet the participants' elaborations of this identity clearly show some resistance to this imposed identity.

### *The politics of power and control on identity*

At the centre of the process of identity formation is the struggle for control. The developing infant initially perceives herself to be omnipotent (Elliott, 1999; Giddens, 1991), but in the process of separation-individuation, realises her dependence on the significant other to meet her demands. This separation-individuation is played out in a relationship of autonomy versus dependence. In her desire to be free of the threat of psychic annihilation, the developing infant needs to be independent of the significant other. Therefore the infant manipulates both psychological and social contexts to try to bring the significant other under her control, thus containing the internal psychic threat.

In contexts of racial oppression, power and control are fundamental to maintain the positions of superiority and inferiority. In the colonial era, people of mixed origins were placed in a position in-between the European dominant ruling class and the slaves and indigenous people (Erasmus, 2001). Goldin (1987) states that privilege was withdrawn when miscegenation was seen as a threat to the dominant white ruling class. Erasmus (2001) has argued that the

subsequent withdrawal of initial privileges attributed to the coloured or 'mixed' population created a sense of ambivalence in their relationship with the ruling European colonialists. This ambivalent relationship has also served as a smoke-screen for the racial divisions of the colonial period. Because the apartheid government, on the other hand, legally entrenched the separation of racial groups, it was seen by the participants and many other coloured people as the origin of racial divisions. This becomes evident in the following extract of the *Mother*:

I didn't worry then because it didn't have any stigma on it. Because we knew we were mixed blood that is why we took that. We weren't ash... a mere anything...that only came with Smuts when he came with apartheid. We were free to go anywhere, any bioscopes and that's the time the old people didn't like bioscopes. They only liked the live shows, the opera or operettas. And we er dances too that we had, that too was our community. And the sport as well, we formed our own clubs. (Appendix A, p. 3)

The *Mother* clearly associates the advent of apartheid as undermining of her existence, reducing her identity to "ash." Interestingly this metaphor of ash is also symbolic in terms of colour. Ash is grey, a mixture of black and white. Erasmus (2000b) responds to the question of coloured as 'Some kind of black, some kind of white', a racial mixture and an ambivalent identity. This sense of almost non-existence is the denial of the *Mother's* right to self-actualisation.

Throughout the interviews the connection with white European is an identity that is both desired and denigrated. This white European identity is desired because of the positive attributes of civilization, education, Christianity and being enlightened that the stereotypes imply. There is a strong sense of pride attached to these stereotypical attributes. In the colonial and apartheid era,

white European implied privilege. All the participants speak of their European heritage, carefully separating the various strands of European ancestry to Welsh, Scottish, etc. However, in the apartheid era when the *Mother* and *Daughter* comment on those people of mixed origins, who claimed this European ancestry, these people are denigrated with terms of “play-white, super-white.” Being a “play white” suggests a false and fragile notion of superiority. While the participants appear to be angry about and derogatory of the “play white,” there is also a sense of power in their knowledge of who was a “play-white.” The lack of control over identification is shown in the *Daughter’s* account of the ‘play-white’ bus drivers below:

*Daughter:* And when you lived in Greenwood Park, you were lucky cause you used to get on the white buses cause the drivers were all play-white. So they couldn’t tell you, you couldn’t get on the bus because they shouldn’t be driving. (*Laughs*). They shouldn’t be driving. They were too frightened to tell you, you can’t get on, so you got on. (*Laughs*). (Appendix B, p. 36)

Apartheid denied access to racial integration for the participants. The Prohibition of the Mixed Marriage Act of 1949 legally tried to end miscegenation. The Group Areas Act dictated that different race groups had to live in separate areas. Laws regarding job reservation for white people determined the socio-economic status of the coloured person and all other race groups categorized as non-white.

*Daughter:* They decided that 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue was going to be for whites. So all people there had to move and they were just offering them what they felt. It was very sad because a lot of the Muslim people had these beautiful homes and they had to move out. Fortunately, a lot of them had the means; they could buy in Westville and that. But the others, with what they were offered, they had



to go further out, to Reservoir Hills and places like that. And Granma Shalong, she had to move and she went to live with her sister in Reservoir Hills. And we had to move. And then we got a place in Hedley Road in Redhill. Then my father-in-law obviously had to move with us. The big joke was when we rented from the Group Areas. So the one day when they came to the place. I was still at home, I hadn't started work again and he said to them, "Oh I don't live here. I'm visiting." (*laughs heartily*). ... Yeah, he didn't want to be coloured. He didn't want them to know he's living there. (Appendix B, pp. 44-45).

The *Daughter* refers to renting a house from the Group Areas Act but what she actually meant was the Municipality. I have however quoted her verbatim. Her father-in-law was also a "play-white."

Giddens (1991) proposes that in order for individuals to maintain ontological security, routines of predictability become the essential structural supports. Thus the threat of risk is titrated to acceptable amounts with which the individual can cope. The apartheid government created opportunities for limited self-actualisation like the Tricameral Parliament of the 1980s, which provided limited opportunities of enfranchisement. These gestures of opportunities for self-actualisation promoted conflictual and ambivalent feelings within the marginalized groups (Erasmus, 2001). Situations of uncertainty allowed the dominant group to maintain control. Critical situations like the declaration of the State of Emergency, during the 1980s of the apartheid regime, created tension and conflict. The state externalized the fear in the form of propaganda and created a recipient for the negative projections. "Die swart gevaar" (the black threat/danger) was commonly used to mobilize not only white people but also non-African black people against a common enemy. The swart gevaar draws and expands on colonial negative

stereotypes of black (Rustin, 1991). Thus the apartheid government created another other within the other of the non-white group.

*Mother:* Ja the workers, they were the workers of the factory, they had a part where they lived on the premises. Because all those men they came from down the South Coast, the Zulus from the South Coast. But most of them, they would go home weekends. They lived in these hostels, but it was like rondavels. They had a cook, who cooked their meals. It was putu and meat.  
(Appendix A, p. 5)

The mother's description of Zulu workers is discriminatory in that she emphasizes difference in the type of living arrangements and uses terminology like 'rondavels' to suggest rural and primitive living. The food is also emphasized as simplistic and different to European style of cooking. Rustin (1991) has pointed that much of racial stereotyping is associated with oral, anal and genital focus. He cites a study in Britain where English people complained of the smell of the food of the Indian immigrants. Interestingly many British immigrants of Indian and Jamaican origin reported that faeces were pushed into their letter boxes (Rustin, 1991; Syal, 1999). Biological signifiers are commonly used in racial discrimination (Giddens, 1991; Rustin, 1991).

The participants of this study reveal that stereotyping and racial labels were not exclusively directed at the African black other, but also at the other within a marginalised group. Throughout the interviews all four participants mention terms like 'half-caste', 'brownies', 'mixed breeds', 'bushmen.' The *Grand-daughter* elaborates on her knowledge of coloured stereotypes (The inverted commas indicate a perception that she is quoting):

Ok, "coloureds are alcoholics," "they are specific to specific jobs," "coloureds

are not supposed to be doctors or lawyers or teachers or anything, maybe teachers, ja. But not doctors and accountants and lawyers and stuff, that's not them. They are more artisans and that." Lots of people don't know too much about coloureds so that's why there is so much about a stereotype...Some of them (*stereotypes*) are true (*laughs*)...I mean like the coloured people who really do drink excessively. I mean I worked in a bottle store when I was still at school as a part-time job and the number of coloured men who came on a Friday evening straight from work buying their alcohol, was like the majority. I'm not saying that they're all alcoholics, but it was a known thing that you'd get paid and the first stop off would be either the bar or the bottle store and drink the night away kind of thing. And I think even now, now I suppose it's also lots of drug abuse that has become rife in the coloured community. So maybe, yes, I suppose alcohol and drugs is part of what coloured people are, are still known as enjoying. (Appendix C, p. 75).

Racial stereotyping is not only directed at others within the coloured community, but is also self-directed. February (1981) and MacMillan (1927) concur that negative stereotypes of coloured people in colonial times have been transmitted to future generations. These negative stereotypes inferred that they were lazy, hostile, trouble-makers, had low morals and were excessive drinkers of alcohol. ORT proposes that negative self-representations are also internalized through re-introjection from the external recipient of projection in a more tolerable form. The *Daughter* uses laughter and sarcasm to contain her own ambivalence around projected stereotypes:

Oh, they were very nice. They accepted me and the strangest thing was, I

worked with his sister in Natal Canvas. And in those days, they used to have their tea upstairs and the coloureds, downstairs. And she, being a play-white, she used to go upstairs and never used to look at me. And she didn't know that one day the same brown bean is gonna be her sister-in-law.

Imagine. (Appendix B, p. 32).

Giddens (1991) has argued that ambivalence not only creates feelings of frustration, but also feelings of shame and guilt. Reinharz (1993) states that women show ambivalence in their relations with others and in particular in what they withhold and reveal. Bar-On & Gilad (1993) concur and demonstrate this ambivalent revelation in their study entitled '*A narrative analysis of three generations of an Israeli holocaust survivor's family.*' The holocaust survivor did not reveal all the atrocities that she had suffered and witnessed in the concentration camps. Nor did she inform them of the loss of family ties as a result of the discrimination against Jewish people during World War II. Survivors of what Giddens (1991) would term "critical situations" tend to be selective in their revelation of their painful emotions of suffering and loss. Omitting information (denial) appears to be a coping mechanism to deal with underlying tensions that may threaten ontological security. Throughout the interviews, the participants had not related their interaction with African black people, yet they did have domestic workers. The *Mother*, *Daughter* and *Granddaughter* did not reflect the black African mix in their identity, only referring to the Indian mix. It is the *Great-granddaughter* who appears slightly more comfortable with this revelation, yet still she glosses over it, when she states: "...because coloured is a variety of anything mixed together," but adds, "these people knew I was coloured and not black or anything else." (Appendix D, p. 8).

Straddling two racial identities creates feelings of not quite belonging. Relations with the dominant groups during colonialism and apartheid placed the coloured person firmly in a position in between. Acceptance and respectability in terms of the white dominant group was not self-determined by the coloured person (Field, 2001; McEachern, 2001). Such relationships are ambivalent and this ambivalence is manifested in feelings of shame, guilt and anger. Giddens (1991) states that trust is central to maintaining positive relationships and fundamental to identity-formation. Both Giddens (1991) and Ivey (1990) refer to unresolved anxieties that underlie feelings of shame, frustration and guilt. In coloured identity shame is associated with collusion with the dominant group in the exploitation and oppression of the African black person. The *Daughter* unconsciously expresses this shame in her narration. She presents an idealized version of her son's behaviour and attitude towards an older African black man:

And something that stands out the caretaker of Greenwood Park School, Kelvin's old school...can't think of his name. It's African. He's an old African man, he came there, to Kelvin as a patient and er when he gave me his name and that. I remembered him and when he went into Kelvin and I was so touched 'cos Kelvin told him who he was and still referred to him as **Mister** (*her emphasis*) whatchacall. And he still said to Kelvin, "No, no, no, you're doctor." And Kelvin said to him, "No, I'm still a little boy compared to you." He couldn't get over it 'cos you know with an African, they have that, if you're a professional person, now that is, you know, you must have that. And he couldn't get over that. And Kelvin said to me, "Mum, don't charge him." And when I told him I said to him, "It's bunsela for you from Kelvin." And Kelvin was very, very thrilled that he was a little

boy, that this guy became his patient. (Appendix B, p. 53)

The *Daughter* shows pride in her son's benevolence towards the older African black man, but there's also a sense of patronization in her tone, particularly from her use of the isiZulu term "bunsela" meaning for free. Interestingly, she could not remember the man's name. Her feelings of guilt and shame are revealed openly in the following extract:

That's what I say we are just as guilty as many other people for oppressing those people. We are just as guilty because for us, we had a special plate and a special cup for them. We gave them what we cooked and that, but they never used our things. They came in the back door. So we are just as guilty. (Appendix B, p. 39).

Guilt and shame are two of the emotions that Erasmus (2001) associates with the coloured person's sense of complicity during the apartheid era. While non-white groups were oppressed, within this group Indians and coloureds were given limited privileges over African people. By the discriminatory treatment of the African person, the *Daughter* acknowledges this complicity in perpetuating discrimination. In democratic South Africa, the apartheid orchestrated positions of privilege are being redressed through laws of affirmative action, black economic empowerment and gender equity. Erasmus (2001) claims that providing the all encompassing identity of black to all non-white or previously disadvantaged groups does not acknowledge the emotions of guilt and shame underlying complicity. Various identities have been suggested to coloured people as indicated in the historical background of this study. According to the literature the identity of coloured in democratic South Africa is still contested.

One of the aims of this theme was also to investigate the effect of democracy on the participants' identities. From the interviews, participants still appear to be ambivalent about the identity of coloured.

*Great-granddaughter:* I think that we should have our own identity. Coloured is just as important as white or Indian or black because we're not white or black or Indian. So we need to be classed differently to them. I don't think ... although I don't think we should bother to class people. As what they are, doesn't affect the way we treat them, doesn't make them any different from us. (Appendix D, p. 91).

From the discourses around coloured identity, Ash (2004) proposed a single homogenous identity with which at first the *Great-granddaughter* concurs, but this feeling shifts towards a non-racial identity. Rustin (1991) proposes that in order for racism to lose its power, a paradigm shift of non-racial thinking in our interactions with others, is essential.

*Granddaughter:* Because you weren't acknowledged as a race group that they were looking for and I think even now it's kind of very similar. You've just always been in the middle and you've kind of gone with the flow. In the apartheid era you weren't as totally disadvantaged as the African black people. You had a few more benefits than they did, but I don't think anything mind-boggling to which you'd say was a real plus, a real positive. But it kind of just got you through because it was the existence you were afforded and it was what you were used to so I don't think it was an advantage then. And now, now I feel neither here nor there. I find that lots of South Africans also don't know that the coloured group exists, specifically in Natal. Natal, you either white, Indian or black... African-black. Nobody knows that you are coloured. So you find that when people start asking race groups or

they need the information for whatever, they kind of don't always have coloured as a category. You find yourself saying yes, you are coloured and they can't understand what the difference is or where you come from. I don't think now it makes a difference what you are. I know that there are still companies who look at that and that might sway whether you do get a job or not, but I don't think it's an overly advantageous thing. (Appendix C, p. 63)

The *Granddaughter* who has lived most of her life during apartheid rule, shares the frustrations of restricted access to self-actualisation. The positions of privilege she feels are marginal. It would seem that for her, the non-recognition of who a coloured person is, is problematic. Placed in positions in-between in colonialism, apartheid and democracy, there is a sense that the coloured identity is not truly validated.

*Daughter:* Well now they just say that you must say that you're African, South African. I just sign everything South African, I don't mention, put coloured down. (*why?*) Because now they tell you, you're South African. Forget about that that was the apartheid era, but yet when you're get these forms you still got coloured, Indian, African. (*What do you think of that?*) Oh I think it's sickening they should one thing or the other. Don't say democratic country and then you're still identifying me as a coloured. (Appendix B, p. 55).

The outrage of still being categorized by an identity imposed comes across strongly in the *Daughter's* extract. The indecision and ambivalence of racial categories are still being used by the democratic government of South Africa. It would seem from these interviews that the real underlying issues of identities denied, subsumed, overlooked are not being addressed.



### *The influence of socialization on issues of gender and culture*

Flax (1990, p. 157) suggests that “the division of labour in most cultures is such that the first ‘other’ upon whom we depend will most likely be female.” Yet it is the processes of socialization through patriarchy that reverse the perceptions of dependence. Patriarchal systems give primacy to the male and the woman is given a subordinate role of dependence on the male. Traditional families previously saw the male as the breadwinner of the family and head of the household. The woman is thus placed in positions of social, political and economic dependence. Giddens (1991, p. 216) has argued that women’s roles have traditionally been “defined in relation to the home and the family.” Thus by defining women in relation to domesticity, it detracts from their sense of self-worth and places obstacles in their path to self-actualisation. These obstacles become more evident when women enter the previously exclusively male-dominated domains of economics and politics. The participants of this study have indicated that the career opportunities were limited not just for coloured people, but also for coloured women. Both the *Mother* and *Daughter* relate that poverty caused them to leave school and seek employment. The *Daughter* speaks of the limited career opportunities during colonialism and apartheid:

If you were lucky, if you had someone who worked at OK or one of those, you were lucky to get into the stores, or that. Cause they had all white sales ladies and things like that. If you got into the hairdressing thing, you were an apprentice, though you did the work of a qualified ... er you weren’t an apprentice, you were only a shampooist. You never got further than a shampooist. Mostly factories was where we could get in, were the factories.

(Appendix B, pp. 28-29)

The *Granddaughter* presents a different set of career options for coloured people. But the proviso for this increased opportunity was tertiary education. She presents the professional career of teacher or lawyer as a sense of family achievement and an upgraded family status. The *Granddaughter* states: "...it was kind of prestigious because you were stepping up from an artisan...your parents wanted you to be more than an artisan." (Appendix C, p. 84). The *Granddaughter* is a teacher by profession.

Access to further education to the older women of her family was not just denied due to economic constraints, but also through socialization and the traditional role for women. While the *Mother* had to leave school, her brothers continued, even though she was the eldest child. The socialization of gender roles can be traced to relationships in early development. Barden (2001, p. 14) points out that: "The very young may have a gender-free internal experience, but it will not be attributed as gender-free by the attachment world." Socialization of gender-defined roles occurs through interaction with significant others. Most feminist writers concur that women place more emphasis on the relationship role, while males roles emphasise autonomy and independence. (Barden, 2001; Doane & Hodges, 1999; Flax, 1990; Vas Dias, 2001).

The value system of gendered identity promotes independence for the male child and nurturance, and thus dependence for the female child (Barden, 2001). Doane & Hodges (1999:42) cite Chodorow to emphasise the difficulty that mothers and daughters have in the separation-individuation process, claiming that it is "never fully complete." There is more focus to socialize the male child towards independence. This becomes an essential part of his developing self and is thus entrenched in contexts of power like politics and economics. The mother's own desire for autonomy and independence is projectively identified in the male child, often manifesting in idealisation. Throughout the interviews the participant *Mother* idealises her brothers, her father,

raising their status through material gains. The *Mother* of this study maintains the gender based roles in the raising of her own children, even though she was denied an education. She justifies her position of entrenching the divisions of labour and the right to self-determination for women.

*Mother*: So then I said that the girls they would carry on and work and then there was Merlin I was going to put through because he was going to marry someone's daughter. .. and he would have to provide. ...I put him through. I worked and battled. Then I put him through. Then when they went to work, I lived with my mother. (Appendix A, p. 18).

“And he would have to provide,” is an extract from her final interview (Appendix A, p. 23), thus entrenching the traditional role of the male as provider and therefore must receive the best and be the most independent. Ironically it is herself and her daughters who had to work to provide for his education and the family at large. The implication is that some other male would take care of the daughters and would provide for them, that this time was only transitory. Doane & Hodges (2001) propose that mothers see daughters as an extension of the self, as a nurturer of relationships. The *Mother* promotes this role of nurturer and thus dependence with her daughters. By sending them out to work, she sacrifices their chances of an education and thus independence. She promotes the nurturing of her son. She also promotes the socialization that women sacrifice for men. Her own mother provides sanctuary for her and her family when she separates from her husband. But the separation-individuation process is also one of seeking independence from the primary care-giver, even for the female child. Reinharz (1993) posits that “modesty” as a socialized feminine attribute is not isolated to appearance and dress, but also extends to behaviours manifesting needs and wants. The woman is socialized not to want beyond her social expectations. The existence of glass ceilings are very much internalized by society.

The *Daughter* seeks her independence through marriage. It is independence from the *Mother*, but to dependence on her husband. Giddens (1991) defines “fateful moments” as moments of choice, including choosing a marriage partner. It is an opportunity to break with tradition and thus with socialization. Marriage also forms part of the rituals of tradition. Therefore choosing a life partner is often based on rituals of family traditions. While choices of careers have opened up for the *Great-granddaughter*, choices of life partners are still restricted by traditions. The *Granddaughter* (who is the mother of the *Great-granddaughter* responds):

...when you talk of relationships, then maybe she is pressured to find a boyfriend who is coloured. (Appendix C, p. 87).

The *Great-granddaughter* states that race is not important in her choice of life partner. However she would look at biological signifiers (of hair texture) that her family would consider important. The biological signifiers that she considers important are those that are stereotypical of white European. She rejects biological signifiers of black African ancestry.

The *Great-granddaughter*: Well I do consider the background of the family and where they come from and their finances, obviously. Of course looks is important, if you talking about hair texture (laughs), if you’re talking about what colour skin, complexion or whatever you want to say. Ja I think maybe that’s important. (*Why is that important, hair texture, skin if we are looking at background?*) I think that might actually have lot to do with family values. ‘cos I think family kind of makes you think of straight hair, or make sure he’s not dark or that kind of thing about the person. It’s just nice because you need to think of your children (laughs). (Appendix D, p. 100).

The *Daughter*’s choice of life partner was restricted by cultural differences of religion.

*Daughter:* Well, while we they liked him because he was a cricketer and all that, but when my granny saw it getting serious, she sat me down and said, “He’s from a different religion,” and there’s no way that she would allow me to change and she thinks it best if we stopped seeing one another. I then I spoke to him. I told him I didn’t want to meet him on the corner. He had taken me to meet his mother and she was very nice to me. I felt that if he couldn’t come to my house, then I can’t come to his house, so I think we should stop seeing each other. I didn’t want to hurt my granny because when we didn’t have a home, she made a home for us. (Appendix B, p. 37).

With the idealization of the male child, comes the denigration of female behaviour. The *Mother* in this study was separated from her husband who was an alcoholic. He abandoned his wife and children and engaged in an adulterous affair. Although the *Mother* was forced to live with her parents and send her daughters to work, she did not divorce her husband. There is a conservatism regarding divorce. In fact, social issues around divorce, pre-marital sex and pregnancy before marriage are all viewed conservatively within this family. This conservatism is hypocritical in its stance for two reasons. The first is that instances of divorce, pre-marital pregnancy and pre-marital sex have occurred within this family. Divorce and pre-marital pregnancy are stigmatized. They are veiled in secrecy. These stigmas carry value judgments. Secondly, it is the women who are stigmatized by this conservatism. It is the woman who is traditionally seen as abandoned in divorce. It is the woman, whose body is pregnant, who bears the brunt of judgments. Stigmatization of women by women perpetuates patriarchy and the disempowerment of women. In the instance of the *Mother* who does not divorce her husband, she maintains the socialization of patriarchy. She maintains the superficial identity of a married

woman, thus limiting her choices and her independence. Idealisation of the male child (the son) relates to the *Mother's* own abandonment issues. Divorce it would seem would be the ultimate severance. Idealisation of the male child becomes overdetermined (overcompensated for the abandonment).

The *Daughter* also idealises her own son, the son who is darker in complexion. He becomes the doctor. Throughout her interviews she praises his behaviour towards others. Giddens (1991) proposes that in modernity divorce has allowed for restructuring of families. Nuclear families of heterosexual parents are no longer the only family role model. Divorce and decisions around being a single parent provide opportunities to confront stereotypes and offer choices that previous generations did not have. Giddens (1991) further claims that with reflexivity the site of the body has been freed. Choices relating to decisions about pregnancy, termination, fertilization have provided opportunities for individuals to restructure their ways about thinking of their bodies and thus of themselves.

According to Giddens (1991) tradition is a way of ordering social life. Traditions create an internal referential system which the individual can use when confronted with "crises." Throughout the individual's lifespan she is confronted at various stages with risks that may threaten ontological security. Giddens (1991) posits that it is these internalized referentials that help the individual to negotiate periods of change and risk.

Traditions are part of culture. While the participants have conceded that there is no homogenous coloured culture, they share the culture of language and religion of the European colonialist (English, Christian).

*Mother*: The thing is we haven't got a culture. We so mixed up, so what do we do, we can be British, what British coloured (laughs), Cape coloured, or

what. So we're not, so we're ...er... we got no culture, let's be honest. What can we prove is our heritage? There's no, we haven't got heritage. What's it? We mixed. Even our birth certificate was mixed. (Appendix A, p. 23)

The *Granddaughter* points to acculturation and hybridity of cultures. Bhabha (cited in Nuttall & Michael, 2007, p. 7) proposes that a 'third space' develops from the interaction of different cultures, where the dominant culture is challenged as a form of resistance.

*Granddaughter*: You don't have your own culture, you just borrow things from everybody else and it just becomes coloured so it's nothing of your own. Nothing that you can say well this is what coloured people do or this their tradition or their culture or their whatever. (Appendix C, p. 63).

*Great-granddaughter*: I dunno I think it's just more. I just think that Durban coloureds don't have any culture, whatsoever. I don't have any background that I feel strongly about. Ok our religion that's fine, but culture, we just don't have. (Appendix D, p. 96)

The participants' consensus of coloured concurs with Erasmus (2000b, p. 199) who states that "hybrid identity is located in a specific place with a specific history; an identity formed and reformed in the context of specific social relations of power." The common strand is the ever-changing and constant reconstitution of identity in the face of various encounters of discrimination and socio-political conditions. Erasmus (2001) further argues that hybridity is the "condition" for cultural reconstruction/ reconstitution, while creolization is the reconstruction process. Therefore Erasmus (2001) posits that there can be no homogeneous coloured culture, because of this constant reconstruction and diversity in ancestral heritage.

*Shifts or changes in identity within a generation or trans-generationally*

Giddens (1991) claims that kinship or family ties maintain links across generations.

Giddens (1991, p. 145) states:

It is this normative transmission which links the generations of the dead with the generations of the living in the constitution of a society...the dead...are objects of attachment, but what is more significant is that their works and the norms contained in their practices influence the actions of subsequent generations to whom they are unknown.

The participants show that as South Africa moved closer towards democracy, that they interacted more with other race groups. The *Daughter* describes the area where she lived as a child as “multiracial,” but refers to the individuals in terms of religion: “I had many Indian friends, Muslim, Hindu and Catholics and there was a few coloureds.” (Appendix B, p. 25). This interaction presented opportunities to reflect on their own identities in relation to the identities of others. The *Granddaughter*, however, recounts that having lived most her life in the apartheid era, the restrictions on racial integration led her to live a rather “sheltered” life.

*Granddaughter*: Well when I first studied I studied at a college that was specifically for coloured people so it wasn't a major adjustment because I studied with people of the same race group and I went to teach children who were the same race group as I am. And I taught at what was a specifically coloured school. So I don't think that the exposure came about so much then as maybe later. (Appendix C, p. 65)

The shift towards independence on an economic level is clearly evident. The focus on attaining an education that would facilitate this independence becomes of primary importance to



the subsequent generations. The attainment of an education presented opportunities to reflect on previous generations' limitations to independence and indicated a break with social traditions of favouring education for the male child. The *Granddaughter* reflects on the effect that independence has on gendered identity.

*Granddaughter:* Yes. I think now that we're very independent in all aspects of my life and so I think it puts a different perspective on your relationship with your spouse. Whereas with mother, she didn't work and she was totally dependent on my father and this is really evident when he died she couldn't do a thing. She was very spoiled, I think. Spoiled is the word to use, and dependent, in that my father did everything and that my father was there to do everything. I think that I'm very different in that I can do most things on my own, for myself. And I think it was because we were forced to, we were kind of encouraged or forced to do things because we drive around. It was something she didn't do, so that lessens the dependence because you have access to the car and you can drive yourself around. And then because I work, so I'm also independent in that aspect, not only financially, but also socially, emotionally, etc. so I think you grow more as a person, or I've grown more as a person than my mother because she didn't interact with so many people on a different level. (Appendix C, p. 86)

The *Granddaughter's* sense of achievement is clearly evident. She seems to be proud of having achieved far more than the previous generations of women in her family. She emphasizes that the role of the woman can be that of independence and autonomy, thus changing the dynamics in the relationship of marriage. There becomes a need to review the traditional roles of husband and wife as provider and nurturer/caregiver, especially as more women contribute

equally and in many cases, are the sole providers. This shift in the roles of women provides a shift in the perception of maternal role models for future generations of women.

Giddens (1984, p. 50) claims that “the generation of feelings of trust in others, as the deepest-lying element of the basic security system, depends substantially upon the predictable and caring routines established by parental figures.” Trust implies confidence that the other will return, will not be annihilated by psychic projections, nor will the self be destroyed by introjection. Trust serves as the barrier to fear of loss, loss of the significant object. Openness in a relationship is mediated through trust. The *Daughter* relates that she was more open with her own children regarding their Indian ancestry compared to her own mother.

*Daughter:* It was just this in the community, you know. You heard the older people talk about that one’s or that one’s that, but it was something you as a child, you never discussed or you never asked because you weren’t allowed to. Whereas today, the parents and children have a more open relationship, where you’re more open. I found that with my children, I could be more open with them and ... I’m sorry that we weren’t like that those days cause I think you live with that guilt and now I’ve spoken to my children. I’ve opened up to them. They never questioned me about that. They were only too eager to meet the other side. And I felt much better that I was able to talk about it. (Appendix B, p. 31)

In her reflexive biography, the *Daughter* also expresses a sense of guilt. She suggests that she feels guilt for not talking about her father’s relatives, whom she refers to as “the other side.” There is a sense of guilt of not openly acknowledging the Indian ancestry of her father’s family. Guilt, Giddens (1991) posits, is an emotion associated with fear of wrongdoing or omission. The *Daughter’s* sense of guilt is also related to collusion with her mother’s silence about her (the

*Daughter's*) father's Indian ancestry. There is awareness that the omission and the wrongdoing can be repaired. Reparation should help to resolve the guilt. Interestingly it becomes evident that the shame attached to her Indian ancestry is not entirely resolved as she refers to them as "the other side." This lack of resolution could also possibly be linked to the abandonment issues of her own father. This is his family, who also abandoned them as children. In her own reflexive biography, she could possibly be restructuring her story of loss as one of regret.

### ***Generational transmissions in the reflexive project of the self***

Giddens (1991, p. 244) defines the reflexive project of the self as "the process whereby self-identity is constituted by the reflexive ordering of self-narratives." Ivey (1990) concurs that the self we present is reflective of a history of selves. Selection and monitoring of the narrative or story to be revealed is also dependent upon the other, who is the recipient of this reflexive project and thus the context in which this interaction occurs. Therefore Giddens (1991) argues that the I in any story is dependent on the social positioning of the I in relation to the other. Stories are therefore adapted and modified for the particular audience.

As previously-mentioned, the women in this study are members of my extended family. I therefore needed to consider how this relationship would impact on the reflexivity of their stories. One of the more obvious impacts is the presentation of a positive narration in the initial interviews. Giddens (1991) claims that pride is the positive polarity of shame. Pride is motivated by the need to feel valued and understood. Pride implies confidence in the self. Pride is one of the emotions that is strongly transmitted trans-generationally. The pride that is transmitted is strongly related to an inflated sense of self, is based on a social perception of superior status.

*Mother:* I think, never mind what, we have got our pride and that's what I think I've passed on to you. I passed on the education; it's what I couldn't

get. I was deprived of. And actually, your mother and them, they aren't, weren't able because of circumstances permit. Your Granpa Dicks. (*voice drops*).

(Appendix A, p. 23)

The *Mother* expresses pride in her status, and importantly the need to achieve an education. Her deprivation of an education that denied herself and her daughters' independence, is acknowledged. By transmitting the importance of an education, she is able to repair some of her guilt of depriving her daughters of an education. Bar-On & Gilad (1993) cite studies by Reick & Etinger, that support higher achievement in economic and educational objectives in subsequent generations.

In blaming her husband for his abandonment, the *Mother* shares some of the guilt, making it less burdensome. The hesitancy of the way the *Mother* speaks of her deceased husband's wrong-doings is also significant because it portrays some level of attachment to him. She never divorced him, so she was still his wife, his widow. On a deeper level, it expresses her perception of their relationship and the context of marriage.

*Daughter:* And I will always admire my mother cause when I showed her that letter, all she said to me was, "you'll go to church, you'll know the commandments. What is the one about parents?" I said, "Honour your mother and father." She said, "So your father is sick and he needs you'll. What happened between him and I is our business, not you children. He is your father, so you'll decide." And I will always admire my mother for that ... (Appendix B, p. 34)

On a religious level, the *Mother* transmits the Christian belief and promotes the tenet of 'Honouring your parents.' On a psychological level it promotes a sense of absolution for herself

in relation to her transgressions against subsequent generations. The adherence to the Christian religion was also strongly transmitted. This becomes evident in the *Granddaughter's* recollection of her own sense of pride, that intervened in her social context of her church.

*Granddaughter:* I just don't mix with everybody (*laughs*). I'm just very snooty so I don't mix with everybody. I am a very private person generally. I generally don't mix with everybody. Even if there are church functions, I don't attend church functions or either social functions. (Appendix C, p. 76)

The adherence to the Christian faith as a strong generational transmission would have some impact on the fact that I as the researcher followed the Islamic faith. This became evident in the initial interviews with the *Mother* and *Daughter*, using the correct terminology of "Muslims" and positive recollections of their interactions with other people of the Islamic faith. As the interviews progressed, there appeared to be less active self-monitoring. "Muslims" became "Mohammedans" with some clarification like, "The Muslims, we called them that." (Appendix B, p. 42). The term "Mohammedans" is seen by Muslims as derogatory. It implies that Muslims worship Muhammad [correct spelling] as Christians worship Jesus Christ. However Islam states that both Muhammad and Jesus are prophets [messengers of God] and not God. The term "Moslem" is used by the *Mother* to refer to Muslims. "Moslem" is a term used by orientalist and is not the correct pronunciation of the transliterated Arabic word for Muslim.

Choice of how stories or biographies are related implies some measure of resistance. Rosenthal & Bar-On (cited in Bar-On & Gilad, 1993, p. 87) state that "Strategies allow people to smooth out corners in their stories, especially corners they find difficult to confront in the present." One of the primary difficulties that each of the participants had, was an admission of an African black ancestry. This ancestry was omitted, glossed over in descriptions of 'all mixed up,'

and essentially denied. Being an insider, I tried to elicit conversation about the black African other as part of the participants' identities. The participants were reluctant to take the bait as becomes evident in the interview with the *Granddaughter*:

Yes, you had to find somebody who matched with you and hopefully that the genes from both of you, the right genes would reach and form the children (*laughing*). (*Is there anything that you can remember when people spoke about genes that "weren't right"? Was there any kind of prejudice to any kind of ancestral heritage?*). (*silence*). (*There's talk like I remember people saying that they don't hang up the photographs of their black ancestors – response interrupts*).

Oh right. Oh I think because of wanting to only acknowledge the English heritage, people did only talk about that. And they didn't talk about the local ancestry.

(*The African?*). The African. It wasn't always African only. It might have been Indian and English or something. (*Even being Indian wasn't –response interrupts*).

I don't think so. It was only the white part or the English part that was always spoken about because that was like the – hopefully the dominant one. (Appendix C, p. 78-79)

Omission implies a strong sense of shame in identifying with a group that was racially stereotyped. Derogatory terms labelling African black people had to be drawn out from the participants and were often related in undertones. The dissociation becomes evident in the discriminatory language used. The *Daughter* in her narration of the events of the 1949 riots describes the African rioters as pathological. This description supports the negative stereotyping.

*Daughter*: But the worst thing happened in Cato Manor, that's where they really went berserk... (Appendix B, p. 42)

This omission links to underlying anxieties creating feelings of shame and guilt. Shame in the admission of ancestry would indicate an inferior sense of self. The participants would have to confront their own internalized shame that having African black ancestry has created. They would also be forced to confront their collusion in maintaining the oppression of the African black person during colonialism and apartheid, and the resultant guilt of the collusion.

Defences of resistance, displacement, denigration and projection serve the purpose of maintaining psychic control (Ivey, 1990). Until the individual feels that ontological security is not at risk, she will not lower her defences and thereby confront her shame, her guilt.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The recurrent difficulty of separating identity into personal, social and political categories is pervasive throughout this study. That the participants are ambivalent about this identity of coloured, is reflected in their various self-identifications of ‘mixed’, ‘Natal coloured’ and coloured. Their ambivalence is further emphasized by their feelings of frustration, shame and guilt.

These women exhibit feelings of anger that this identity was imposed on them. The apartheid regime is attributed much of the blame. Thus the identity appears to be a label. Yet in democratic South Africa, having to identify themselves as coloured is also problematic. “First we were not white enough, now we’re not black enough,” (Appendix B, p. 55) captures the legacy of marginalization throughout the history of the coloured person.

There is strong expression for their identity not to be overlooked and ignored in democratic South Africa and collapsed into black essentialism. There is also evidence of shame in being identified as one of the other non-white groups. The denial of African black ancestry is suggestive of the unresolved anxieties of shame, collusion and guilt. The desire to be a ‘normal South African’ suggests that racist identities feel pathological and concurs with Rustin’s (1991) argument that the irrationality of racism is based on psychotic thought processes.

Racist stereotyping within the coloured identity is still present, particularly in the first three generations. The *Great-granddaughter* alludes to this socialization transmission in her choice of a life partner, when she includes physical features, hair texture in her selection criteria.

As women, not only has the politics of colonialism and apartheid limited their access, but so has patriarchy. The first two generations have colluded with the socialization of male dominance and independence. However they have also tried to promote some independence for



the future generations of women by emphasizing the importance of an education. As women, they still play the primary role of nurturer. More socio-economic autonomy has been achieved in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> generations. Both these women have had access to tertiary education, have a professional status and earn an income.

Regret for transgressions, omissions and not acting is more evident in the feelings expressed by the *Mother* and *Daughter* (1<sup>st</sup> two generations). Frustration and anger appear to be the underlying tone of the interviews of the *Granddaughter*. There is a sense that political and social obstacles blocked her path to self-actualisation and that democracy which proposed to redress past inequalities, is still preferential and not enough – a case of too little, too late.

The advantages of selecting members of my own extended family as participants has been documented throughout the various sections of this study. However, it has not been without its limitations. In the discussion and analysis I have mentioned the impact of myself as the researcher and interviewer. The levels of social desirability were particularly high in the first interviews of the *Mother* and *Daughter*. These participants tended to present themselves in a falsely positive light. While this is not unusual in interviews generally, it did create some transference. I sensed my own feelings of frustration at their lack of openness. In retrospect, the resistance that I sensed with the *Granddaughter* and *Great-granddaughter* was also a reaction to my counter-transference of being unconsciously judgmental.

One of the most challenging aspects of this research for me, has been my family's denial and shame of their African black ancestry and collusion with apartheid's preferential privileges. Democratic South Africa has exposed complicity. With this complicity has emerged repressed guilt, but it has been a forced emergence, where many people have not and are still not ready to deal with it. The quick-fix of black essentialism to allow the coloured person to embrace their

othering and assuage the guilt, denies process. Process is not only time to deal with conflictual feelings, but also includes a safe space, that is free from value and judgment. Process is also about raising issues of repression and suppression to conscious awareness. Process has to begin with the acknowledgement of conflictual feelings of shame and guilt in order to shift to resolution. The subsumption of black essentialism does not allow the coloured person to explore their conflictual feelings of shame and guilt.

Having insight into my own limitations as insider and researcher, I respect their defences and skirt the boundaries of our conflict. Our conflict is the participants' denial of an African black ancestry. I deliberately choose the term "skirt" to suggest edging around this conflict for a number of reasons. The first reason is that "skirt" is a feminine form of clothing. This metaphor of "skirt" suggests that I am aware that the participants have covered up or hidden their black African ancestry. Secondly, a "skirt" suggests movement. By movement, I hope that the participants will shift on their position of denial and eventually come to a point where they feel comfortable to acknowledge. Thirdly, I use the word "skirt" in a derogatory sense to indicate that the participants still hide behind the skirts of socialization and patriarchy. Thus they collude in their own disempowerment. However, by respecting their defences, I am able to give voice to their reflexive biographies that they have consented to relate.

...few people considered the history of women to be history at all. Denying people a history produces socially constructed ignorance and is a form of oppression. Writing biographies about women is thus inherently a form of protest. (Reinharz, 1993, p. 37).

Reinharz (1993) states that historically there are fewer stories about women than there are about men. Women, unless celebrated royalty or attached to famous men seldom had their lives

recorded. Reinharz (1993, p. 77) has criticized that feminist biographies “have deepened the shadows on some women when it shines its spotlight on a few.” The women of this study are not famous, beyond their immediate families. Nor were or are their respective spouses famous. Yet these women are the subject of this study and thus this study is a form of protest to recognize the lives not just of women, but women of colour, living in South Africa, thus ‘shining the spotlight on the shadows’.

In the journey to the place of entanglement, where complicity and subjectivity are interwoven, self-reflection is essential to move to a place of acceptance, devoid of shame. To establish an identity that is acceptable to the self, one has to come to terms with acceptance of the past. In answer to the question, who am I – I am woman, not just South African, not just coloured, but a host of interacting identities that respond to the present, but echo with the her[his]stories of my past.

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**APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT 1/MOTHER**  
**Interview 1**

Interviewer (I): Tell me about your childhood, a bit about your parents and yourself, growing up.

Mother (M): My father came from Wynberg, Cape Town. My mother was born in JHB. Then they came to Durban with their parents. In 1901 they came to Durban. I had an older sister, thirteen and then I was born on 31 august 1913. And now you want to know about my childhood?

I: Okay, talk about your childhood.

M: My brothers, and two sisters, one older than me and one younger and then my four brothers. And a younger sister, aunty Margie.

I: Where you were born and...

M: I was born in Lorne Street ... 23 and er that there were all races there, whites, Indians, coloureds.

I: You say no whites?

M: All whites, mostly whites and ... er ...

I: Were you aware at this time of the coloured identity?

M: No, we weren't because whites er we went wherever the whites went. They ... we played with them. They came into our homes, we went into to their homes.

I: What about school?

M: Well we went to , I went to Albert Street school. It was particularly coloureds and er....

I: Any other race groups?

M: We had the Malays because the Malays only came to Durban in the later years. Violet Schreuder was one of them. There was Violet Schreuder, Rachel Hendricks, Carr. And the Hanslos were the first Malay family to come to Durban. They lived down the bottom of Lorne Street.

I: Now how did you know that they were Malay and that you were coloured?

M: Well, we just knew. And er there was the Mayets, Joe's mother, Lily and sister, Eva, they all came to Albert Street School. Their father was a Turk and his mother was a German. I think they came to school. And we had ... in the school we had R.I. in std 6 and Miss Ficks, was a Sunday school teacher at St Cyprians and I was christened in that church. And that we got, a lot that we learnt from the bible that we learnt and everyone took part. Only those the Roman Catholics they sat in or they

sat out, it was left to them. It was only the Catholics that couldn't take part because they were so thing cause the priest said they couldn't, they can't take part. The point is that we got on very well. There was none of that business about "oh, they were Malays, they were different from us". No, not a bit because actually the Malays from Cape Town they were like coloureds. You see the Malays and coloureds, that's how we took to them. I mean Violet Schreuder and them came from Egypt Mr. Bam and er we got on. Apartheid wasn't then.

I: But you'll didn't attend the same schools as whites and Indians

M: Well the only school that they attended was Epsom road. St Helena's went over there. Bernard Seale and them, Dot Yon, Lesley Yon they attended. They went to that school That was the school. They took them. But not many cause quite a lot of them those that were on the white side came to our schools. Our school only took the boys to std. 1. From std. One they had to go to Bully's school, Melbourne Road. And there the senacks, they were French. They were great friends with the LeTang the chemist. They were friends with Mr Bechet. And Mr Bechet he taught.. he took us at Umbilo Road. That became high school cause that was and we went there. And he er we had er all the teachers were white we never had no coloureds. But er the ..there was nothing that you couldn't go here or there. If you went you could go. And at that time when we were young er only about operas at the state theater, the theater Royal. You know where the theater royal was, was just past Beare Brothers, that side that was where all the overseas operas and they staged plays there. It was that and the christmas pantomime. There was no that you couldn't go here. And when you registered, well my father's father was a Yorkshireman. My granny's father was er, grandma Fortune's father was a Dutchman. Both aunty baby and uncle peter were a de Bruin. She married a de Bruin. They weren't like, you know, that's Joyce Sassman, their mother and they were accepted by Oupa Fortune. Fortune, family was er I think Dutch. Fortune's, Fortuin was from Paarl I think French, French Huguenot's. Stellenbosch, Paarl, that's where they started the vineyards. Oupa Fortune's mother was very, very fair. She was fair like aunty Rachel and his father, he could have been a very fair man because uncle, we had an uncle, Oupa Fortune had a brother. Oupa Fortune, he was a transport driver in the Transvaal and he used to take the bottle coals because they used that in the mines. And he travelled, but he became very dark, you know. Sunburnt, you could say, but they were all fair because you know, he would say to us "show me your chest and he was fair, fair, fair. And incidentally, my father's father was white, a white man, but my granny was dark and I got the idea that my granny was St Helena cause there's a family, the Holloway, St Helenas he was white, but his wife was dark like my grandma. You'd think they were sisters. She came from St Helena. Incidentally, someone said that the St Helena people are very dark, they look like Indians. You see a photo or film, of St Helenas. And er we'd laugh because my pa would call my grandma navy-blue. He was very comical, but they were very happy. He was a very man, who could dance. He loved dancing and he could play the piano. And he liked entertaining. When Granny Polly was in JHB, she ran the laundry, did all the washing for the mine workers, the managers, only the top. That's the time they used to wear the stiff shirts, you know, the cardboard fronts. Then all that, she did. The wives washing she done. That's how she had the laundry in Johannesburg and then she came here. Then Oupa Fortune, he owned trolleys for like removing, you know like removal. And he owned cabs. And he worked at the Royal Hotel. He was like the porter and he drove the tram. He'd go to the station and call out

“Royal Hotel, Royal Hotel” and these people, he’d take them. It was just across the road where the station is the Royal Hotel. And then they’d go to the boats. The boats, they’d er...

I: This is your grandfather you’re talking about?

M: Yes.

I: I want to go back to you and when you were young. I want you to speak about when you were young and going to school. I want to know ...from

M: When I went to school

I: How did you identify yourself when you were going to school? When people asked you, “who you were”, what did you say?

M: Oh, we said we were coloureds.

I: You were coloured. And where did that come from? I mean, where did you get that from?

M: Somehow that didn’t worry us because you could go anywhere. Some of us had white birth certificates (in your own family), ya, in the family. And they called you mixed because your father was white and your grandfather was white and er your father was mixed. Most of the coloureds just called themselves europeans. They went as European.

I: And so you went as ... you could identify as a coloured person. What did that identity mean to you?

M: I didn’t worry then because it didn’t have any stigma on it. Because we knew we were mixed blood that is why we took that. We weren’t ash...a mere anything... that only came with Smuts when he came with apartheid. We were free to go anywhere, any bioscopes and that’s the time the old people didn’t like bioscopes. They only liked the live shows, the opera or operettes. And we er dances too that we had, that too was our community. And the sport as well, we formed our own clubs. Sports like cricket and soccer cause my father was the chairman of the Natal Football association. And before that was my grandfather, Oupa Fortune and Jimmy Montgomery’s grandfather, Pompie.. er Nai ... What was Pompie’s surname? That’s how Uncle Ernie and them they came to form, they came to Durban. And my father first, they formed the first ... Swifts ... soccer team. And that team, they were quite good cause there were mostly relatives. There was uncle Johnny, uncle Alf, uncle harry, uncle Gem, Jack Coleman, Donny Saunders’ Father, er there was another chap. Oh, Jay Wheatley...

I: So you are saying that while you were growing up there was no stigma attached to being coloured, you could go (anywhere) where you wanted to. So you identified yourself as a coloured person?

M: Ja

I: What was the impact on other people when you interacted with people from other race groups, how did they react to you?

M: Well, I tell you, coloureds never inter... mixed with any other races except the whites. It's only later in life that I mean that we mixed with the Malays. And the Malay people they were like coloureds so they went to all our dances and they played soccer and cricket with them. And each family everybody had their own company, friends. The families were friends. If they had anything, it was just the family, you know. Only when they had a dance then that was the Old Mutual. But before that they used to have the dances you know where Alexandra Street is, off west street, you know you going it comes like that. You know where Ellis Brown Coffee was. You don't know where that was? Well that was right there in that complex there. Now it runs like this: Alexandra Street there and Fayker Street there. Other side was Cathedral Road. Now here was a hall on the top and that was where they used to have dances. And my late uncle, uncle Tayser, granpa Fortune's younger brother, he used to hold concerts, he loved dancing. And eventually she (his wife) separated from him. Then she found out she was very white. Actually she was murdered. She met up with it ...besides the point...

Growing up years, my father worked in town.

I: What work did your father do?

M: My father was a food manufacturer. He manufactured pickles (own or he worked for a company?) He worked for a company. He made syrups, mixed jellies.

I: And your mother?

M: Mummy worked in the Match Factory.

I: What did she do there?

M: Well I don't know what they did, I think it was the wrapping of the boxes.

I: Were jobs easy to come by?

M: Yes, they could get work. Many of the young people stayed with the old people, they helped out in the house. Auntie Rachel first worked in the snuff factory that was in Sydney Road. Then she went to the match factory. From then later in life she got into the lady that she worked for... she was a maid for the daughter. And then where my father worked the owners imported the factory to Rossburgh called Gemisons. And he opened this factory and he employed quite a lot of the coloured girls, white girls, they were from Clairwood.

I: Did they all get the same salary?

M: Ja, all the same. And they worked and all the positions were the same. Then my grandfather had come there. He was er um the gardener at that factory. He planted strawberries cause there was a jam factory attached to this. Jam and er the spices.

Tumeric was ground, curry powder was mixed and they did all the pickles, onion pickle, chillie and he mixed the jelly flavours. Then he did syrups.

I: That was his job. You mentioned here that you lived in Lorne Street. How long did you live in lorne Street in that area?

M: Oh aunty Baby er we left there in 1926.

I: And it was predominantly white?

M: Whites.

I: There were indian people?

M: One or two indian families. The one family that was there when we lived there was the Haffejees. They lived just down the street, about three houses before you got to Grey Street. They lived for years there.

I: And did you'll socialise/

M: Ja, we knew them, they came to us and we used to go to them.

I: And from Lorne Street, where did you'll move to?

M: Lorne Street then my father was transferred and then we went to live in Rossburgh on our own property. That house my father built it. And we used to travel by train to school.

I: Why did you travel so far to Rossburgh to school?

M: There were no schools. I was at Umbilo Road.

I: Were there no schools for coloured people out there? Only for whites or what?

M: Only the whites were there.

I: So there was a form of discrimination?

M: Ja, but we didn't notice it. It's not like today when I mean you notice it. The apartheid. We never felt it. There was no, that in, you know, marry into any races.

I: And the African people? Did any African people live in the areas near where you lived?

M: Ja the workers, they were the workers of the factory, they had a part where they lived on the premises. Because all those men they came from down the South Coast, the Zulus from the South Coast. But most of them, they would go home weekends. They lived in these hostels, but it was like rondavels. They had a cook, who cooked their meals. It was putu and meat.

I: You saying that they ate a different type of meal to what you ate?

M: That was their staple diet.

I: What was yours like?

M: Well we had our own. We ate our usual food.

I: What was the type of food that you ate? I'm going to ask you these questions like I don't know?

M: Like the usual, like we eat today. In the morning we had breakfast. We had oats, mostly oats we had for breakfast. Then if we wanted we could have egg, a fried egg and bacon. Bacon and egg and toast that was his breakfast and it could be ours if we wanted it too. Then we had a train that was twenty-past seven in the morning, leaves Rossburgh station, so we had to leave home at seven. Wasn't far to walk. At half-past six I had to go to the shop, Bubby cause the hot bread used to be there.

I: So who is this 'Bubby'?

M: He used to be a Moslem old man, but we used to call him, 'Bubby'.

I: So he was the shopkeeper.

M: He was the owner. And there was even a Moodley where we used to buy our groceries. Now you know that Moodley, he was there. That was the main part of Rossburgh. Bridges was the white butcher. There was Mr er ... Skidson, he was the newsagency. Next to him was the plumbers er... ooh just can't remember, they were Mauritian people. And next to him was Moodley. Then it was

I: So these were the houses?

M: The houses were there, but it was like a shopping area, the main area. Next to them was Sparks & Young, that's the butcher and then we had Hoskins, the chemist. The main road, we could go down there through the station, but we could go down because the factory had their own siding. So we used to go down the side to get to the station just about five minutes. So that was happy years for us. Actually then I in 1929 I left then my father then in thirty my father, the owner sold up. So they had their own staff so my father was out of work. So we went to Merebank. Over the years different parts of the family stayed there. That was our family home. Mommy, Daddy, Willie, Vic and Basil.

I: You'll owned that property?

M: In Merebank.

I: Then you went to high school?

M: Then we stayed in Merebank and that time my father wasn't working and the time of the depression 1929 -1931. So I didn't go to school because we couldn't afford the fees.

I: And what were the fees like?

M: Seven pound ten. Had to buy your own books.

I: I wanted to ask, looking at... so you went to go and work?

M: No I didn't work I got married. 1933.

I: Where did you meet grandpa Dicks?

M: There in Merebank.

I: And how did your family feel? How were the two families together?

M: They were fine.

I: What did Grandpa Dicks identify himself as? Did he say he was coloured, did he go as Indian?

M: Well, his father was a white and (his mother was Indian) indian. On his birth certificate it says his father was so and so, but I can't remember that clearly. They were classified as Indian. Then I think it later years when we were in Cape Town that he got an ID. He had two IDs, a coloured one and an Indian one. Besides that, the thing to say is that they weren't married (his parents?) Yes, but they were accepted.

I: So your family had no objections?

M: No

I: And his family?

M: They were accepting. Then that's how it came about. Then your mother and Auntie Barbara were born in Merebank, not Merebank. Auntie Barbara was born in St Aidan's hospital. Your mother was born in Gale Street, where Auntie Rachel lived. Cause auntie Gladys was there. Cause Merbank was too far. Auntie Rachel lived with May Barnes' granny. They lived there and auntie Rachel shared she hadn't married uncle Alf then. I think auntie Rachel was thirty when she married uncle Alf and then I had to come into town to have her, your mother.

I: So your family was still living in Merebank?

M: Uncle Eric was born in Merebank. I was just telling uncle Eric that the one day that we must go out and see if the old house is still there. We had three acres. How my father lost that property was that he was under the impression that the bookkeeper, Louwens, had been paying and then he found out that he hadn't paid. So we lost the house.

I: From there where did you'll have to move to?

M: From there we came to Ajax Lane, Peter's field. There was a horse, but that's a house in Ajax Lane. It's off Old Dutch Road. You know where Earling's Butcher was on the corner, that's was Ajax Lane. And from there we went to Cape Town. Granpa Dicks went to work in the Cape and I went with your mommy and aunty Barbara.

I: And in the Cape, what was it like living there compared to Durban?

M: I liked it there. We lived in Rondebosch, near Newlands. We were situated on the river, the Liesbeck River. Then the bank then there was a road and then there was the sports ground, rugby ground. Capetonians are not friendly people. All the years we lived, they not. Where we lived the Samuels, the son, he married. His mother lived down the road. Now we knew the children. When she passed the children, they'd greet, she'd tell the children: "Don't look at those people they think they white!"

I: So there was an attitude towards...

M: They had attitude, they didn't want. Unless you had family in the cape, of which we did have. But I mean they were far in other areas, Woodstock, Paarl and we had family in Wynberg.

I: Now your family in the Cape, that was from whose side?

M: That was from Granny Lawler's side, my father's side. They had Thomas's, Vembas.

I: And they were all mixed?

M: That was... grandma Lawler, she had one sister. She was just as dark. She had married a I don't know if he was a chinese, she was Mrs Roy. Then grandma's half-sister, she married a Vemba. When she got married on the train, he threw a hundred gold sovereigns. She was a cook. She cooked for the Govenor-Generals. So when they were in residence in Pretoria, she used to cook there. One of her granddaughter's today is married to a diplomat in Cape Town. Then after that before grandma Lawler, was married to a Thomas. I don't know how it came about that they were Thomas's, but granpa Lawler's father was a Thomas, Charles William, William Charles. So now he's Charles Thomas. He married a third time. I don't know who he marries, but all those children were fair.

I: Was there a difference in people's attitudes in the coloured community that time if a person was fairer or darker?

M: Well that's the thing. If a person was fair went to the white side. It happened even amongst the Malays. And you could go. That was nothing because you could go to the bioscopes and all.

I: So when you say they went on the white side, they changed their whole identity?

M: They lived as white. They went to all the white things. But it didn't worry anybody. Cause those times it wasn't, cause you wanted to be white an wanting just to live that. Actually I think every race here did, they were separate. I mean even the



blacks, they came from the kraal, they would only come to work here. Before they came to work in the homes, there were cooks. They worked for six months then they'd go home for six months. They supposed to go home to plant their grounds to get ready. They never did it. Their wives did it. They sat in the sun the whole day. The women worked. That's why today there's so many of the black women that work. The indian people that came here with the indentured people, there were only Tamils. They were only Tamils. They came here on a three year to work here on the sugar estate. So after the three years if they wanted to go back to India they could go. Many of them remained. But you know those people they earned so little, but while they were working, they were buying land. There was this firm Miller & Kimber, they were the agent selling land to different people. The indians on the estate they got them. Some of them paid for say an acre I don't know whether it was for twenty pounds. They paid every month ten shillings, or if they could afford, a pound to that agent to pay that off. Gradually as they could increase it over the years, that's why they own so much ground. But they worked. What they did they eventually did, was they built a wood and iron, all-in-one, and they stayed. They washed their dishes outside. That's beside that, they who didn't want to go back to India, they remained. They worked on the mill all the years. So when they retired or what, they owned property. And in the meantime on that property they were planting vegetables. That's why all the vegetables were all in Springfield, Chatsworth and Umhlatazana. Those were all market gardens. And they ended up with three acres of ground. Then they didn't bring evn bring it to the shops. Now the other day I heard on the radio that someone said they didn't know there was a squatter's market. Squatter's Market is from 19 the years before when we were young, they used to bring their carts and stable their horses. You know Victoria Street, there was a stable there and they used to stable their horses. They'd put all their vegetables and fruit. And you could buy a tomato box that would hold 4 gallons of fruit and you'd pay nine pence a box. We used to 9 pence for bananas. During the recession time you could buy a penny onions, a penny potatoes and even a penny tomatoes. And you go to the market and you could get 4 pence pound of cut mutton and you could make your pot of food. Green beans we used to get tickey a whole lot. You could go to the market at night. They finish at ten, leven 0' clock in the morning. A lot of the time they used to throw a lot of the vegetables in the bin. Many a person dug in that and got their fruit. It was a terrible time. Meat was cheap. What, you could buy a leg of mutton for two and six. You go to them on a Saturday in 1930 odd they built the bottom market, the squatter's market. Nobody knows, nobody to tell. The Corporation's archives should have. That's where the African used to come, they used to sell the live fowls. Could get flowers everything. Then you could go where Nicol Square the parkade was that was th e auction. That was where granpa Fortune had his cabs. They used to wait for the mail train. Then we went to 9 Agnes Road.

### **Interview 2: PARTICIPANT1/MOTHER**

I: The last time that we talked, you spoke about my mother and Aunty Barbara's birth and your stay in Cape Town. Let's pick up from there.

M: Okay Gwen was born in 1937 and we'd gone to live in Cape Town the we decided we'd stay cause Granny Polly was coming cause Granpa Percy was working in Worcester. So what decided for us to come back.cause Gwen was born on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May. And to back to Cape town. And it rained from the 5<sup>th</sup> of May to the 10<sup>th</sup> of May.

Cape Town's usual weather. And we lived on the banks of the Liesbeck River and the road was the one leading to Newlands rugby ground. And it rained too much it was flooded and from the dining room window and parts of the house you could see it. The water rising. And cattle and vegetables been washed down the river. And we didn't sleep that night cause Grandpa Dicks was working and he only came home just after midnight. So we decided we're not going to stay there. We left Cape Town the next year in March. Eunice was born the next year in May, 31<sup>st</sup>, 1938. We came back from Cape Town we lived... during that time before when Aunty Barbara and your Mommy, we had shifted from Merebank and we got this house in Petersfield. I've a photo of this house. Then when we came back Aunty Rachel had married then she gave up the house and she got rooms and she stayed and it was right next door to this Petersfield. And when we came back from Cape Town that's where we lived. Granny Fortune and Uncle Marney lived in one room and Aunty Rachel and Uncle Alf in the other. It was a bit congested and then we got a house in 9 Agnes Road. That's where we lived for a time.

I: What was it like living there?

M: It was nice . Agnes road was very nice it was just a road off old dutch road, but living there was nice. Old Dutch Road was still a bit queery because coloured people living there had a lot of shebeens. The one block of flats there was a... some of the coloured women there had shebeens there. There were sometimes fights there but we never bothered with that. And actually we were one road away from the church. St Raphael's was there, it was there the next road, Stratford Road. Then we lived in ... when Eunice was born there, 9 Agnes Road. Then we had some trouble there. Your mother fell in the drain and hurt her leg. Then Grandpa Percy had trouble with the landlord. From there then we left and we went ...

I: Who was the landlord?

M: That was, Latiff Osman and er ...

I: Were most of the homes there owned by Indian people.

M: Ja. It was Moslems. All , mostly. Latiff Osman he owned quite a few houses there. He owned the houses in Bentley Street. Actually Wills road was mostly Moslem people living there. It was like the chap that was in the cricket ... Docrat. The Docrats, the other family was the .....

I: Were there any coloured people who owned houses in that area?

M: No, most of the coloured people rented from the moslem people. The LeTang's lived in Wills Road that year. And there was a block of flats in Lutchman Ave. who lived there all those years was the girl Mayet, Dija who married Mayet. They lived there, Mrs Hanmer. Then we went from his/her back to Ajax Lane. And from Ajax Lane the first house, Pa Abrahams' people they lived on the first house and then on the corner was the old butcher, Purling Butcher. Then eventually they built across the road, Old Dutch Road.

I: Let's go back, when you lived in Ajax Lane, who owned those places?

M: Well, Osman. Latiff Osman.

I: And what work did Granpa Dicks do when he was in Cape Town?

M: He was a barman. And then Granpa Percy worked in a jam factory, Standard Fruit Company in Worcester. He was a jam maker. Actually he was a food manufacturer.

I: What happened there was talk about Granpa Dicks having a teaching education?

M: I even trained. He ... he ... er he didn't even write his T4. He didn't have.

I: What's a T4?

M: It's a ... you take J.C. then you take a T4. That was the teacher's course. It was like a diploma. From there you had to work yourself up you know. Which he didn't do. He taught here in Bidston Road, in Mayville. He taught there for a time. That was the only time. He wasn't a good teacher (laughs). I used to do all his marking and everything else. (laughing)

I: Why do you say he wasn't a good teacher?

M: Well you know. His preparation, I used to do. He was the one. All his brothers were teachers and well, his sisters. He didn't have the brains. Waste of time. Well that's how it was. Then from there we decided to move to go to Merebank. No, we didn't we went to Merebank from Rosburgh. That's the time when I grew up. Then we left there in 1927. We got to Rosburgh in 25. My father was the caretaker there. He built the house. He was in charge of the spices. He did the spices.

I: That's when they sold that place and you had to move on.

M: No, where?

I: The firm changed hands. They sold...

M: Ja, the firm changed hands from Louwens to Port. And so that's how we went to Merebank. And actually I told you that he worked for many years for Louwens and he was supposed to take off so much for the house and then they had found out that the bookkeeper had done him down. That Linus, I think he's name was. Well when we found that out, well we couldn't cause Granpa was out of work. And then he was working for Louwens, the sweet factory in Fenton Road. So he worked there for a time. That was when I had to leave school. I was in std. 7 and we couldn't afford the fees, even the train fare and er so we stayed. And your grandfather, his sister had married Jacob John and we knew him well. Uncle Peter and Auntie Louise, Granny's half-brother. Cause Granny Fortune was first a Mrs de Bruin, first she was a Mrs Mentor. She came from Djarling. And then she married this de Bruin. Auntie Baby and Uncle Peter were the two children from this marriage. That's Grace Davis, that's their father. And then Joyce Sassman and them were Auntie Baby's children. And then we er. Then I got married and we used to come here and play cricket. There we had to work on the farm because it was a three acre property. We were surrounded by blue gum trees so we had to cut down for firewood.

I: No electricity?

M: No, lamps. To get to Durban we used to walk from Merebank to Clairwood. The sixpence that you paid. You walked those miles from Clairwood, the old main road where South Coast Road is there was a hotel, the old Clairmont Hotel. It was up towards the road that they called Clairwood South, near today, what they call Yellowwood Park. Cause there was a station there. The bus stopped there and from there you walked right to Merebank. We were at the end of Merebank where the canal is and that was where we walked to and then there was a wool shed. That wool part is still there. They used to have I don't know what they did. Mealie cobs, there was a mill there or something and Uncle Bill, Vic and they used to go with Uncle Basil. They had like a wooden trolley thing and they used to go and buy those mealie cobs. We used to use them as fuel. We used to pay sixpence for like a mealie bag. A mealie bag was like a 116lbs then. Shame all the way from up there right the way back home. And we lived there not by the station, but we could see the station and anybody coming over the crossing coming over the road, we'd watch them. So we'd know whose coming. And it was very hard cause we didn't know you know.. and Aunty Rachel was working at Michell Park, no at Arlene's. Uncle Alf worked in town, he lived with us. She used to send us all the end crusts of the bread.

I: What was Arlene's?

M: Arlene's was a take-away shop. I worked for them when they were on the corner of Murchie's Passage, but then they were on the corner of Mercury Lane. And he'd bring these for us. And if you had sugar on them, your on your porridge, you couldn't have sugar in it. Sometimes you could have Golden Syrup and er that's how we lived and that's when we came into town. And we came to live in Petersfield, I think it was 53, 30 Ajax Lane.

I: All your brothers were born by then?

M: Oh yes, uncle Vic was born, Uncle Basil was born. Uncle Basil was 7 yrs younger than Uncle Bill. Then Uncle Eric was born in Merbank. And Uncle Eric, my mummy had malaria and I'm telling you it was terrible and she was pregnant with Uncle Eric and he was born with that until he was 7 yrs old. Every night he used to get this fever. And he was so dead scared of cars, he wouldn't get in, you had to put a towel over his face. And anybody come, he wouldn't look at people, he'd get under the bed. And today I said look at him you wouldn't believe it that he'd be the one to own the first car and what not. It was in the country and that was how we learned to eat bhaajie and we had fruit trees. And Aunty Connie lived with us. Oh you don't know Aunty Connie that's Aunty Rachel's eldest sister. Uncle Peter's daughter, had Ethel, Doris. Dorothy married a Cotton she had one son, John she died in childbirth. We don't know where he is. That's how that family went. Then after that we were living in Ajax Lane. Then Pa got the job at Worcester so he went down and think it was September that year I went down. Granpa Dickie was already working there, he had got this barman job as a waiter. Then I went down and we went with what we used to call the picnic train. Uncle Dickie Sassman, he used to run this train. We had two coaches. From here we went to Johannesburg to Aunty Sophie. That was the time of the Wembly exhibition, where they had all these different countries showing what

they did, their products, and whatnot. And then we went down by train went to the Cape. Grandma Lawler's sister, grandma's niece who lived in Tennant Street and that's where we went. And Grandma Lawler's sister she was married to a I don't know if he was a Greek or Austrian. She had Roy and Ernie, two sons. Then grandma had her half-sister too married to a Vemba. He was a diplomat. They lived in White River in Rondebosch. That was the white area. It was the area.

I: So he was white this man, Vemba?

M: No, he was American negro.

I: And he could live in the white area?

M: That's the time they could, anywhere. Like we here we lived in Lorne Street that's where we were born. There was whites, all whites. The family that were moslems, were the Haffejees and they lived there. And the first mostly coloureds and then there was a Pather, a jeweller. He lived just 2 doors away from us in 25 Lorne Street. Next door to us were Parizot, but she married a Pechey. I don't know if he was French or what, but he lived. Pechey had a sister, she was married to a Mudorovich. He was a Russian. They lived in Victoria Street. Then he had another sister, that married Agnola, he was a builder, a contractor. He lived in St George's street. He was Italian. They all went to Albert Street school. We all went to Albert Street school. Because many of the Catholics never went to St Augustine's they came to Albert Street. Well the boys went to std. 1, they had to go to Melbourne Road school. We went to std. 6. Then we were the first to start the high school at Umbilo Road in 1930. Cause in 1929 we wrote our std. 6 certificate at Albert Street. Then they started that first high school and who was the teacher, ... Mr Bechet. Then all the primary school they had to move to Melbourne Road, some went to Albert Street, some got into white schools.

I: How did they manage that?

M: I mean they were fair, like the Haines, the Harms. They all had, fathers were white. The Haines lived in McDonald Road. Their mother was coloured, their father was white. Even the Sutherlands, that's true. Dickie Sutherland his brothers, his father, were all white, he was the darkest. His mother came from Cape Town, she was a great friend of Granny Fortune, the family. And yet their, the Sutherlands. And Sutherland he used to escort the insane to Maritzburg. Then that's them. In 35 we came back to town to Ajax Lane. Aunty Margie was born in 1936. Your mother was already born. Aunty Barbara was born in St Aiden's. Your mother was born in Gale Street. You know, Aunty May Barnes, her granny lived in that house. She was born there. And Aunty Rachel lived there. It wasn't too far for Aunty Gladys to come out. Your mother was born there. Aunty Gwen was born in Cape Town.

I: Was St Aiden's a private hospital?

M: Ja, you know Reggie Montgomery was born in that hospital. The first one. It was a big house, the corner of Cross Str and Leopold Str. It was a house. And the sister in charge there was Sister Cole and the Reverend Sigamoney started that hospital and then when it got small, opposite was another house, wood and iron, but well-built and that was where Aunty Barbara was born and then from there they went to Centenary



Road, there they built that hospital. Fr Sigamoney, his wife was Mr Rooks' his wife were sisters. He studied in England and that's how they came out and started the hospital. Then he left here he went to Johannesburg because the pay here, the priest's pay was very poorly paid, the Anglican priests. There was better pay in Johannesburg. That's why he lived all his life with his children. Then when we came back to Durban ...

I: Granpa Dicks come back too?

M: Ja, he came to Durban. That's the time when we all came back and we lived by Aunty Rachel. When we lived in Ajax Lane, the first house, second, not the first Petersfield house further up. And that's the year when we were living there and war was declared, the Second World War, September. Then in the end we ended up in 1940 we shifted to Milton Road.

I: Now this was during the war?

M: Yes

I: What was it like during the war?

M: Well it was like ordinary. We didn't suffer much. It was only the shortages. Men had to go if they wanted to. They had to go to war. Uncle Alf was in the First World War. Others, and Uncle Harry, quite a few that went with the Cape Corp, in the Cape. Cause that was where the armies were. They joined the Cape Corp and then they went over. They were mostly here in North Africa because then the Italians, Mussolini had taken Abyssinia. And that's how they chased them out of the country when they went over. Most of the men only did admin work. They never say they had guns or whatnot cause they were not supposed to have guns. And how many Indians went over and Africans. They were the stretcher-bearers. And many a African went down. Then I had an Uncle Kenny, he was on the Merchant Navy. It was taken over by the government. He was on his way he had been here. The week before he left, he was with us cause he was the youngest brother. Pa and Uncle Alf, we were living in Milton Road then and he came. It was 1944 and he came to see us and then he left. A week after that his ship was torpedoed right off Cape Town. And how we got to know was through ... the Columbine. Aunty Rachel worked at Mitchell Park, those people had the tearoom in Field Str. The one girl, Dorothy Tomlinson, she married a Norwegian, that was a Norwegian ship and he told us that the ship was torpedoed and it had they had the oil. And he said that he had been trapped in the propeller.

I: Terrible.

M: Quite a lot of coloured men went down cause at St John's in the lady chapel you will see there the honours board of all these men who went down in 44 on the SS Columbine. In the war we did have shortages. We couldn't get white bread. We had to take the meal and sift it in the rooms because it was against the law to sift it. We used to bury the bran in the backyard. The standard bread loaf they used to bring, Uncle Alf. We had to buy rye bread and if we had the chance we used to buy the baked bread, white bread. We had meat once a week. I knew the butcher there at City Market and he used to get a pound of mince, pound of steak and sausages and we'd

get either a piece of corn beef or roast ... topside. Silk stockings, you couldn't get. Only if they came around off the boat then you could get. And butter you couldn't get. We were lucky cause Granpa Percy he was working for SD Pickles and that's how he knew when these convoys were coming in. cause that's where we used to peel the onions. He used to come there to Milton Road, peel the onions, barrels full. We used to get sixpence for a tin of peeled onions. Then Granpa Percy would be away for two days, three days. Day and night for the orders. The New Zealanders came there and quite a few others with tins of butter. They used to come up. Cause he worked in Pioneer Road, there in Congella and there was that bar there, I think the Congella Bar and the chaps used to come up and show him. And we'd get butter, we'd get quite a lot from the soldiers, there in Milton Road.

I: During the war?

M: Ja, the soldiers, all races.

I: Were the rations the same for all races?

M: Actually we didn't have rations. Only there was mutton, mutton was rationed. Granpa Percy used to go to work at 6 o' clock in the morning and he'd go and send someone to tell us that they got mutton at Singh's Mutton market. Then we'd go there. Then we'd hear they got rice. Sparks & Young, that was the butcher there in Sydney Road. They'd say his got rice going. Then we'd all go and potatoes.

I: How much were you allowed per person?

M: Say about a pound of potatoes all depends upon you and how many you'd say in your family. But what we used to do was everybody, your mother even had to go. We did suffer a bit, but not much. Only the blackout at night we had to have that black curtain right against the window so no light could show. We had one or two scares, but Uncle Bill was one of those PSC, you know like wardens. What was it PSC, Patrols something, but they were like wardens. They met every night at St Raphael's church. They had a canteen also. They used to meet there the wardens. They were on duty. So if there was a raid or anything, they were the ones to help the people. There were one or two scares, but we can't say that... I mean South Africa was lucky, no bombing or that here. It was only the convoys that were tackled and they didn't come through, they used to come right around. But as far as that Milton Road, we lived there 38 years. And everyone got married. You all were born and er..

I: No don't rush it all out like that you need to take it slow. What you did? When did you go and work?

M: In 46 I use to do catering if they were having a wedding or party, I used to do that.

I: You and who?

M: Aunty Rachel. She worked for Arlene's and then she left. We knew Mrs Wallace very well cause Aunty Rachel looked after her daughter. Mrs Wallace, the owner of the shop. She and Mrs Nicholson, the owner of Mitchell Park went into partnership

into Mercury Lane, Arlene's. Mrs Nicholson was Arlene and Mrs Wallace was Adeline, so they called it Arlene.

I: Mrs Wallace was Adeline?

M: Adeline. She was a Faulkes. Now her brother married Gewn Greenacre. I worked there first for Mrs Wallace. Then I worked for her when she was in Murchie's Passage corner, Murchie's and West Street corner. I worked for her for about 2 years, but she became impossible. She thought she owned body and soul, which she said once, "I own your body and soul while you here." It became too damned much. I just got fed up that one Saturday and I just walked out. Didn't take my pay, I just walked. I used to buy the vegetables. We used to make bundles of radishes and that and lay them out by the window. And this boy he used to keep the bicycle there and he'd take the basket and do the marketing for me. And then he came this once and said I must come back. I told him tell her I'm not coming back. And she came and she begged me. And then I went to see the accountant, he was opposite, he asked if I wouldn't change my mind. I said: "no, I wouldn't want to go back. She wants my body and soul." I used to have to work Saturdays and you never got extra. I had to be there at the Market at 6 o'clock and then go and walk to work and be there by quarter to seven to check up all the deliveries from the bakery. I used to serve. They had a counter at the back where I used to serve all the boys from the different business buildings, firms that came to buy. I served them. Times when she was short staffed in the front then she had no shame, she'd ... Then come Tuesday then I'm supposed to be half-day, she had a cottage in Umhloti. She'd say to me, "you don't need to go." She'd say I must go with her and sit at the cottage in Umhloti, beach cottage. We'd sit and drink Guinness and Stout and then 5 o'clock she would drop me. She was a lonely woman. She had a sister, Gwen. I used to dispatch the orders. One week she'd say, "Charge Gwen." The next week, "Don't charge Gwen." She was an erratic person. She was good one day. Her brother, well he married, he went to England. Well, he's dead now. She eventually went to England. She died of dropsy in the end. And her brother he'd come into the shop. His nickname was croissant. She'd say, "ooh Croissant, I love you, croissant." The next day he came she's not saying anything, but they knew her so well. One minute she'd give you everything, next minute she'll won't. Like for morning tea, the staff, you could have anything. Then one day she'd say no. You're just having dates on brown bread that's what you got. The next day you could have anything you wanted, but she was a good woman, she was good to me. I just couldn't work with an erratic person, you know. Shame the money she'd put it all in twenty pounds and she'd make me push it all in in our change room in that part we'd stack all the papers. She'd make me take the moneybag and push it under these hundreds of papers and every day she'd say she'll take so much. She didn't want to send it all to the accountant across the road.

I: Where did you work after that?

M: Then I worked at Mitchell Park for Mrs Nicholson. Aunty Rachel was working there at the time. I worked there for a time. Then I was at home I used to do catering for party or whatnot. Then I did on and off. From 52 every year I cooked for the Jo'burg children and then if there was a wedding, then I did that. In 1968 ...



I: Okay let's go back a little to when they started school .. Aunty Barbara, my mother

M: They all went to Melbourne Road. Aunty Barbara was the clever one. Then they all went to std. 6. By then Granpa Dicks had left, he went to Cape Town and....

I: So you were separated?

M: No just separated. We were never legally... we were just.... And then he left in 1949, in then my Father just before he died, he heard rumours there in Cape Town. He was the one who said to me, "I never approved of divorce, but the thing I advise you to do.." because you know, of his behaviour. So actually we had gone down in 47. The queen left, the Royal Family. I went and saw them off I was in Cape Town. Aunty Eunice and Uncle Merlin went with. They were under 7, so they went free. Then he was living in a place in Woodstock, but I was living with Granma Lawler's, she was a daughter of Aunty Maud. They lived opposite in Walmer Estate. Then Granpa Dickie he wasn't happy with where he was living. So then she allowed him to stay. So he stayed and during that time, he used to come home midnight and then she used to say, "don't worry to get up, if he just wanted tea or something, she would get it." And then well I left, I wasn't worried. And then I heard he was taking her to work and all around in her car. That was when my father heard. Then they said a husband and wife shouldn't be parted and I read between the lines and I said, "Oh no, someone can take my rubbish, but I'm not taking their rubbish back." So that's ... then he just went wild. He was with her. Then we heard he had a child from her. The child died. Then she went to Central Africa. I don't know if she went to Malawi or where. She contracted Yellow Fever and died over there. Then he stayed in Cape Tow. Then he was so ill and this man he lived by had your Mummy's address and he wrote that he was going to a home or something and he had no place for your Granpa. Then your Mummy and Daddy and Aunty Gwen and Uncle Cliffy went to fetch him. You went you and Gill. Then they took him.

I: So how did you manage living here you and your parents and all the children?

M: He paid nothing.

I: Did he pay maintenance?

M: Up to 46 then he left. And 48 he wasn't sending any money. Then this friend of ours, she was in the church. She was a social worker and she said to us that you know you could get him up. I said I never heard from him, he never worried. Then she got him up. He came to Durban and he appeared in court. Shame your mother and Granny Polly said I must go take him something. I was working in Mitchell Park I said, "No, I'm very sorry, he's got his family, I'm not worried about him.' Your Mommy and Liela they went to take some food, but when they got there, he was out. His brother had bailed him out. The case came up. Your mummy was out of school then. It was Gwen, Eunice and Merlin. And I said to the magistrate. The Magistrate said he was granting me 17pound 10 a month. I said, "What! Who do you think can live on that. To feed three children, five children, you can say." I never went again after that. And he never offered anything after that. And what the magistrate said to me, that he's got to pay board where he is and he's got to dress. And I said, "What about his children? They don't eat. Does he know where his children are getting a loaf of bread from?"

then I had to work. Worked here and there then. Then Aunty Barbara had to go work. When Granpa Percy died Aunty Barabra was working at TeeSav already and she was only 15. And your mother started 2 years after that. That's how it went. It was hard. I would have liked them to have gone further, but under the circumstances. So then I said that the girls they would carry on and work and then there was Merlin I was going to put through because he was going to marry someone's daughter. I put him through. I worked and battled. His fees, the first was J.C. I backed on farfee to get his schoolbooks. It was 12 pounds odd. Then with his entrance to matric, it was through farfee. It was 7 pounds 10 then. Then I put him through. Then when they went to work, I lived with my mother. They worked I never took their money. I told Granny Polly, you take their money. They gave their full money to her.

I: So what did she give them, pocket money?

M: I don't even know what she'd do. I said that's between you all. But I did say to her that they put five or if they could afford ten shillings to put in the bank. So the day when they were going to get married, they got something cause I won't be able to do it. So they did it. When it came to their weddings, Granny Polly never gave a cent. She'd tell me to pay. And for your mother's wedding I just paid for the sausage rolls and things.

I: And Granpa Dicks was there at my mother's wedding?

M: He came. He never gave one penny.

I: So he came from Cape Town then?

M: No, he was working in Port Shepstone. He didn't come for Barbara's and he did come for Eunice. We had to because Eunice was 18 you had to be 21. She had to get his permission. So he came. He brought evrything from the hotel where he worked down there. It was a turkey, chickens and all, he brought. But that was buggerall, he never gave the money.

I: So he wasn't here for Aunty Gwen's wedding?

M: No, but Aunty Gwen was lucky. Uncle Cliffy stood for everything. Aunty Eunice's reception was held in Florence Ave. in Uncle George and Aunty Kathleen's house. That wedding Merlin walked out cause his father was so drunk. He walked out. And then Merlin when he passed. And then in 1968 I started in TeeSav. That's where I worked for ten years. Then I stopped working.

### **Interview 3: PARTICIPANT 1/MOTHER**

I: You lived in town for a while and then you lived in GreenwoodPark, what was the difference in living in the two places?

M: I lived in Milton Road and you'll were living in Banbury Road and then you'll moved to Aunty Val while this house was being built. Then Aunty Gwen moved to Banbury Road and then I moved with them.

I: And what were the people like? Was there any difference...?

M: No, they were friendly enough cause you know we weren't in the people's pockets. Well the Phillips, they lived opposite, we knew them. They were related to Aunty Sheila Easthorpe, their mother was an Easthorpe. No cause people that we knew we worked with them, so we knew. And we were at school together. The Mauritians from Greyville, we got to know the Francois' cause they used to play cards. And then, we didn't find any harm cause we knew most of the people. Meantime you kept to yourself. We, Aunty Gwenny, she never mixed with anybody. Even Granny Fortune, she used to say, no you mustn't mix.

I: Why mustn't they mix?

M: No, they mustn't (laughs) they not her class.

I: So who did they think were their class?

M: No, certain people.

I: How did you know who those people were?

M: Those they knew, people from the Cape or from Johannesburg.

I: It wasn't the people from Durban?

M: No, just certain ones that they got used to. Then the St Helena's, they acknowledged them. And funnily, Granpa Percy started a soccer team with all the Cape people and with Uncle George, Uncle Alf, his brothers. He had one chap Saunders, Uncle Donny Saunders' father. He played and then Bulgie Barnes' father, he played for them. He was a tall man, he was the goalkeeper and that's how they formed the team. Only one St Helena was in that team, was Jay Wheatley. He worked in Mutual hall. He was the caretaker, but he played for them. And the one from Cape Town was the Coleman chap. But all the rest were family.

I: They only really mixed with family?

M: Yes. I tell you, Granny Fortune (laughs), the one day a friend of ours came there. She was from the Cape, they kept to themselves and they thought they were white. Granny lived in Beatrice Street then. That child came there and Granny said, "Oh I don't want you here, you think you white!" That's Granny for you. Then Aunty Rachel worked and they got to know other people. But Oupa Fortune was a musical man, he played piano. Many a night, he liked dancing, and he entertained. He entertained a lot. Ooh you see granny, how granny fortune had to cook. He used to just come home and say there's four people coming with him for supper. They had a table, the dining-room table could seat over twenty people, it was a long table. They didn't know when or who they were getting, you know for supper.

I: Granpa Fortune, what did he do?

M: He owned his own cartage company. He had trams, trolleys and month-end they shifted the people out, but he worked for the Royal Hotel as a porter. He went to meet the visitors. He drove the tram. They had a tram.

I: I just want to go back to when you were in GreenwoodPark, you said that day (the tape jammed) that the GreenwoodPark people were snobs?

M: They were. They were snobs cause I tell you there were some Mauritians and some St Helena's there. That time then only the Mauritians mixed, married the St Helena's. That's why they all so related cause of they intermarried.

I: So why did they think that they were better than everybody else?

M: They actually I think they thought they were white. The St Helena's came from St Helena, they thought they were white. They weren't worried about the black ones. We had a film with, on St Helena, the people of St Helena. St Helena people were white. They were fair. They white not fair. They had very dark women. They looked like negresses and then there were the brownies in between. But now, you see, they married the white, the British soldiers, you see. And those that were lucky, were fair, they came out fair. They lived a very poor life there in St Helena. How the women go over in the country, in Jacob's Ladder that 365 steps, you go over it, you in the country. You see these women with the donkey coming to Jamestown, the capital of St Helena, and that's was where the British, the army, they were stationed there. And these women they'd come down from the country, you know like the Indians have, they have things on the donkey and the women is walking. Some of them walk barefooted, barefooted. Ja. You know the St Helena's, you see the Holloways, their father was the, of a white Englishman. Now you see Mrs Holloway, Mrs Holloway was a tall, very dark woman. Now my grandmother, my father's mother, she was a tall, dark woman. Her speech wasn't like an African, West African. It was the way the St Helena's spoke and on St Helena they got that 'wah, wah' way of speaking. That's how they used to, they talk. And my grandmother was that way. She was married to ... my grandfather was Yorkshire. He worshipped my granny. And he never done, never shunned her. She was a clever woman. She could talk on anything, anything. He was a quiet man, Granpa. My granny, she belonged to the Mother's Union (an Anglican Fellowship of Women). She never liked to go to see sick people. I think we all the same, we got it in our genes. My granny didn't like to go to see sick people, she'd rather got to the poor children. She said that when you go to the sick person, the pain they have gets shifted on you. The way she spoke like it was not a consolation for them. I think we inherited that cause I wouldn't like to go to hospitals, see anybody suffering, cause that you could feel. And my late father, Granpa Percy, he was like that.

I: Now let's go back to the people in GreenwoodPark, you mentioned the Mauritian people as well.

M: You see they came from Mauritius. But they were intermarried with the Indians cause a lot of Indians came to Mauritius. A lot of Indians were brought to Mauritius, for the sugar mill, sugarcane work. That's how they became Creoles, what they used to call Creoles, but here when they came, they Mauritian. You see why, when they were here, they got white cards and were European. But I must tell you, my mother's

cousin was married to a Mauritian, she was white. Her father was half Boer. That was Granpa Fortune's niece

I: So how did they manage to live in the coloured area if they had white cards?

M: Well, many of them you know, went over. It was only when this apartheid came in, but they lived all around in Stamford Hill Road. They stayed in 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue, there were Malay people living there, in 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue: Aysens, there was a Fredericks girl. But they lived in quite a few houses in 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue. And those days too, all the Mohammedans had houses in Cowey Road. The Lockhats, they lived all there, Cowey Road, Currie Road. They all had houses there. They never suffered apartheid. It was only the once when they had to get out. They got Reservoir Hills and it was ...er Parlock, but that was the lower income group. The rich ones all went to Reservoir Hills.

I: What job opportunities were there for men and women?

M: Oh there wasn't much then, very few. And we had to leave school and go to work, mainly went to clothing factories.

I: Was this the women or the men?

M: No the women. But the men, lot of men worked on the railway, workshop 12 of the train.

I: What did they do there, build the train?

M: No, the ... er rolling stock, the carriages and ... er I think that was the boiler, boilermaker, shop 12. There was a lot of St Helena and Mauritian people worked there on the railway. But when apartheid came, well they were all put off, some of them ready for retirement.

I: Now your brothers, what work did they do?

M: They started at Faulkes, they started at the slipper factory and they worked themselves up. Vic started there then Bill started and they, he (Vic) became manager of the clothing department. And Bill he became manager of his department. He had the colour, you know those felt slippers with the big pom-pom, well he was instrumental in the making of the colouring. That's how those pom-poms were coloured. They rose quite some, I mean from 18 shillings a week, they started to I don't know how much they were getting in the end, but monthly paid.

I: And for you, what job opportunities were there for women?

M: I never worked, you know cause then we were living in Merebank and Granpa Percy wasn't working. It was the time of the Depression.

I: So girls didn't go to work?

M: Oh, some went to work. As I say the clothing factory was there. TEESAV was the factory and CMT that was there in Pine Street, they called that Cohens.

I: So how come you didn't go and work?

M: No, well we lived in the country in Merebank and we didn't even have enough money. That's why I had to leave school, we didn't even have money for fees and we couldn't afford it. I was in 8 when I had to leave school, I would have written my J.C. we left Rossburgh, the company was taken over and my father was retrenched. They had their own staff.

I: And then when you worked at TEESAV and later on you retired.

M: Ja, ja.

I: What work did you do there?

M: I was canteen supervisor.

I: And who was in charge of you?

M: In charge of me was Mr Wright. Dolly, only one in charge of coloureds, was in charge of those on the floor. Only Mr Wright. And he told Dolly one day, when you put your foot over there that's the person in charge (meaning herself, the subject). I was very happy working there, satisfied in many ways. You know when I first started every Wednesday; he used to come take a tally. They only did it for a month and afterwards I was on my own. The office staff used to say it's a pleasure to walk into this canteen. Before they wouldn't buy food, but they used to buy from me. They liked my food, only the one woman, she actually was expecting and she came and told me found hair from the lining in the food. I said, "I'm telling you, every pot I use, I rinse out!" I said, "there's no such thing and another thing, cause you're pregnant, that's why." I said, "Mr Himes, I didn't come and ask for this job" I told him, "You all sent for me. How many times you phoned to say I must come." I said, "when I came here, this place looked like a pigsty." True everything old was stored there. I threw it all out. So he said, "Yes, yes, I know Mrs Powys. It's alright, it's alright." I said, "it's not alright. I didn't come knocking at the door for a job."

I: And then your children, had similar opportunities for the girls?

M: The girls were all at TEESAV, clothing factory. You know TEESAV was an exclusive, they didn't want- only coloureds. They didn't even take Indians. That's why from TEESAV, it was the mothers then the daughters.

I: Why didn't they take any other race groups?

M: They were just exclusive, was coloured and they knew that they could work. And of course, they did piece work. And eventually they took, some, you know, a few Indians.

I: What do you think is the coloured people's culture? Do you think coloured people have a culture?

M: The thing is we haven't got a culture. We so mixed up, so what do we do, we can be British, what British coloured (laughs), Cape coloured, or what. So we're not, so we're ...er... we got no culture, let's be honest. What can we prove is our heritage? There's no, we haven't got heritage. What's it? We mixed. Even our birth certificate was mixed.

I: It said mixed?

M: Ja, yes, Uncle Vic (her brother) was given white. Even my marriage certificate was mixed, said mixed. Cause like Granpa Dicks was half-Indian, half-white.

I: So what did his birth certificate say?

M: I don't even know, but on my marriage licence, it was mixed.

I: Did they put that down as race group?

M: Ja, as race group.

I: What did you feel about that term, mixed?

M: Well, we didn't we didn't like it, but what was it then, we were mixed, two blood, two... that's it. Because, I mean, Granpa Percy and them, they could have been Rhodesian. My grandfather and grandmother were married, legally.

I: What do you think that you've passed on to younger generations in terms of being coloured?

M: I think, nevermind what, we have got our pride and that's what I think I've passed on to you. I passed on the education; it's what I couldn't get. I was deprived of. And actually, your mother and them, they aren't, weren't able because of circumstances permit. Your Granpa Dicks.

I: What employment opportunities were there for them?

M: Aunty Barabara left school when Granpa Percy died. And your mother she wanted to work. And your mother and Aunty Barabara went to work at TEESAV. Aunty Gwen, she just left school, she didn't want to go. I think she was in standard 6. And then she worked at the tailoring and then she went to TEESAV as a packer. Aunty Eunice, she went to work at Natal Canvas. She earned the highest money. She was earning 7 pounds. It was the most money. Your mother and them were only getting 2 pound 10. I never took their money. I gave it to Granny Polly. I said to her, "I'm not working. You take it." I always said to Granny Polly, "just if it's 5 shillings or ten shillings, let them bank. So that one day, they want to get married, they got to fall on their savings."

I: So Uncle Merlin was the one who got educated out of all of them?

M: Well, I thought, I said he was the boy and he was going to marry someone's daughter and he would have to provide. And you know to tell you the truth, many of

his books we had to buy and pay his for his fees. And one year when he was in matric, I played farfee and I got his money ready.

I: You mentioned that the last time.

M: Oh. Well, Uncle Merlin was fortunate.

I: So with boys it was more that they would be the providers, so they needed to have the education?

M: The providers. Well we only hoped that, you know, the girls would marry someone who could provide for them. They had to go and work because er...

I: Of finances?

M: Well, ja. I was getting no support from your grandfather, Granpa Dicks. He just went to Cape Town and disappeared like that.

I: There's just one more question I want to ask you. (Subject showing signs of fatigue and a little uncomfortable with the conversation). Do you think women look at being coloured, differently to men?

M: I don't think so.

I: Why don't you think so?

M: No. Well, you know in the olden days, the fairer you were, then they thought they were white. But I think today, to take what's happening today, I mean all the coloureds, they never mixed.

I: All the coloureds didn't mix?

M: Ja, you know, amongst themselves. Just those families that we knew and all intermarried. The one thing they never married Indians. But I'm telling you the fashion was these Indians, the Moslems, they advertised in the Cape paper for typists or office work. And that's how a lot of these Cape Town girls came to Durban. Became their mistresses. How many of them, you know ... ooh many of them had these women. They had families there, you know, these women had children and they had their Muslim wife.

I: They weren't second wives? (Subject doesn't hear question) These women from the Cape, they weren't second wives?

M: No, they were concubines. Some of them, they didn't even nikkah (Islamic marriage ceremony) them. No, they just kept them as their women. They kept their women in the flat. Millie Peters, her father was a great friend of Granpa Dicks. Was from the Cape. She had Amra. We grew up together. Then she lived in Lanyon Road or Botanic Garden Road. She had the one daughter, Ayesha, and she followed the faith. The one thing she could sew. Four hours she makes a dress. She's going to the club in the evening and in four hours she could make a dress. She was a wonderful



dressmaker. And he'd come and spend the night with her and leave about 11. Go home and go home to his wife.

I: Now if the child was named, Ayesha, surely they must have been nikkahed or something?

M: I didn't think so. You know the thing that they'd do, all those chaps, there were about five or six of them, Ramzaan, they used to come to her house in Botanic garden road and have lunch and paste their lips with the white wash on the wall.... Ja. And like Sunday nights, they used to go the clubs. She told me, "I'll never take you cause of all the whores over there." But she was an old friend, you know, we grew up together. She worked, you know. He started with, he had nothing and she worked. She used to buy and make pieces. She was a wonderful dressmaker. She used to make trousers and she used to knit layettes for babies and go around selling them. In the end, you know what he did, he took a sixteen-year-old. And Millie was the one who put him on his feet. What about the one Sunday. You know I was cooking for the Transvaal, you know and I used to go up. My case was still packed I had just come back. He came there, this chap, "Please, will you please come at once." Millie took Lysol. She found out that he was carrying on with this girl, who was sixteen. And you know all over here (rubbing over he cheek and mouth), it was burnt. Ja, I had to go and look after the children.

I: From the time that we've been talking, is there anything that you've thought of that you want to talk about?

M: (Long silence). No.

I: Anything that you want to add to what we've spoken about?

M: Well now I've come to the end of my years. Now when I go to Cape Town, I don't know if I'll ever come back. I might die there. But have to look on the bright side. God knows. It's God's will. I've taken it that it's His way, it's God's will. That's the way He wants. I mean when you pray, He does something, perhaps not the way you want to, but the way He thinks is better for you.

## **APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT 2/DAUGHTER**

### **Interview 1**

I: The research is on identity and I'm looking at the coloured identity and how it's been passed on through the four generations. So I'm going to ask you questions and we can start off about where you grew up and who you associated with.

Daughter (D): I grew up in Milton Road and it was a multiracial lot of people and I had many Indian friends, Muslim, Hindu and Catholics and there was a few coloureds. We all lived in harmony and that was where we grew up.

I: Who were your immediate neighbours?

D: The neighbours were a coloured family on the one side and Indians opposite and on the other side of us.

I: And you said they were your friends, how friendly were you with them?

D: Oh, very friendly.

I: Well, what did you all do?

D: Well, we used to play hopscotch, three tins, cricket and especially we had a Bhunia girl, her family was very orthodox, but she used to go against everything. We always had a good laugh with her. We played those games.

I: Did you visit each other's houses?

D: Oh yes, we used to go over. We used to have mealie rice and dhal at the Reys place. And then at the Vaags, when it was Eid there. And they always, their father was a wealthy man because we were poor and they used to always send us fruit. Because they used to get big boxes of peaches. They always sent us fruit. The other family was the Ismails. We were friendly with Ayesha, their daughter and she used to also play with us and we used to go to their home and we used to watch them putting the mendhi and all that on. But in those days it wasn't fancy it was all plain and sometimes for devilment we used to get them to put it on us. But we had a lovely relationship with all our neighbours. We really got on well with them.

I: And school, what school did you attend?

D: Melbourne Road school and then I was at Umbilo Road School and I passed my standard six. Left school and started work the very next year I was thirteen years old. And I worked at Natal Canvas in Umgeni Road and after 18 months, I earned six pound a week. And I gave my Granny my money.

I: That was expected of you?

D: Yes. Because we lived with my Granny and my Granpa. And my mother worked, but because my granny ran the house, I had to. And I was the only one who gave her all my money the others paid her board. I had to hand my money to her.

I: And your friends, what school did they go to?

D: Oh and the Chohans, Zorah (Bibi's very good friend). Zorah went to St Anthony's School though she was Muslim. And Sheila Rey, she went to St Anthony's. Asantu went to Ghandi Desai, I think it was because she was Gujerati and the Twynhams, they went to St Augustine's School and the Prince's, they were Catholic so they went to St Augustine's. The Twynham's went to St Augustine's although they weren't Catholic.

I: Why didn't you'll go to St Augustine's?

D: Because we weren't Catholic and they were very fussy then. If you weren't Catholic, they wouldn't take you, so how the Twynham's got there, I don't know. But that's how we went to Melbourne Road and Umbilo Road School.

I: What was life like growing up in Milton Road with your brother and sisters?

D: It was nice, it was very nice because we had a home. If it wasn't for them, we might have been put in an orphanage or somewhere. My mother couldn't cope with five children. So they really gave us a home, a family. So we grew up as a family. Things were a bit hard, you know. Once my Granpa died things were hard.

I: In what way?

D: Financially because he was like the main breadwinner. My mother worked, but she didn't earn much. But we always had a plate of food and we always had a roof over our heads. Nevermind if there was six of us in one double bed (laughs). But we survived. And in our bedroom, we didn't have electricity, we had a candle and all the other rooms had electricity.

I: Why was that?

D: There was something wrong with the thing and well nobody, the landlord was Haffejee, our landlord was Feejee and he wouldn't bother, never bothered to fix it.

I: What was his name?

D: Feejee.

I: And what was he?

D: He was Muslim. We used to pay our rent to him in Field Street. So that's how we used to read, by candlelight. But then, later on, they put like a lead through and we used to have a plug so if anybody was ironing, we had no electricity, but if not, then they plugged then we had lights, but either than that it was candles.

I: And what was it like with five of you, who were grandchildren, growing up with your uncles and aunts?

D: When we were young, it was nice because, as I say, my Granpa was protective of us. He was a fantastic old man. He treated us like his very own, like we were his children. But he died and then my mother's brothers, then they took over. They were at times like demanding in the things, like that. Then we all learned to grow up very fast. Well I had to, very fast. And you sorta just lived with it and we just had to accept it as that's my home and that's it.

I: In the area, there were a few coloured families, how did you know the differences between the different race groups?

D: You learnt that from day one because with their different customs. Like the Tamil would celebrate Diwali. So you spoke about it and they would explain to you and the

Muslim with the fasting and because we all got on so well, each one would explain. Like us with Christmas and then a lot of them going to St Anthony's, which was a Catholic school, they learned about Christmas and Easter and things. So we used to often sit and talk about the different cultures, the different religions and things like that. So it broadened my outlook in life and then I learnt to respect everybody cause knowing, you knew them, you spoke to them, they explained to you everything. So I grew up respecting them and happy to know the different things. Those were my very good friends.

I: And among the parents' groups, did they object to any of the friendships?

D: No. No. We never had that. Never had that.

I: So none of the parents objected?

D: None of them. I used to go into their homes. They used to come there by us. And never, they never said, 'they don't want you.' Never. We got on very well, we had a very good – and I was the one that was in and out everybody's house, you know (laughs), was all over. Those were my friends and up to today, those who are still living are my friends.

I: So you just about started high school and you had to leave and what was it like to go to school there? Who were the teachers?

D: We had Afrikaans teachers, Mr Retief. We had white teachers. If you did your work and you did what you had to do, they were very nice. I couldn't say one of them treated me badly or ever. If you misbehaved, you were punished, but I didn't ever get into any – Aunty Gwen, yes (laughs). She was cheeky.

I: What happened with her?

D: The one, the Afrikaans teacher called her 'Pows', not Powys (pronounced Powweez) and she said, "my name is Powys and not Pows and you don't.." and he pushed her out. And she slammed the door (laughs). She was quiet, but very cheeky.

I: There were no special incidences that...?

D: No, never.

I: What type of jobs did people look for? Did anybody study further?

D: Our family, we never had the means. We all, once you could leave school, you had to go to work. Each one of us. I think I was the youngest of all of them that started work.

I: If you could stay, what were the jobs that people tried to get?

D: If you were lucky, if you had someone who worked at OK or one of those, you were lucky to get into the stores, or that. Cause they had all white sales ladies and things like that. If you got into the hairdressing thing, you were an apprentice, though

you did the work of a qualified ... er you weren't an apprentice, you were only a shampooist. You never got further than a shampooist.

I: Your jobs were limited?

D: Limited. Limited. Mostly factories was where we could get in, were the factories.

I: And the men?

D: The men, they also worked in the factory, like the slipper factory and then Falkirk and Defy and that. But very few. That's what I say, Merlin, the youngest, he was fortunate that he could go on with his education and that. And I mean, become a school teacher and he had the grounding and that, so he could go on. We never had that opportunity, not at all.

I: And among your friends, any of them studied?

D: No, none of my friends. They all - then after a while, then your outlet is well, get married. So most of them in my - none of them have become professional people.

I: So then you went to work and you worked at....

D: Natal Canvas.

I: And for how long did you work there?

D: I worked there 1952 to 57 and then I got married in 1957.

I: You were employed as what?

D: A machinist. I worked on a machine. I made takkies like, we called them sandshoes then and I was a little girl with my bob and that. And the form mistress, she lied about my age. You couldn't work at that age. You had to be sixteen. And she because when I applied I said I desperately needed it and that's why I got in there. Because we were under the leather union, after 18 months, I earned 6 pound. Like where your mother and them worked, they only earned 4 pound a week. So I was like the youngest and had to give Granny Polly and she used to give me my busfare. My busfare every week was three shillings and four pence. It was 8 pence a day and four pence was my busfare for the week and she used to give me a half a crown.

I: Half a crown is equivalent to?

D: Like not even a rand, er fifty cents.

I: What did you'll do entertainmentwise?

D: We used to just sit at home. Uncle Bill had this lovely radiogram and that and my Granny, she was full of mischief as well. And when he used to go out, she used to tell us that we could go and play his records. She used to sit on the veranda and watch out for him. And when she used to see him coming down, she used to shout, " he's coming and put it off and put the things away." And one day, I don't know if she fell

asleep and he caught us. He came in and he scolded us. And she said to him, “Willy, if the girls can’t play the thing, when you go out, take it with you.” (Laughs). So we said, “Ma, you fell asleep man. What kind of security are you.” And she laughed. But that’s how we ... and then you listened to the radio, but it was in the lounge and then it was his radio. And alright, that was on all the time, but there wasn’t many things you could listen to and that. Our entertainment was in the street playing 100 stones. We used to play under the street lamp, sit round the stones and play that evening.

I: And when you got older and went to work?

D: And I got older and went to work ... well, it didn’t change much. It just became the same. You still had to do your own washing and ironing. So you washed your clothes on the Saturday in the backyard under the tap. You washed your clothes and then you had to iron them and that was for the week. Then you had to get ready for church. Sunday you were in the choir and that was...

I: So church was a big thing?

D: That was a very big watchacall. And then in the afternoon, we’d go to St Raphael’s in the morning and in the afternoon, we’d go to the little green church because they used to have nice picnics and we used to get nice goodies. Today, when I think of it, it was wrong. We went for what we could get, but that’s how we were as children. Because, you know, we didn’t get all the luxuries.

I: When you were growing up, how did you know you were coloured?

D: Well, you went to a coloured school, so you just knew you were coloured, you know.

I: And what did that mean to be coloured?

D: Nothing, you just accepted that’s how they look at me, that’s how I am. And er... we just accepted it and as you grew older, it was terrible because for me as a person, I have to be completely honest, I never mentioned that my Granny was an Indian. Because not that I was ashamed, it was like you couldn’t talk about it.

I: You couldn’t talk about it in your home?

D: Or anywhere, you see. Only when I grew older and then you meet people and you think to yourself, but why not?

I: You saying when you grew older, how older by then?

D: Much older. When my children, when I had my children and they were at an age, then I sat them down. Specially because in Alan’s family, there was the play-white side. So I felt it was my time to let my children know that Grandpa Dick’s mother was an Indian lady. His father was a white man. Well, then we didn’t know that they had never married. And I explained to my children that, that’s where the colour comes from, from my side of the family. And I felt much better afterwards because it was living a lie, I felt.

I: In what way?

D: Because I knew, but I never spoke about it?

I: Why was it never spoken about?

D: It was just this in the community, you know. You heard the older people talk about that one's or that one's that, but it was something you as a child, you never discussed or you never asked because you weren't allowed to. Whereas today, the parents and children have a more open relationship, where you're more open. I found that with my children, I could be more open with them and ... I'm sorry that we weren't like that those days cause I think you live with that guilt and now I've spoken to my children. I've opened up to them. They never questioned me about that. They were only too eager to meet the other side. And I felt much better that I was able to talk about it.

I: You said you worked in the factory for five years and then you got married. How did you meet Uncle Alan?

D: At my sister, Joan and Louie's wedding on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1957. And he was bestman and I was bridesmaid that day.

I: You met him for the first time that day?

D: Well the week before they brought him to measure. I said, "I'm not walking with him, he's too short!" and I said, "He's a play-white so I'm not walking with him!" cause I was very anti that, cause all my friends were Malays. I was going out with Joe Jaffar that time and those were my friends. Well before that I had broken off with Joe. I said to Joan, "I'm not walking with that chap. He's a play-white, I'm very sorry and he's too short." So your father brought him there the week before and they measured us and he wasn't shorter than me. The day of your parents' wedding, when we were walking out, he said, "The next time you walk down here, you will be my bride!" and in the church I said to him, "You got to be joking!" (Laughs) and on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1957 I did marry him at St Raphael's.

I: When you say 'play-white' what was all that about?

D: Because he lived on the Bluff, where the whites only lived. And he lived with play-whites. His stepfather's sister, he lived with them and they only lived, they lived as white all the time, so they were play-whites. They only knew that watchacall, they went to the white bioscopes and we only went to the Indian bioscopes, the Avalon, the Royal. Those were the bioscopes we went. We couldn't even venture into those. It was a complete difference. I remember when I went to my Granny and I said to her, "Alan's asked me to marry him." And her words to me were, "My girl, he's from a different world. And your ways and his ways are totally different. Are you sure?" and I said, "Yes." I think, alright we married 47 years, but I think maybe I felt that by marrying, I'm going to be better off, you know the days of battling and all of us sleeping on this one bed. Well, by then it was three of us: Barbara and she had Geoff still there in the one room. Well, now I'm going to have my own place. I think it was just a case of thinking this it. Never mind if you're a play-white or what, out I go. And at first, he was very prejudiced cause when I used to see the chaps I knew and greet

them, he never liked it. Then he went to work for Shell and he worked amongst a lot of Indians and it changed his whole outlook towards them.

I: How was his family towards you?

D: Oh, they were very nice. They accepted me and the strangest thing was, I worked with his sister in Natal Canvas. And in those days, they used to have their tea upstairs and the coloureds, downstairs. And she, being a play-white, she used to go upstairs and never used to look at me. And she didn't know that one day the same brown bean is gonna be her sister-in-law. Imagine.

I: So when they played white, they were white on ID and everything?

D: Yes, and everything.

I: And what privileges did that give them?

D: Oh everything. They could have all the privileges under the sun.

I: And how did you'll feel about that?

D: You just accepted that. And then the funny part was that our form mistress, she took a liking to me, this little girl, and she used to make me come sit upstairs with them. That's why Nellie Saunders hated me because she said, "I thought I was white cause I was sitting upstairs with them." But I mean it wasn't.

I: So there was bitterness?

D: Oh yes, there was. Some of them ...there was that bitterness.

I: Between?

D: Between the coloured and the whites. And because the only pure whites that were there was the form mistress and er... it was only the form mistress cause her cousin was mixed. I mean she said Mauritian, white Mauritian, but you know those days even the black ones if they were Mauritian, they were white. So it was only the form mistress who was white really in the upstairs.

I: You could distinguish between the white and the play-white?

D: You could.

I: How?

D: By their ... then the coloured community being so small, you sort of knew this one, that one. If you didn't know, the next one knew. And they would say, "you that one, her mother was so-and-so." Or like my mother and my Granny, especially Granny Polly and them, they worked at the Match factory, where there were lots of Mauritians and that. And they could tell us, "oh, no, they not white. We worked with their granny." And then that's how and it used to be quite a topic. You came home



from work. Maybe your mother and them came from work, they'd say, "There's a this-person there," and my Granny'd say, "oh I worked with her granny and no, what white. No such thing," and this-and-that.

I: In terms of coloured people and play-whites, physically, how would you could see the differences that they could pass as white?

D: Some of them were just fair with light eyes and that. Some of them weren't. Some of them were darker than us, but then there was a rumour that they paid to get the white ID. God, I mean, there was my father-in-law and mother-in-law, both had white ID cards. Alan got a coloured card; Donna got a coloured card. Maureen and Carol got white cards. Ernest got a coloured card. Yet their parents, one father and one mother, they had white, but three out the family had coloureds and two had white.

I: How did it affect them? Did they go to different schools growing up then?

D: No, this was later.

I: So they applied for that?

D: You all had to apply for your cards. And they were given coloured cards even though their parents were, held white cards. And yet, Donna could have passed for white anywhere. So in one family, that's how they made a difference.

I: And how did they decide whether you were coloured or white?

D: Just did as they pleased.

I: Did you have to go in?

D: You had to apply, then they took all your details down and then they sent you a card. Otherwise they sent for you and you had to go in and they'd look at you and ... but with Alan and them, I don't know how that happened. But I mean they all applied altogether, but er that's how it was.

I: When you'll were growing up, there was always talk about, there was a lot of family entertainment...?

D: ...People in and out our home from all over.

I: Tell me about that.

D: They used to have these people coming from Jo'burg and Cape Town, more especially from Jo'burg. They had this Transhaven, where they used to bring the poor children from Jo'burg. And it was a big joke because when they used to come, Eric, my mother's youngest brother always used to say to us, "Ay, you'll going to have spring fever in July," cause the mattresses were taken off our bed for the visitors and we had to sleep on the springs. And that was his joke, "You'll having spring fever!" (Laughs). And yes, in Milton road, entertained a lot. My uncles were all into sport and that. They had Basil D'Oliveira and many of those cricketers; they were in and out

our home. Big dinners and things like that. And it was really a homely home because hundreds of people came through that door and battling as we were, they could have a meal and always talk about it. And Milton Road, 15 Milton Road was quite the topic wherever you went, any place, Cape Town, Jo'burg, anywhere, people would always remember 15 Milton Road. So we had our poor times, we had our good times and we had, I mean I have happy memories there. Especially of my Grandpa and my Granny, opening the home for us. And that will always be very special to me. As I said earlier they could have, could have told my mother to put us in an orphanage, but Granpa said, "This will be your'lls home." And it was our home. We all got married out of Milton Road.

I: And your father?

D: Well my father was there and then he wasn't there and er... not good memories... unfortunately, not good memories. The times ... and they say the bad memories ... stay. I remember when he used to come home nice and drunk. And I used to be always the one close to my mother, so I would be up with her. She had a very, very hard, I can remember, very hard. And then he disappeared and I was seven and Merlin was four and we went to Cape Town. He was working in Cape Town and we went with my mother. We went to Jo'burg and then we went to Cape Town, we lived with my aunt. Then my mother and us we left. My father stayed in Cape Town. Then my father got sick. I got a letter from, from the man where my father lived and he said that my father's a very sick man and needs to be taken care of. And my mother was living with Aunty Gwen and I took that letter to my mother. And I will always admire my mother cause when I showed her that letter, all she said to me was, "you'll go to church, you'll know the commandments. What is the one about parents?" I said, "Honour your mother and father." She said, "So your father is sick and he needs you'll. What happened between him and I is our business, not you children. He is your father, so you'll decide." And I will always admire my mother for that because as I say, she loved Dicks up until the end. Then as I say your mother and Aunty Gwen went and fetched him. Well he stayed here for a while. Wasn't so sick then because he was drinking. Stayed by Aunty Glad, then he ended up by Barbara and then he gave her a hard time, her marriage, you know, her husband, you couldn't blame him, but then thank God, he died at a young age. That's what I say, he owed it to my mother, cause that's was my mother's words.

I: And his family?

D: Well, that's the saddest part. We didn't know. I never ever saw his mother. I believe she died before I was ever born, I didn't know. The one part of my father's family I remembered was, oh, my Aunty Susan, that was my father's sister, who we kept in touch with. She lived in Victoria Street. She was married to er I can't think of his name and she didn't have a good life with her husband. He was an Indian and she had five children, brilliant, brilliant children. A boy, he went off his head through... Maynard. So clever that he went off his head. The other two daughters got degrees in music, both never married. The other son, Lionel, he's in England, he's married and divorced. And how I know that cause I got in touch with my cousin Ivey, she's a Mrs Ebenezer. Her mother, we called Aunty James and she lived in Hampson Grove and she wore a sari. And when my father was in Milton Road and Aunty James used to come from the market and that's' how we got to know her and her daughter, Ivey and

her sister. And then we lost contact and then years later, the Rotary from Durban North had a tea and I saw this lady and I said to her, "Do you know a Jimmy James?" she said, "Yes, my late husband" I said, "oh, he's my cousin." And she was so thrilled and she gave me my cousin Ivey's address in England and I wrote to Ivey. The day Ivey got my letter, she phoned me and she cried. She said, "how wonderful that we have got together again." Cause I mean, you know. I explained to her, cause they all felt that my mother kept us away and I could explain to her that in the time of my mother's trying days, it was her mother and father that gave us a home. My father's people never came near us. Never did a thing and I said to Ivey, "I will let you'll know today, that it wasn't my mother. His family never came near."

I: And why didn't his family come?

D: I don't – up till today I wouldn't know. Well now, Merlin is in contact with them, but I could explain to Ivey and when I went to England we could sit. And she showed me a photo of my granny. I didn't know what she looked like. Then she could tell me about all the family and she still said to me, you know, they all liked Auntie Charlotte. I said, "Yes, not one of my father's brothers, they were all well-to-do, not one of them came to my mother and said, "Well Dickie is gone, can we help you?" but in the end they all said we didn't want to know them because we wanted to be coloured and they were Indian," and it wasn't so.

I: So there was that distinction?

D: Yeah, there was.

I: So did they approve of Gran?

D: She said his people liked her. They liked her and Ivey still said you know my mother being a Lawler, so. She said they liked her. My mother fitted in well. She said even the old lady liked my mother. And I could, it's so strange when Kelvin was at the hospice, there was a Powys chap there. And when Kelvin went there to visit the room, he said, "Hello, you're a Powys," and he said, "we must be related cause my mother was a Powys." The chap looked at him and he said, "Yes, my Granpa Dicks," and this chap was taken aback. And Kelvin said, "You gotta be because there's not many of them." And he said, "Yes." And this same Rose, you know where Uncle Merlin knows her. She lives in Westville somewhere, she said to Merlin, she met Kelvin at the hospice and she was so proud that he came and introduced himself and he said, "My mother's Eunice." And she said to Merlin that she was so proud of him because he acknowledged them. I was telling Ivey that I'm glad I could speak to my children about it. And there was Kelvin as proud as ever that that was his family. So I said to Ivey, "Now can you see, my mother never kept us away from the family. The family kept away from us."

I: And then when you got married, where did you live?

D: That's the funny thing, I lived in Hopecraig Avenue, in the white area (laughs), off Ridge Road. Then it was white area. Then I moved to Orange Grove, Karl was born there, which was. Once side was coloureds and the other side was white, but brownies.

I: Was there any objection there?

D: No cause on the one side, was my mother's cousin. He was white and his wife was very brown and they could live there. There was no objections.

I: When you say white, was he?

D: No and you had all these purple Mauritians that had white cards, living on that road.

I: When you say, "purple Mauritians"?

D: Well they were really purple. They had white cards. Some of them looked like Indians. Because they had like French names, like Michel and Iniyaas and all that kind of name. But if you looked at them, they never even looked like any of them, but they had the card. And when you lived in GreenwoodPark, you were lucky cause you used to get on the white buses cause the drivers were all play-white. So they couldn't tell you, you couldn't get on the bus because they shouldn't be driving. (Laughs). They shouldn't be driving. They were too frightened to tell you, you can't get on, so you got on. (Laughs).

I: The drivers were only white?

D: Supposed to be. The GreenwoodPark line was all these play-whites so you knew them. So they couldn't tell you, you couldn't get on the bus, so you got on the bus.

I: The Chinese people were also differently classified?

D: They were. They were Asiatics, they went to school with us.

I: And then what changed?

D: And then they were classified as, what do you call them? Honourary, that's what you called them because they were business people so they were honourary whites.

I: And what did that give them?

D: Well that gave them the same.... Privileges as the white person, so automatically they were....

I: Was this when you'll were at school or when?

D: No, afterwards.

I: And they could live in any area then?

D: They had their own areas. In Overport was like, and we were friends with the, we used to go to their homes and that. The one section in Overport was all their houses. West Road, View Street, there by Parklands, there was an old wood-and-iron house,

the big farfee runner, he lived there. We used to go there and play cards in his house with Raymond Fan. But they never had white friends. They stuck to themselves.

I: None of them intermarried?

D: No.

I: Let's go back to when you were talking about that you were friends with the Malay people. How did your friendships start?

D: Through children playing. I was very friendly with the Ansari's. I used to live-and-die in the Ansari's home. They were really my friends. I never really had friends from school and that. In that environment, those were my friends.

I: And religious differences?

D: Yeah and it never worried us. I used to go with Mrs Ansari to all the weddings, their family weddings. I used to dress up and go with them. I knew most of their family. Even Eid day, they'd take me with them when they were going to the different places. I always said Mrs Ansari was like another mother to me because she was very fond of me and I was like another daughter. And I was really very close to all of them.

I: And then you went out with a Malay man? How did your family feel about it?

D: Well, while we they liked him because he was a cricketer and all that, but when my granny saw it getting serious, she sat me down and said, "He's from a different religion and there's no way that she would allow me to change and she thinks it best if we stopped seeing one another. I then I spoke to him. I told him I didn't want to meet him on the corner. He had taken me to meet his mother and she was very nice to me. I felt that if he couldn't come to my house, then I can't come to his house, so I think we should stop seeing each other. I didn't want to hurt my granny because when we didn't have a home, she made a home for us.

I: Differences with the Malay community and the coloured community?

D: No, everyone got on well; we used to all go to their picnics. Although it was Easter Sunday, we would all go to church first and one of them would wait for us and take us in their car off to the beach and then we'd' come back on the bus.

I: The Malay and the coloured people intermingled?

D: Very well, especially through sport.

I: And they attended the same school?

D: Yes, we all attended the same school.

I: And workwise, what did they do?

D: Tailoring, mostly tailoring.

I: Any of them working in the factories like you?

D: Some of the women worked in the one in Umbilo Road, but mostly the women did tailoring at home. The men had the shops like in Grey shops. And the ladies used to do the tailoring at home. They used to bring the work home.

I: Were they better off, financially?

D: Not really because they didn't earn much, but they were hard workers and they sacrificed. A lot of them lived in 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue in Greyville in those nice big homes, never owned them. They rented.

I: Who were the homes mostly owned by?

D: The Muslims, most of them.

I: They were better off?

D: Yes, they were better off cause they owned the shops and all that.

I: Were there any intermarriages among the Muslim community?

D: Yes, but then that was like the second wife. There were quite a few.

I: And were there differences the way they were treated as the second wife?

D: No, no.

I: And the children from there?

D: Well most of them grew up as coloured, but coloured Malay, but they followed the Muslim religion, but they were like Malay, different to the Indian Muslim community.

I: When you got married, you lived in these different places, did your children know about the grandfather's play-white side/ what did that mean to them?

D: My father-in-law lived with me for most of my marriage and it was hard to explain; especially now in the family, you get one that's a bit lighter than the other. And now you get the one side who will favour the lighter one. An incident, I used to go with my father-in-law to go and get his pension every pension day. He would get a white taxi. So he got permission for me to go in the taxi. And one day it was near Christmas and I said to him, "I'm writing a letter for Kelvin to go home early, to come with me after you've got your pension and you're in the taxi and I'm taking him. And he turned round and said to me, "Kelvin can't get in the taxi because he's coloured." It was his own grandfather. And I said to him, "What? Your son's own child. You can go in the taxi on your own and from now on, you go on your own. You don't do that to my child!" that was how white he wanted to be.

I: Among the coloured people themselves, was there any of that kind of prejudice?

D: No. Maybe I should retract that because if you knew a person, and you met them in the street and they were with a white person, then they made like they never knew you. They'd look in the window or cross the road. Yes, it did

I: And why was that?

D: Because they walking with a white and they were play-white and they don't want the white person to know that they know you. And then when they on their own, they greet you.

I: And among the people who were classified as coloured and didn't play-white?

D: No. They acted normally and you accepted that that was how they classified you. And the hardest part was that your children grew up and you went down to the beach and you say to them, "you can't swim here, " at the paddling pool and that. Then you had to explain to them why and it was just that, the colour of your skin, you not allowed to. And then when you have a family gathering and you got these play-whites and they talking about these places and it confuses the children. But fortunately, if you explained to your children, they understand. And the one blessing that I always say was when Kelvin went to medical school and he was with Indians and Africans and then he came home the one day and he said, "Mom, I'm not a coloured. I'm a black. Cause you either black or white. So I don't know where you'll got this coloured business from. We're black and I go to a black Natal Medical School. And I said to think that my young child could teach me. Cause when he sat down and explained to me, it really broadened my outlook in life as well.

I: What was your'll relationship growing up with the African people? There were a lot of Indian people?

D: You never ever. That's what I say we are just as guilty as many other people for oppressing those people. We are just as guilty because for us, we had a special plate and a special cup for them. We gave them what we cooked and that, but they never used our things. They came in the back door. So we are just as guilty. And who opened my eyes to that, was Kelvin. When he married and he married, he made his children call the maid, aunty and she sat at the table with them. He said to me the one day, "If she's good enough to nurse my children and give them a bottle and that, she's good enough to sit at my table." And I learnt from that. I said, "you know, Kelvin, I am just as guilty as a lot of people, when you look at things. I mean we might have given them the right food, but we also felt they were below us." Only as you get older and you learn, that is oppression. Then we didn't think it was.

I: What about the coloured people who came from the country?

D: Yeah, we also felt we were better than them. We were wrong in that as well.

I: And what were they like? How did you know the difference?

D: Well you could tell by the way they spoke and the way they were, so you just thought, “ooh no, it’s not my – I’m just better than them. “ so we the coloured people, we were guilty of a lot. We felt apartheid, but we also had apartheid among ourselves. There were certain classes with whom we wouldn’t mix.

I: Which classes?

D: Like the lower coloured, we wouldn’t mix with that.

I: How were they distinguished?

D: Like if they ... in appearance, in their mannerism or that.

I: Explain that to me.

D: Like we would say, oh, it’s a horrible term. It’s a horrible term. We would say, “Ooh you know, those half-castes.” Cause they’d come from the country and they’d still be barefooted, and they never had like table manners and ... They were raw. We’d just say they were the raw ones. We never mixed with them. We thought we were high above them, you know.

I: Even though you’ll were poor?

D: We were poor, but because we spoke English, we just thought – and it’s wrong. And it’s only as you grow older and you got through life and you mature and your children teach you. I mean I learnt from my own children, going out into the world and educating me on a lot of things because we were brought up this way and we just thought it’s the right thing. And then your children get older and they go out into the world, and they come back and tell you, “No, you might have been taught that, but it’s wrong.” They explained to you, it was that.

I: Now were there any sayings, you mentioned the term, ‘half-caste’, that were used to differentiate the coloured people?

D: Oh they used to say, “Those were the goontas!”

I: What did that mean?

D: (*Whispers*) a bushmen.

I: Ok and those were what type of coloureds?

D: Like those who had kroes hair and had hard type of features and came from like Kokstad and places like that. You know the high cheekbones. And you were taught that, that’s not your company.

I: Why were they not?

D: Because we were supposed to have been better than them.



I: Who was your company then?

D: Like people from your family, you know, who they knew. And people that you mixed with in church and fine, those around where we lived because my granny knew their parents and knew their homes.

I: It was a different class?

D: Class distinction.

I: A difference on how you conducted yourself socially, made a difference?

D: That was it. And in a way I think it was good that it was good that they kept that hand on us. I don't agree with the part where we were better than them, but as you grew older and you saw life and how they lived, it was very good. Because a lot of them, being poor and that, they took to drink. It wasn't a very ... they never tried to uplift themselves. So in a way, it was good because if you didn't have strong mind, you could have gone into the same things.

I: Do you remember when you lived in Cape Town, what the people were like?

D: Well we were just with my aunty on Signal Hill. Oh and my father had a friend, Raju. He was Indian. I don't know if my mother said he was my father's cousin. He was married to a coloured lady. They were there was a class distinction like the upper class, the middle class, those that owned their own homes and that. And then those that never, like the Cape Flats and that, and like those people never, those at Walmer Estate, never bothered with the Cape Flats. They also had that class distinction. So it was all over, really. Even with the Malays, if they lived in the Bo-Kaap and that, if they had family there, then yes, but either than that they never mixed with these people. Cause to them, they were the higher class. So it was very sad, apartheid... but we also started making our own apartheid in our own communities and it happened.

I: It was just more on class, not on colour?

D: Yes, it was on class. It wasn't on colour.

I: So there was no distinction within the coloured community about colour?

D: No. Some thought, "Well I'm this and they thought that," and they could get over on that side and they did. But in a family it never made a difference, no matter what. Well, look in our family for instance, there was never anything. Everybody was just one.

I: Marrying into a family, would that bring out issues of differences?

D: No, maybe in some families, but never in our family.

## Interview 2: PARTICIPANT 2/DAUGHTER

I: When the riots were around what year was that?

D: 1949

I: Do you remember anything about that?

D: Well I remember them running down Milton Road. Ooh I think thousands of Africans. And then my Granny was closing a curtain and they threw a brick at the window. We stayed away from everything because it was very frightening. I do know there was a chap who lived in Lancer's Road and he was very fair, but he was Indian, Dennis Lazarus. He was coming home from work; good-looking chap and they hit him. And it was too sad, from this smart, lovely man, he ended up walking the streets, bare-footed and it affected him.

I: You had no personal experiences?

D: We had no, only that one when they threw a brick.

I: And what were you doing at that time?

D: We were all at home because the minute you heard about it, everybody locked their doors and stayed inside. And they, the Africans, seemed to have known who was Indian and who was not. Because they never interfered with the coloured people at all.

I: And the other people living in your road?

D: But they stayed in doors. But the worst thing happened in Cato Manor, that's where they really went berserk. But in town, it was people coming from work, who they knew, were Indian. But if you looked at that Lazarus, you'd never say he was Indian, but it was all the skollies from the market and that, so they knew the people in Lancer's Road, Milton Road and that.

*I: How did it all start?*

D: Well you heard so many conflicting stories. You heard that somebody stole a half-a-loaf of bread from one of the shops at the top market. Cause we had the squatter's market and the top market. And the owner, an Indian, hit him, and that's how, that's the story we heard how it started.

I: So there wasn't a good relationship between the African and the Indian?

D: No, and only through that cause before that, I mean, they were fine. You found that the African worked for the Indian in the market pushing their wheelbarrows with all their stuff and in their shops. They had a very good relationship, just then you got the bad lot who jumped on the bandwagon and I mean, so many innocent people lost their lives. Homes were burnt and things like that. But we were fortunate in Milton Road in that the Indians, not one of them were affected by it.

I: The last time we had talked, you had mentioned where all you had lived. You had lived in Orange Grove?

D: Karl was born there.

I: Where was Kelvin born?

D: In 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue.

I: What was it like there?

D: There were mostly Indians in the area; a lot of the rich Mohammedans lived in that road in the beautiful houses.

I: The Mohammedans are?

D: The Muslims, we called them that. And they all had these beautiful big homes in 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue, very nice people. Well Karl and Kelvin, they grew up with the people who owned Epsom shop. They played with them. They celebrated Diwali with them. They would give them fireworks. It was nice; nobody interfered with one another. My children grew up not knowing different, they grew up, everybody was their friend.

I: Other race groups living in that area?

D: There were a few whites living in that area, round the corner. Well, we would call them poor whites because most of them were play-whites and we just knew them. So its funny that our children never played with them, they rather played with that Epsom, I don't know what that man's name is, but with their children.

I: So when you say poor white, what did it mean?

D: Well they weren't like the whites you saw serving in Greenacres or things like that. They were just the ordinary, what can I say. They just lived like ordinary, they didn't have like anything lavish, like in their dressing, they weren't particular and in the children. So we just called them poor whites.

I: What type of jobs did they hold?

D: They were fortunate; they worked in the post-office and government offices. And that was so sad because when you went into these government offices, you saw these people and you knew who they were and they looked at you and treated you like you were nothing. And that's what made us very anti because we knew and they are treating us like that and yet, we know what they are.

I: Why do you think they went over to become play-whites?

D: Well I suppose they thought they could get jobs. They didn't have to have very high education because the openings were there for them, whatever, they got into it. Whereas the only chance we had was in a factory, whereas they could go to all the other places, just because they had a white ID.

I: And today, do you see any of them?

D: Not really, in the end, they all left the country and went to Australia and England because when they could see that there was going to be turning point, they thought, "No," they better get out of here because who'd want to mix with them now. They turned their nose up at us so what friends would they have now. So the best thing was to go.

I: What job did Uncle Alan have at that time?

D: He was a welder, he worked for Fraser & Chalmers, he worked for them for 25 years. Then he was on loan from Frasers to Shell Chemical. They offered him a permanent job because Frasers was just like week or month, your service didn't count. So he got an opening there and it was a very good opening because they secured him with a pension that today cause he's retired, at least he's getting a good pension. Shell Chemical they really look after their staff.

I: At the time that you lived in 1<sup>st</sup> avenue, Uncle Alan's father lived with you?

D: Yes.

I: And how did he make the adjustment?

D: *(Laughs)* Never. When the owner of the house, Granma Shalong, she was a strange case. She was an Indian and she didn't want to be an Indian. The Lord knows. Fortunately, those days, Addington had a coloured section and a white and we knew Sr. Patterson very well and she was the head of the coloured section at Addington. And Granma Shalong had like an eczema on her leg and she needed to go. So because on of the old ladies that worked at Addington, lived in the backroom, Mrs Thomas. She was like an orderly there. She was coloured. So we asked Sr. Patterson if Granma Shalong could come there. That was how she was tended there. As an Indian she couldn't so she said she was Eurasian *(laughs)*. So anyway, I'll never forget when they were doing a census and then filling in the forms. I said to her, "Granma Shalong, I've got to fill in for you." So she said to me, "well, what did you put down for us." So I said, "coloured." So she said she's Eurasian, but it's all right, she'll just be coloured. *(Laughs)*. She was so and yet her children were all married to Indians. And her sister, was married to Lawrence and Mr Lawrence was a very prominent man in his time and there was Sylvie Lawrence and May Lawrence, who were well known. They were her nieces. But to Granma Shalong she never wanted to have any Indian in her. It was the biggest joke.

I: What did you do at the time?

D: Well Kelvin was born there. I didn't work. I stayed at home. Then when Granma Shalong with the Group Areas and that...

I: Tell me about the Group Areas?

D: They decided that 1<sup>st</sup> avenue was going to be for whites. So all people there had to move and they were just offering them what they felt. It was very sad because a lot of

the Muslim people had these beautiful homes and they had to move out. Fortunately, a lot of them had the means; they could buy in Westville and that. But the others, with what they were offered, they had to go further out, to Reservoir Hills and places like that. And Granma Shalong, she had to move and she went to live with her sister in Reservoir Hills. And we had to move. And then we got a place in Hedley Road in Redhill. Then my father-in-law obviously had to move with us. The big joke was when we rented from the Group Areas. So the one day when they came to the place. I was still at home, I hadn't started work again and he said to them, "Oh I don't live here. I'm visiting." (*laughs heartily*)

I: He didn't want them to know?

D: Yeah, he didn't want to be coloured. He didn't want them to know he's living there.

I: Then you lived in Hedley Road for a while and that was predominantly coloured area?

D: It was all coloured. Then we had the one lady, Mrs Lena. She was there and it took a long, long time before she eventually moved out. She was our neighbour. Then we had another lady, down the bottom... er Lana er I can't remember. I think she was Greek, but they were very nice. Their children played with our children. And it was so strange when I went to work for John in Durban North and Lana came into his salon, she saw me. She said, "I know you. You lived in Redhill." I said, "My word." And yet John's salon was a white salon. It was still ... but to her it didn't matter. She grew up and they played and she still said she remembered me cause I mean, she didn't have to. But that made you think of what a true person, how sincere they were as neighbours and friends.

I: Because they knew that you were coloured?

D: They knew, yes.

I: When you introduced yourself to somebody in those times, did race come into it?

D: Oh yes.

I: How did you?

D: Well when I went to work for John, the one lady asked me if I'm French because now obviously, I'm a little brownie and so maybe she never came across coloured people. So I said, "No, I'm a coloured." She said, "A coloured?" and it was too funny cause her next-door neighbour was Mrs Keshwa. That Keshwa brother was fairer than the others, but his wife was dark and she used to come to John to have her hair done. And he would put her in a cubicle cause she was so dark. Cause she didn't want to be seen, yet she was living as white.

I: So she was living as white, coming into a white salon. They couldn't see to any other race groups?

D: No, because she had a white card. And this lady when she said to me, I was the desk, I was managing the salon, “Was I French?” and I said no. She said, “coloured?” Then John came in, he used to enjoy this and she said that there’s a “lady who lives next to me and she’s very, very dark and she says she’s French.” So John tells me who she’s talking about, that was her neighbour. So nevermind where you came from, England, France or what, they noticed that you not white, but how come you’re living in a white area. They noticed it.

I: And finding a job, how was that? Was it easy as a coloured woman?

D: Well you didn’t have many opportunities. I just saw an advert in the paper for a shampooist, really and I just phoned John to apply. And then when he interviewed me then he made me like the receptionist. Either than that, you had very few options. By then some people got into OK Bazaar, like counterhands and things like that. But you always had a white person above you. You always had to answer to that person.

I: There wasn’t any coloured women in those positions?

D: No.

I: And for the men?

D: Not really easy because even in the engineering trade, they wouldn’t apprentice the men. And Uncle Alan was very lucky that he belonged to this union and they had a man from Bart Levin and he pushed for them to be recognised as journeyman. Otherwise the firms where they worked, your work was x-rayed and that passed by the insurance, but because the law was, and that was how they were artisans.

I: So what was the law, what did the law state?

D: Only white, you see. They never ever wanted the other races to improve themselves or to get any, to be honoured as an artisan. You can do that work and you were just like a labourer, they had to just pay you that.

I: So they paid them lower salaries?

D: They were paid less.

I: And those jobs that were available for women were counterhands mostly and working in the factory?

D: And then they had younger persons being shampooists in the salon. When I worked for John, Heather Momple, I got her a job as a shampooist. And then John was chairman of the hairdressing council. First it was another man, Joe somebody, a German. Then when John was, I said, “You know, John, it’s about time you fought for the coloured girls. They get R40 a month. The stylist...

I: And that was what year?

D: It must have been 74 ... 75 (*unsure*). I said to John, “the stylists are getting good money,” cause I used to make up their salaries, but the shampooist is doing most of

their work. And John Albee, an Englishman at that, fought and that's how Heather and the girl, Shand, Dalene. That's how they were the first two to be apprenticed, they went to college.

I: So they went to college?

D: They went to college. Cause the others just watched and then they could go to Utti Boy, where he used to teach. But the fact remains that you weren't registered. It's through John Albee that today they're qualified hairdressers and everything.

I: You worked for John for how long?

D: For about five years.

I: And then after that?

D: Oh then I went to work at the slipper factory.

I: Why did you leave John's salon?

D: Because he was closing and he was going to go back home to England. And then Uncle Vic, they were looking for people at slipper factory, so I went to work there. I worked there as an examiner in the closing section, when the machinists finished, then I would examine it and send it in to the last section.

I: The only places you seemed to get work was if you knew someone?

D: If you knew someone, yeah, otherwise it was very hard.

I: After Hedley Road, where did you move to?

D: Banbury Road.

I: What was it like living in Banbury Road because that was not so cosmopolitan compared to other places that you lived?

D: It was alright, I didn't er I greeted the people around me. Well then Aunty Mavis Francois, I mean that has been my friend from before I even married. Her and I remained friends so I socialised mainly with her. And then the children made friends at school, mainly Parkhill, well first Briadene then GreenwoodPark. But my only friend there was May and then Beryl and Kenny down the bottom, but either than that, I never made many friends.

I: What were the people like?

D: Oh very nice, couldn't complain about and it was now strange for me to be living just among coloured people.

I: In what way was it different?

D: Well you know wherever I lived, I lived with Indians, there was everybody and this was so strange. When you looked, there was only coloured people. So it was like new to me, you know.

I: Would you say there is a difference in the way they are with neighbours?

D: I think that in all areas, you got to be choosy. You don't want to live in the next one's pocket. So you just, 'good morning, good evening' and that. Then you sort of lived longer in the place with them otherwise you become too pally and then it's no good.

I: You lived in GreenwoodPark for quite a long time?

D: Yes, cause we lived there and when Miss Field wanted her house, we moved to Bailey Road. And it was Bailey Road, where Alan's father died. His father died. Well I had Patric boarding with me from Banbury Road. Then he got an apprenticeship at ...

I: Let's go back to Patric. Patric's family were what?

D: They both came from Mauritius, his mother and father, but then a mixture. Because his father looked like an Indian and his mother was half-Chinese and half-Mauritian, Chinese-Mauritian. I don't know how that works out, but that's how it was. And then his father worked at Gledhau on the sugar mill. They didn't have a high school in Stanger. They had a high school, but it was whites only. So Patric was sent to Eshowe to the boarding school there. Guy Lewis was the principal there and Patric wasn't happy there because ... anyway Baby Legate had asked, she said to Mrs Chateau, she would ask me. And then she phoned. I said well, it's only the two boys, that's how Patric came to live with me. Patric found schooling very, very hard. more so, mostly Afrikaans. And I said to him that if he lived till 60, he'd never pass Afrikaans.

I: What would they speak at home?

D: Well, he could understand, it wasn't French, it was more Creole and then a bit of English. Then his mother couldn't really speak English fluently. She spoke like a broken English, very heavy Mauritian accent. In her home, they spoke French. So with her and Pierre, they only spoke French to one another, they conversed in French. So Patric and them grew up with. He could speak a few words, but not as fluent, but he could. And when his parents spoke to him, they spoke in French or patois or whatever you call it, to him. He found school very, very hard. He failed and when he passed standard 7, I knew he'd never make standard 8 cause he just about managed to pass standard 7, and he was offered an apprenticeship at Mt Edgecombe. He had to have a standard 8 certificate. So I said to him, "Go back to school, even if you go into standard 8 for two weeks and we won't get books or anything. Then I went to Yusuf Schreuder, the deputy principal then and I said to him, "Please, you got to help me." I said, "This boy will turn 60 and he'll still be sitting here in standard 8 cause he's never gonna get through." I said, "Can't you do me a favour, just give him a certificate, a letter, whatever, saying "left in standard 8 cause you can't say, left in standard 7, cause he spent two weeks in standard 8. He said, "Eunice, you are



shrewd.” I said, “please,” and that’s what Yusuf did. He gave “left in standard 8,” and that’s how Patric was apprenticed.

I: Now what were they classified as when they came here?

D: Patric? Cape Coloured (laughs). Can you beat it?

I: Was he born here? Him and his brother?

D: And sister.

I: They were all born here?

D: And he was classified as Cape Coloured.

I: From these Chinese-Mauritian parents?

D: Yeah, I mean both Mauritian parents and him; Cape coloured (*laughs*).

I: Then you’ll moved to Mt Edgecombe after that?

D: Well, he got a house cause he was working there. My father-in-law had died and then he asked us to come and live there cause the mill gave him a house and we agreed that on condition that he doesn’t pay. We lived there and his board was like our rent, although it was free. We moved to Mt Edgecombe and we stayed there.

I: What was that community like? That was another mixed up ...

D: A real mix up. One thought they were whiter than the other. The children were going to Lady of Fatima School and so they thought they were white. But in, on the mill, the whites lived on the hill and the Mauritians lived on the bottom. So we were where the Mauritians were. And the Bussacs were there and the LaMarques.

I: And what were the Bussacs supposed to be?

D: Oh, white, yet she was a De Lang and Albert was a Bussac and they sent their children to Lady of Fatima and they didn’t mind Karl going out with Karen, cause Karl was fair, you see, but they wouldn’t have liked Kelvin because he was brown. And there was this where the children now, they going on the bus, the school bus in the morning. And the other children who couldn’t, they went to the Mt Edgecombe School.

I: They couldn’t because they weren’t fair?

D: They weren’t fair, yes.

I: So Lady of Fatima took people from other race groups, but on condition that you were fairer?

D: That’s it, fairer. That’s how the Bussacs went there.

I: Cause that community there were lots of different communities from, the Johnson's and ...

D: Oh yeah, the Johnson's and the Dalais'

I: The Dalais' that's a French sounding name?

D: Well they all were Mauritian. There was Tony Samuels and that and actually he's a first cousin to Aunty Ruthie and Sybil. Because they shared the same granny because his mother was a sister to Ruthie's mother. And she was a Mauritian cause Lovie spoke with that accent, but because they were the dark ones, they didn't enjoy the same....

I: Then you moved to Bazley Avenue, what was it like there? Was there a difference between the coloured people from Greenwood Park and those from Sydenham?

D: Well, in Bazley Avenue we didn't have neighbors. The only neighbor was Maria; Maria Gouveia and we knew her from town already. I didn't have any friends there in Bazley Avenue. So I didn't have no neighbors that I was really friends with, I would just greet the people. But no real friendship with anybody, only as I say, Maria.

I: Then Kelvin went to medical school and Karl did an apprenticeship.

D: Yes, Karl did his apprenticeship at Darnall and he was very happy there and so that was one consolation that he did his apprenticeship there. Then we were in Bailey Road when Kelvin went into medical school.

I: What made him decide to want to go to medical school?

D: I think from small Kelvin was a very loving person and very caring and all that. We used to play cards at home and he used to be all fond of the old people and helping them and things like that. One priest said to him that he is going to be a priest and I said, "oh, no ways priests get no money, he must look for a better profession." (laughs) So anyway, Kelvin then well he had a good pass and then he said that he wants to go to medical school. So I said, "you've got to decide what you want to do."

I: Was easy for him to get into medical school?

D: Yes, because his marks were very good cause then they were only taking a few coloureds.

I: Medical school was then majority Indian?

D: Yes

I: Any African students?

D: Yes, but not so many, the majority there were Indian. With Kelvin and Zane and Dudley and the Lundall boy, they didn't have physics at Parkhill. To get into medical

school you had to do Physics, they had to enroll at Howard College to do a Physics course. They had to pass it before the medical school opened although they were accepted they had to have this and I was in Cape Town the time when it opened. When I came back Zane and them had gone into the class already and Kelvin, he was too frightened to ask his father so Beryl Winter took me to the medical school and as we came in I saw this man with a beautiful dog and I'm talking to the dog and I said to this man, "Can you tell me where Mr Paris, the physics teacher is?" He said, "Yes, you go here and there and everywhere." I thanked him and then I met another man who was the Head of Chemistry and he spoke to me and said that they were in lecture already and he won't stop for me. So we went into his place and he's showing us all the things about chemistry, which I wouldn't even know from A-Z. Anyway then when it finished, then he took me to this Mr. Parrish or Paris and he said, "This lady would like to speak to you." Kelvin was with me and he said to me, "How can I help you?" I said, "Look, my son has been accepted at Natal Medical School but because they didn't do physics, you know, he has to." He said, "Well, my course has started already and we don't take a student in once we have started." I said, "Oh, my God!" And I said to him, "You know its my fault I had been in Cape Town, I had to go on urgent business and I'll never forgive myself if Kelvin's gonna miss out on it." So walking with him, then he asked me Kelvin's results and I had the thing so I could show him, he was quite taken aback. So he said to me, "Well, we'll go down to the Dean's office, it depends on him." Thank God, the Dean was this man with the dog. We went in and Paris said that this lady has something and I told him that I'd never forgive myself if Kelvin wasn't accepted and obviously the tears started to roll out. He said, "Anyway, mother, I don't do it but I'm going to do it for you." He said to Kelvin, "You're mother is very sincere and I know that one day she is going to stand proud when you are capped as a doctor." So they bent the rules and that's how Kelvin got in the same time and he passed otherwise he would have been a year later than Zane and them.

I: Then they got married; who got married first?

D: Kelvin had qualified as a doctor when he got married. Karl got married first in 82, the year Aunty Margie died. And Kelvin got married in January 83. It was just a matter of nine months difference.

I: Their wives, where did they meet them?

D: God knows! (*Laughs*). The Lord knows (*laughs*). I think Karl must have been drunk when he met Fiona. At that time, he was drinking at his worst.

I: He was staying in Cape Town then?

D: Yes and he, he only knew her three weeks and then he phoned me to say he's getting married and he's got a child. I said, "What child oh?" and the child is two years old. I said, "Good God, Karl, you not even in Cape Town for that time!" anyway then she phoned me. I tried I said to her, "Fiona, I don't know you. I've never met you." I said, "you only know Karl for a short time. Do you know what you're going into?" I said, "At the moment, my brother tells me, Karl is drinking very heavy and he's not responsible." And I said to her, "And are you prepared to take your daughter to this." And she said to me, "I sound like one of those mothers that want to

hold onto their sons and not let them go!” And she banged the phone down on me (laughs). That was my first experience with her.

I: She came from what area in Cape Town?

D: Penial. Stellenbosch.

I: Would you say her family is different to your family?

D: Well, you know with the Cape, they spoke Afrikaans and it was a different life to us. Maybe we thought we were better than them (laughs). But I mean socially, their idea of being sociable and that was drinking and doing things like that. And we saw, well I saw so much of it in my youth and I had been through it all and I thought, “Oh my God, this is really not for me, you know.” And just little things she used to say, respectwise and that.

I: What did she say?

D: She had no respect for anybody, because the one day when I had checked her about something and she said to me, “I never whatchacall something to my own mother,” you know. Cause we were brought up to respect anybody older than us, nevermind what colour or what they were. And I thought, “My word, this is the person my son chosen and this is what I’m in for!” and I was really frightened of her. I was really frightened of her.

I: So it was a very different idea of what you expected?

D: Very different. Different from day one when I tried to just, you know, explain to her what she... I thought as a mother, he’s my son, I’m not making excuses for him, I’m telling you as it is. She told me to mind my own business and banged the phone down. So that was my first encounter with Fiona (laughs).

### **Interview 3: PARTICIPANT 2/DAUGHTER**

I: The last time that we talked, we spoke about where you were living. You’ve also lived in Cape Town for a few years. Tell me what it was like living there?

D: Nearly two years. I didn’t enjoy it. I think their lifestyle is just different to the way we live here. My family were here in Durban and I missed them. I didn’t like it.

I: What was their lifestyle like?

D: They very into like evenings go sit at this one’s home and that one’s home and have drinks and that. And I’m very anti drink. So I didn’t sit in. I didn’t enjoy it. They like their social life and it just didn’t appeal to me.

I: And when you came back you lived on the farm-

D: On the farm with Kelvin.

I: What was it like there?

D: I enjoyed it because I was with my grandchildren and the open space and I loved being outdoors and with the dogs and chopping and planting. I enjoyed it. Then when Auntie Gwen died I worked for Kelvin in the surgery, I used to go with him every morning and used to come home with him at night.

I: And in the surgery?

D: Oh I enjoyed it. I met lots of people that I'd known from Redhill where we'd lived for most of our married life and their children. And it was nice, very nice and I enjoyed it. The most important thing was that I was happy that I could help Kelvin in some way. And he's always been a good boy and I just felt proud that there I was sitting in his surgery being of some help to him (emotional).

I: And his clientele, was that a varied group of people?

D: Yes, very. And something that stands out the caretaker of Greenwood Park School, Kelvin's old school...can't think of his name. It's African. He's an old African man, he came there, to Kelvin as a patient and er when he gave me his name and that. I remembered him and when he went into Kelvin and I was so touched 'cos Kelvin told him who he was and still referred to him as **Mister** whatchacall. And he still said to Kelvin, "No, no, no, you're doctor." And Kelvin said to him, "No, I'm still a little boy compared to you." He couldn't get over it 'cos you know with an African, they have that, if you're a professional person, now that is, you know, you must have that. And he couldn't get over that. And Kelvin said to me, "Mum, don't charge him." And when I told him I said to him, "It's bunsela for you from Kelvin." And Kelvin was very, very thrilled that he was a little boy, that this guy became his patient. And then a lot of other people that he grew up in front of them, they became his patients. And he had a very good relationship with them.

I: When your sons grew up and they were deciding on their partners, did you have any influence on that decision?

D: No. I left it to them. So, when both the marriages broke up I knew it couldn't be said, "Oh well, Mum, you said this or that." No, I just kept quiet about that. And to be honest I wasn't happy with both their choices, both of them. But although I wasn't happy with them I never told them. So when it fell apart I thought well, but I never ever mentioned it to them. Only when it fell apart, especially Kelvin when I went to England when he asked me to come and be there when his marriage fell apart. And then the day at the airport and he hugged me, we both cried and I said to him, "Kelvin, I knew from day one that that wasn't a good choice but I didn't want to say anything."

I: Why didn't you think it was a good choice?

D: Because er ... er the whole... like when Kelvin qualified I mean she wanted to be married before so she could have that place that I felt the sacrifice came from us. And er she had him in the palm of her hand and he just agreed to everything. And then after his graduation, we had to go to where I mean her mother lived with somebody

else's husband, to go and celebrate there. And I was very hurt. Because she did everything. And from that time I just saw, "No, this girl is got you round her finger," and in the end, once he got his identity back, he realised it's no good.

I: And did she come from a very different family from your own?

D: No, it's just the thing that she was thoroughly spoilt, thoroughly, thoroughly spoilt.

I: So you're saying that it had more to do with her personality than her background?

D: No, no, no. "cos her granny who she lived with, I got to know very well and a lovely person. Very kind, lovely person. But through her, well she was always spoilt and made, they put her up on a pedestal and she felt she was ... the topnotch, you know. And unfortunately, Kelvin being a softie, you know he's always been, they were exact opposites. So at the start, she got her way and that, but later on it all fell apart.

I: And then your other son?

D: Oh Karl. At that time Karl was drinking a lot and when he called me to tell me he's getting married. He'd been in Cape Town for a little while. So I said to him, "Who're you getting married to?" He said: "Fiona." I said, "Where do you know her from, how long?" He said, "Three weeks." And I said, "And you're getting married to her. Karl, you need your head read." And then er Merlin (subject's brother) phoned me to say, "Eunice, this is for real. Her parents are getting everything ready and all this and that. So Karl didn't even know her long and there Karl was *nice and on* (intoxicated) when he told me, "Mum, I got a two-year old child." I said, "Well that's a miracle. You know her three weeks and." (*laughs*). So you can imagine, that put me clean off.

I: So it was the rush of the wedding and...

D: Not only that then she phoned me to say that she's getting married to Karl and I just said to her, "You don't know Karl very well and he's got a drinking problem. You've got a child and are you prepared to bring this child up in that environment. I said I know Karl, if he drinks too much on a Sunday, Monday he won't go to work. But you can't guarantee that he's always gonna be in work. Are you prepared to bring your child into this? And she said to me, "Oh you're one of those mothers who don't want to let your son go." And she put the phone down on me. So that was her.

I: So it was more her personality that...

D: Yeah, but I just tried to advise her.

I: Last time we spoke we talked a lot about people who played white and that many of them had emigrated to Australia and England. Was there an option for your family to emigrate earlier on?

D: Well Alan's father was there all the time. We couldn't go anywhere. We couldn't do anything because we had to ... I had to look after him.

I: Now that we have gone into democracy, has your position as a coloured person changed in any way?

D: Oh ja. Now we're not black enough (*laughs*). Before we weren't white enough now we're not black enough (*laughs*).

I: So what do you think of that?

D: Oh well I feel that I've lived my life. It's the younger generation and I think that they're going to overcome things like that, is to be highly educated. Like we had to do with our children in the apartheid years, educate them because nobody can take that away. And I think it's the same now, the higher you can go, the better it is. Because other than that you don't stand a chance. We're in the middle of it all.

I: That's what you think of democracy ito of being a coloured? (Nods) Were there any differences in the way that men and women identified themselves as coloureds?

D: I think they just looked at you.

I: No, themselves, one coloured person, a male and a female, identifying him/herself as coloured.

D: Oh yes (in what way?) well for one there were so few coloured people so you all socialised in that one circle so that's how you knew. So that's where you picked, you know, your company was that your social life was. Like if you lived in GreenwoodPark, you socialised with those coloureds there, like Sydenham you did the same and so it went on.

I: How do you feel about it now, saying that you're coloured?

D: Well now they just say that you must say that you're African, South African. I just sign everything south African, I don't mention, put coloured down. (*why?*) Because now they tell you, you're South African. Forget about that that was the apartheid era, but yet when you're get these forms you still got coloured, Indian, African.

I: What do you think of that?

D: Oh I think it's sickening they should one thing or the other. Don't say democratic country and then you're still identifying me as a coloured.

I: And what would you say that you've passed on to your children and to your extended family.

D: I'd like to think that to my children that I've passed on being very outward and very loving and very accepting person. Being a compassionate person, I'd like to feel that way.

I: And anything ito a coloured identity?

D: No they taught me, especially Kelvin taught me that. "Mom, we are all one." And that's what I say I learnt from Kelvin. As soon as he went into medical school that's the first thing he taught me. Cause we had Mac staying with us and my father-in-law wasn't impressed. Kelvin came home and he said, "Mom, there's a guy in my class and he lives in Avoca. They're orphans. They live with his sister and brother-in-law and he studies and he studies by the street light. I'd like to bring him to stay with us while he's studying. I said, "Fine, it's no problem." and when Kelvin went back to school and Kelvin said to Mac and he said, "oh you know Mac, my Mom said. And Mac said, "I can't go stay there by your mother." Cause now they Mac and them lived in Avoca and they knew that the people, the coloured people there. (What about them?) They were very prejudiced and how can I offer him? And Kelvin brought him home and I said, "Mac you're welcome. I'm inviting you to live in my home and you live here. And that was fine. Only my father-in-law, he said, "How can you let him live here. I said, "pop, this is my home and Mac is Kelvin's friend and Mac's got no parents and I've invited him here." And the day that Mac graduated and then Mac would come to me all the time and he came to me and he hugged me and said, "Thank you for being a mother to me." So that day I had two sons graduating. (And Mac was Indian) Mac was Indian, Govender.

I: Okay so you say that the people were prejudiced?

D: Oh they were.

I: Why were they like that?

D: Because they would have like to have been white.(and how did they think they were going to ...) well you know they lived in their own little place and they only mixed with their own. And don't talk when we went to go and live in Mt Edgecombe and Mac came there and one day him and Kelvin were playing on the tennis court and I got a complaint to say that Kelvin's got an Indian chap playing on the court (wasn't that allowed?) no because those were the Mauritians, like Indians themselves, most of them. Because Mac was Indian they objected to him playing over there.

I: So there was quite a bit of racial prejudice?

D: Oh yeah and especially in Mt Edgecombe, it was horrible because... some of them looked like Indians. I think that's why they were so anti-Indians. Because if you looked at them, you wouldn't know if they were Indian or not, so they were anti-Indian. I still said to Patrice, "if Mac can't come and stay here, we'll move out, 'cos I'm not hurting Mac's feelings." Bad enough Kelvin had to say to Mac, he didn't say you, he just said, "Mac we won't play tennis anymore, if they're having their games." 'Cos Kelvin didn't want to hurt Mac's feelings.

I: And you say that the Mauritian people were particularly prejudiced against Indians. What made them, besides them thinking that they were white, as you said earlier?

D: I think because if you go into their background a lot of them got Indian in them. Cause when you see the Mauritians in Mauritius, I mean, those people there were, there's Indians, there's those watchacall those Negroes, Americans. I shouldn't say



that, I mean black Americans, Chinese. All mixed up there, that's why they call them Creoles. But those that were there, they just thought they were white Mauritians.

I: And what do you think that your mother has passed onto you?

D: I think as I said earlier the time with my father, it will stand out for me, that's something that I really and truly appreciated from her. That will always be.

I: And ito family? Do you think that there's anything you can say when you look at your family and extended family that you can say that this is something that I learnt from my mother or my grandmother?

D: I think that my mother that she likes to shout but deep down she got a soft heart and she's always been very interested in our children. Very proud, I will say she's very, very proud grandparent, let the world know that she's got so many graduate grandchildren, very, very proud. And also very clever lady for her age, she can also converse on any topic, and her proudness of her grandchildren, that stands out for me. She always lets everybody know, that so many of her grandchildren have achieved this, what their children do. You know she's always talking about little Ammara, how clever she is, all she knows, and Jeurgen, and so she's a very proud granny. She never got graduates from her daughters, we left school very young, but with her son, he really achieved, so one of the five children.

I: Would you say that the coloured people have a culture? And what would you say it is?

D: Well I think everybody just makes their own.

I: In what way?

D: Well I think different, well you see with the coloureds, er, er, you got the St Helena's', the Mauritians and all that, so they all have their own way of living and that. And I think with us, we er through my granny running the home, we were more of the English side. But now people today and like with the Mauritians, they make a big fuss of New Year. Now us its Christmas and Easter, with the Mauritians, you'll find that its the New Year.

I: From your father's family, do you think he has passed anything on from his family?

D: Well we missed out on a lot of things, especially lately I got in touch with my cousin again. It was so nice to spend the day with her. She could tell me different things, which I never ever knew. And when I sit and think, I lost out on a lot of things, it would have been nice just to know and to have known them.

I: We spoke also about people in the coloured community who played white, a lot of them got white ID's and gave them privileges, do you think that there were any other reasons that they wanted those ID's besides getting the privileges?

D: I think most of them it was, they used to say the grass is greener on the other side and maybe they felt all the years, they were better than the ordinary coloureds and they didn't want to like go sit in the bioscopes we sat in. so it was a good thing for them that they were able to keep on the side where they were.

I: So there were no other reasons?

D: No I think it was just for that (*for gain?*) for gain. Oh yes, definitely for gain.

I: You wouldn't say they were afraid of any...

D: No they were just for gain. Because I mean if you're shunning half your family, so it's what you're going to get out of it, that's the only thing.

I: Since we've been talking is there anything else that you've thought about that you might want to add?

D: No.

I: Your grandchildren, one lot living in Cape Town and another lot living in England and that's a very different environment to what life here, what was your experience with the children in England like?

D: Very much more advanced and they've learnt to be very independent which is a good thing. The one nice thing about it, they don't see anybody different, everybody's the same. That was one thing I was happy about, although you do get racism there, but I mean where they are, I'm very happy about that. You never hear them refer to their friend as that or that or that, they all white, so that was very nice.

I: And here when they friendly with children here in SA?

D: Well here, in the schools, but when they were living on the farm, they were at the school out there, it shows how parents tell children because the one boy said to Stellan (eldest grandson), "Is Anders really your brother?" And Stellan said to him, "That's for me know and if you're so worried, for you to find out." (*because...*) of the colour (Stellan is fairer in complexion than Anders). And what I admired about Kelvin is that he's made the boys understand, that there's nobody better than you, nobody, no matter who it is. But the day you lose respect for yourself, then somebody will be better. So remember to go through life respecting and people will respect you. And in the family no one's different and that's why he was so proud of Stellan when Stellan gave that answer. So you see, one of the children, their parents must have said, how come Stellan and Anders are brothers, you know look at the difference? Kelvin had sat them down long ago and so that's how Stellan answered this guy.

I: So going to England when they did, nobody saw them differently or questioned that and I think it made it much easier.

I: Now Kelvin has met an Englishwoman, was that an adjustment for you as a mother, coming from South African?

D: Well if she was English I think I would have had a problem. She's a Jordy, she's from Newcastle and their home life is very much like ours, family life. They have family gatherings and Bev would come into the kitchen and wash dishes, go on the floors scrubbing and digging in the garden. And when she spoke about her nana and their home, it was like it could have been here and that's how I got on with her. I think if she was English, I don't think that I would've got on with her. Because you'll find the English are prejudiced. They are prejudiced. And now with Bev being a Jordy they're friendlier, down to earth and that's the difference. Actually the English don't like the Jordies. They think that they're better than them. They also got that like class watchacall. Beverly said when she first went to work at Farley, they were quite funny to her.

I: Farley?

D: The hospice. They were quite funny to her because she was a Jordy.

I: So you're saying that there's still some kind of prejudice among the people of England?

D: Yes, it's not black and white it's also where you come from.

I: If you had daughters, do you think you would have influenced them differently or were you able to influence your nieces?

D: I think with my nieces I know I have a very good relationship and I'm very proud of them and I'm just proud of what they've achieved, how they lived and I'm just very proud. I wouldn't change anything. It's an honour for me to say that's my niece, that's my niece because you'll have done me proud. I always say that. I don't miss not having daughters because I have the honour of my nieces.

I: And you have daughters-in-law.

D: *Laughs*

I: And you have granddaughters.

D: Ja and these two, Bernice is a daughter-in-law and Bev well you could say that she's ... (like a daughter-in-law. They are not married, cohabiting) and Kelvin's very happy with her. They work together as a team. And the children are happy and that's all. You know as long as they are happy you feel that is good.

### APPENDIX C PARTICIPANT 3/GRANDDAUGHTER: Interview 1

I: Tell me about your childhood.

Granddaughter (G): Ok. I was born in Banbury Road for about eight years. Then we moved to Havelock Road, still in GreenwoodPark so all my life I've lived in GreenwoodPark. Went to ... was an only child for ten years. Interacted with lots of coloureds when I grew up, interacted with lots of family, not many friends at that

stage. Very protected as a child. Didn't go anywhere except with parents and family. Very sheltered life I think. Not exposed to too much. Being an only child spoilt.

I: When you say you led a sheltered life, how did that fit in with interacting with other race groups?

G: At that stage I don't recall much. No, I didn't interact with other race groups.

I: So you say GreenwoodPark is essentially a coloured area, no other race groups lived in the area?

G: No, it was just coloureds.

I: Do you remember when you became aware that you were coloured or identified as coloured?

G: Maybe not identified but aware that I was a different colour to other people, yes. When I was quite little, my one grandmother kind of always spoke about that I was always darker than her other grandchildren. But being young it didn't have much of an impact on me, I didn't notice that it affected anything that happened at that stage. And some of the people who were of the white race group didn't seem to notice or make it known that I was different.

I: When you say different are you saying different from other coloured people?

G: No from other race groups.

I: Ok so when did you interact with other race groups like the white people that you mentioned?

G: Er I think I was still very small.

I: And in what context?

G: Well my aunt used to do lots of sewing for them so if I was at her home then and they came. It was kinda just that type of interaction. I mean just the children were just there and these older white people were there. I mean it wasn't ... that was the extent to which the interaction happened.

I: I just want to go back to when you spoke about your one granny. I know it must have been difficult for you to talk about the distinction that she made. What I want to find out is what was it particularly that differentiated you from the other children? You mentioned colour was one.

G: Well she kinda would want to push the others ahead because they were not generally white looking but because they were fairer to a certain extent. And so she thought they would be more maybe accepted. Maybe she wanted them to be more noticed than I was. So she would kinda push them forward and try and keep me in the background.

I: And going to school, what communities attended the schools?

G: We were only coloureds at where I went to school, the primary school I went to. There were no other race groups. At that stage it was strictly different education systems for different race groups.

I: Malay people were they regarded as coloureds? Did you see them as different?

G: The few that were there. I mean boys would go to mosque on a Friday because the principal was Muslim, but other than that there wasn't really a distinction. I knew that they were but it wasn't like a different race group.

I: Can you remember from your parents, did they talk about any distinctions between race groups?

G: I don't really recall them talking about specific race groups. ... I was aware that my father had been married to I think she was white. To some white previously (laughs) so his daughter from there was white. So I did notice that he looked slightly different to what I looked as colour went. But I don't think, he never spoke about specific race groups or being different or anything like that. I never recall him talking about that. I don't remember my mother talking about that either. I think when I was little or younger, youngish, people didn't really speak about different race groups because it was very seldom that you interacted with anybody who was different. Because everybody lived in a different area, went to schools in a different area. We were only exposed to people of your own race group at that stage. It was only as you got older that you noticed that people were different and you interacted with people slightly more, but not when I was younger.

I: When you were in high school, did it change in any way?

G: At high school we had teachers of different race groups. We had a white teacher. We had an Indian teacher, but majority were still coloured. So as much as there were a few teachers coming in from different race groups the majority exposure was still with coloured people.

I: What was the class' general attitude? I mean the class must have been all coloured, even though the teachers were of different race groups. What was their attitude towards these teachers?

G: I think maybe they were a bit more harsh on the teachers that were not coloured... the children. I think they misbehaved a whole lot more. I don't know that the respect was the same. I don't think they had more respect for them because they were white or Indian or whatever. It was more trying to upstage them in front of the majority of the coloured children, I think.

I: Have you ever identified yourself as coloured and do you still do that?

G: Well, yes, I did identify myself as coloured because you knew that you were coloured and all the different race groups so we were classified as coloured so we kinda just accepted that that was who you were.

I: So you felt that designation was who you were?

G: Well, Natal coloured, yes. (Laughs)

I: Natal coloured, what's the distinction there?

G: Well when you watched Cape Coloureds they were just different. The Cape coloureds were different to the Natal coloureds somehow.

I: How? Let's explain here.

G: Explain ok. They lead a different lifestyle from what we saw on TV. They looked like they were poorer; their job opportunities were slightly different to Durban, Natal. They were kind of like the lower class people in the Cape. They did lots of the menial tasks, which in Durban; the coloured people didn't do that. They were more artisans and that. I'm not saying all the coloureds in Cape Town were like that, but a larger majority were there, I think because they make up the bulk of the population.

I: So you saying that was the stereotype of the ...

G: Well that was how the coloureds were portrayed, generally.

*I: As the low class, menial ..*

G: Yes

I: And you don't identify with ...

G: No, I didn't identify with that. No.

I: And physically, physical features were there differences?

G: Erm, they didn't have teeth, well I don't either, but (laughs). They looked different to us. They looked... (*you don't have to be politically correct* – laughs) they looked like when we studied the San and the Khoi and stuff. They kind of did have those features. They did look different to us. So whereas in Durban the coloureds just looked different. The mixture was different, I think.

I: So what do you think the mixture was here?

G: I think here was maybe Indian and white and black to maybe a lesser degree or a different type of black person who constituted the coloured mix here as compared to Cape Town.

I: So did that put the teeth back into the coloured peoples' mouths?

G: (Laughs) It was the water so we just take that it was that.

I: Did the term coloured bother you in any particular way or upset you?

G: I wouldn't say upset me. It sounded a bit derogatory because first it was coloured with a small c, you know which sounded like a big thing. It was just that coloured was a mix and I think you never kinda know your true roots. You don't have anything really to identify with. You don't have your own culture, you just borrow things from everybody else and it just becomes coloured so it's nothing of your own. Nothing that you can say well this is what coloured people do or this their tradition or their culture or their whatever. If you interacted with other race groups, you might have felt a bit different, but because as I said because of the apartheid era you generally mixed with coloured people so it was the norm and somehow most coloureds did similar things so they had almost developed their own kind of culture and traditions.

I: Can you elaborate on that, the culture and traditions the things that they did so we can get a better idea as what would be regarded as culturally the same?

G: Well I suppose the church religion, I mean most coloureds became Christian. I'm not sure how that came about. It was just the dominant family mix that went that way. Even with jobs, I don't know if it was job opportunity of the time in the country or if it was just that the father was a specific job type then the children would just follow. So you would have the coloured people being in similar professions or similar work employment. I think even with the ...I think coloured people generally had well at least in the family I grew up in, a close family bond, which I think lots of coloured people do have that. Which I think comes from the Indian people than anybody else.

I: I was thinking when we spoke about identifying yourself, what does that identity mean to you now?

G: Now er I suppose the only advantage we have now for saying we're coloured is for demographics. You could be maybe that one- percent of coloureds when you look for a position, but now I don't think it means anything. It's not an advantage. I don't think it's a disadvantage either now.

I: Previously, are you saying it was an advantage and a disadvantage?

G: No, previously it was just a disadvantage.

I: Why?

G: Because you weren't acknowledged as a race group that they were looking for and I think even now it's kind of very similar. You've just always been in the middle and you've kind of gone with the flow. In the apartheid era you weren't as totally disadvantaged as the African black people. You had a few more benefits than they did, but I don't think anything mind-boggling to which you'd say was a real plus, a real positive. But it kind of just got you through because it was the existence you were afforded and it was what you were used to so I don't think it was an advantage then. And now, now I feel neither here nor there. I find that lots of South Africans also don't know that the coloured group exists, specifically in Natal. Natal, you either white, Indian or black... African-black. Nobody knows that you are coloured. So you find that when people start asking race groups or they need the information for

whatever, they kind of don't always have coloured as a category. You find yourself saying yes, you are coloured and they can't understand what the difference is or where you come from. I don't think now it makes a difference what you are. I know that there are still companies who look at that and that might sway whether you do get a job or not, but I don't think it's an overly advantageous thing.

I: How do you think other race groups classify coloured people?

G: Well I think they looked at your appearance and if you looked... they just looked at stereotypes. You were either white, Indian or black, depending on your physical appearance.

I: So it's the colour of your skin ...?

G: The colour of your skin, the texture of your hair, generally and then they made a decision as to whether you were white or Indian or black.

I: Amongst coloured people themselves, does that discrimination exist?

G: I think to a certain extent, yes. I think coloured people do look at themselves differently and maybe also classify themselves as that, but I think it might also be because of the way people were classified before where you were classified on your physical appearance and you didn't have a piece of paper to say what you were born as. People looked at you to what race you were close enough to be classified as. I think that still in people where people still look at your physical appearance and features and classify you for themselves.

I: And your age group now the generation that you in, what do you think?

G: I think the age group that I'm in now I think that we've progressed. I don't think that we classify people according to how they look. I don't think we see people according to their race group. We see people generally as just people. I suppose that we are aware of differences because of physical appearance, but I don't think that it impacts on our lives as to how we interact with a person because of their race group. I think its been quite difficult for us, our age group because we kinda were half our lives we were in the one half and then half the other we're in the other, the old and the new. So it's kinda different or difficult, but I think most people that are my age have made a transition. I don't think they see race.

I: And what do you think contributes to that?

G: I think maybe going to universities and stuff and just interacting with other race groups. I think also we had stereotypes about the way people behaved from different race groups, their values, their morals, their ideals and stuff like that. And I think when you get to mix with lots of people at similar ages or as you are, or not even as you, but similar ages, you realise that it doesn't matter what colour they are, what culture or creed, they are... the values and morals are not so stereotyped as they were portrayed to be initially. So you kind of start seeing people for who they are, not really... I mean as people and not really judging them on or prejudging them



according to their background or whatever. I think it's just been exposure to different groups of people that has actually changed the way we think or thought before.

I: You were saying earlier that you led a very sheltered life that you spent most of your time in the same areas and then you went to study. Did that make any changes? You interacted with people from different groups?

G: Well when I first studied I studied at a college that was specifically for coloured people so it wasn't a major adjustment because I studied with people of the same race group and I went to teach children who were the same race group as I am. And I taught at what was a specifically coloured school. So I don't think that the exposure came about so much then as maybe later. Maybe through going to workshops, attending workshops with teachers of other race groups. And then I think my recent studying, I've interacted more with people of other race groups. I think by the time I had interacted on that level or by that stage I had already become aware of people of other race groups being the same as I am.

I: When you went to college you mixed with other coloured people from other areas. Did you find any differences culturally or class or was everybody the same? Could you distinguish what areas they came from?

G: I suppose you could.

I: What were the markers of distinction?

G: Ok maybe the gender issue for a start. The guys were quite different for a start. The guys were a lot more outgoing. They were still very much having fun. Whereas the girls were that I interacted with or were in my class, not just were generally more serious about what they were doing. I think the disadvantage for me was when I did go to college I was older than the other students. Not much in years, but I just thought that I was more mature than they were and I was married by then as well. So my focus on studying was different than a lot of them. I generally don't mix very well, so I ended up in mixing with people that I knew already. There might have been just one or two new friendships that I had formed initially. So I didn't interact with many different people. So even the social functions and stuff I didn't really attend them. But just on campus you could see people did behave differently. I don't know if you could ... I don't think you say just because where they came from. I would say they behaved very differently to the way people behaved from where I came from (laughs).

I: In what way did they behave differently?

G: I don't know. It was just a general thing. The people I knew from GreenwoodPark or the people from GreenwoodPark were a lot more quieter and reserved. I don't know if that was a misconception or it was because I didn't interact with many people then either. But it was just that even at school then, I don't know people from GreenwoodPark were just a little bit more reserved and that people who were from other coloured communities were slightly different. They led a more active social life and they were not as quiet and subdued as we were.

I: Putting it politely?

G: (*Laughs*) you know that they say that GreenwoodPark people were snobs, they were snobs and that they thought they were better than everybody else so ...

I: Why do you think people saw that? What do you think were the grounds for that? Was it justified in any way? And even if it wasn't justified, why do you think people interpreted it that way?

G: No, hey. I would have no grounds for saying that. They might have thought it was a class issue. I don't know. But people always just said that GreenwoodPark people thought they were better than everybody else. I don't know. I think also different age groups. I think maybe not hey I was going to say maybe more the older people lived more in GreenwoodPark and Sydenham and then the younger people moved out. Now, I mean later, Newland's East and Marian Ridge those were younger people that moved there. They were the younger couples. I don't know, hey, I really don't know why it was like that.

I: How did it make you feel to be called a snob?

G: Oh it suited me fine (*laughs*). It didn't bother me really. It was that was how I was and if the people who were not from here didn't identify me the way I was or didn't accept me like that, it was fine with me.

I: Was it fine then or is it fine now?

G: It was fine then and it's still fine now. It didn't really matter to me at that stage and now. And I think maybe because of that maybe I haven't really been very sociable when I go anywhere. I generally still try to keep to myself. It takes a whole lot for me to start a conversation with other people so I don't just stir up in a meeting. Maybe I'd see one or two people and start up a conversation, but generally I wouldn't go out of my way to be friendly with anybody. I'm still just snooty and stuck-up and snobbish.

I: On that point of being 'snobbish, snooty and stuck-up,' was it all coloured people in GreenwoodPark classified as that, irrespective of biological markers, physical appearance?

G: I think it was just a generalization. I don't think they considered anything else.

I: Did you experience any discrimination or witness any discrimination among coloured people that you came across in your years growing up?

G: Yes, I think I mean I can't give you, I don't think I can give you a specific. I did notice coloured people treating other coloured people differently maybe because of if they weren't of the same social standing as they were or they didn't ja according to living conditions or work or things like that. I think there was discrimination on those grounds and even in GreenwoodPark.

I: And you think it's more on a social status basis than on physical appearance?

G: Maybe a combination of the two. I think a combination.

I: There's quite a few people living in GreenwoodPark who have Zulu-African and white mixture in them. What was people's attitude towards them? How were they looked upon compared to mixtures where there's maybe more Indian influence?

G: I suppose it depended on which part of the physical features they ended up with. But if they were more Zulu-African kind of, I think people looked more down on them, as they weren't as the same as the other coloured people. They maybe looked at them as maybe more African, Zulu-speaking people- politically correct. Ja, I think they did treat them differently. I don't think they would have invited them into their homes and socialised with them because they were different. And I think that is a large part of why there is discrimination among coloured people because of the different mixes. So you could have ended up being either closer to the white looking, the Indian or the African and so people generally looked for familiarity so you kind of associated with those people because they looked like you.

I: Why do you think people who resembled more of their white or Indian ancestors were favoured over those resembling their African ancestry?

G: In the coloured community? (*Hmm*). I think that because at that stage people who looked like white people were favoured so could have been kind of reclassified as white and you would have been treated much better than if you were Indian, coloured or African. I think it was because of the time, the political time then so you then were in a more prestigious position if you were fair, white because you could be then reclassified.

I: You spoke a bit about political time, do you think that the political times and the experiences, with you having experienced apartheid at a mature age when apartheid was at its height and you've experienced the first ten years of democracy and Nelson Mandela's release, has that impacted on your identity as coloured? Changed the way you have looked at it previously to now?

G: Personally, no. For me being coloured was just a classification via political or institution. It wasn't something that determined who I was. So I think maybe my perceptions have changed being exposed to different things. But being classified as coloured, I don't think... it's neither here nor there. I don't think it's been different in the apartheid era and the years of democracy. I think you reach a stage where you see people for people, not for classification, race, gender, creed or whatever it is that would make a difference.

I: It doesn't make a difference now. Did it make a difference previously?

G: Personally, no. If we're looking at it generally then yes, it did. It did make a difference generally, but maybe because of the protected, sheltered life that I've lived. Even when I was older, more mature, even then I still went to coloured learning institutions and taught at coloured institutions. So it didn't really have an impact on me. Although when I was at college it was slightly different because that was like the real time of turmoil, lots of ANC people who were with me at college at the time. Then I was exposed to a lot of the right wing things then, which I hadn't been exposed

to before. For me that was quite an eye-opener because growing up in GreenwoodPark it was sheltered. Ja, so me, I don't think it impacted majorly on my identity.

I: If people asked you now, how do you identify yourself, what would you say?

G: I would generally just say South African, but most times when they ask you to identify yourself they asking more specifically than that. Even for forms, they say for demographics and that for statistical purposes they mention what population groups you belong to. I don't have any issue about saying that I'm coloured or being classified as coloured.

I: And previously?

G: No, I don't think so. It was just my classification that we put down on paper or wherever.

I: Current debate in South Africa regarding the identity of being coloured, there's a group who feel that they are very pro coloured, pro the coloured identity and they want to be identified as coloured, specifically as a separate group compared to others. And there're others who feel that they shouldn't be identified as coloureds, that the coloured identity should be under one broad identity of black. How do you feel about that?

G: I suppose in the political climate of today it would be an advantage to be classified as black. Broadly. Because of job opportunities, but other than that I don't think that it's an issue as to whether you are classified as black, coloured or .... I think only for political reasons or maybe that classified generally under the umbrella of black would be an advantage. But I don't think generally it would make a difference.

I: Do you think your identification of being coloured has been the same as how your mother thought of herself as being coloured? Do you think there's changes in that?

G: Er ..

I: I'm asking you specifically about your mother because we're looking at women. Ok?

G: I don't know. I mean it wasn't anything that we specifically discussed. Maybe in the times that she grew up it might have had a different impact on her being classified as coloured to what I did. I'm not sure.

I: Do you think there's a difference in genders in being classified as coloureds for males and females or identified rather than saying classified? Because classified sounds, I don't know if you get the same impression, sounds more like a government directive. But identifying from a personal, you doing it for yourself. Do you think it's different for men and women? Do you think they feel differently about the identification?

G: I don't know. I suppose if you looking at it from being classified to being identified then maybe there would be a slight difference. Because if you're being classified then you can't really change it. Identification would be, as you say, from yourself. Maybe it is different for male and female. I don't know how specifically.

I: When do you think people identify themselves in racial categories?

G: Now? (*hmm*). Maybe when they're specifically asked.

I: If I asked you to identify yourself, how would you identify yourself? Would you use a racial category?

G: Maybe I would because it's always been done. Because before when anybody asked you for identification or classification, you were like almost programmed to say, "I'm coloured," and so on. So maybe from habit you might find yourself doing that or you might start off saying, "I'm South African. I'm black, but if you're looking for at more specific than that, then I'm coloured." But sometimes it's more difficult than that because you have to explain what that means to other people. Because some people still don't know what you mean when you say 'you're coloured.'

I: So how would you explain it?

G: To say you're a mix (laughs) to say you're a combination of any two race groups.

I: Do you find the term coloured or mix derogatory in any way?

G: Not really.

I: How does it make you feel to have to explain further to somebody?

G: I think that they're stupid. I just think that, I mean it should be almost unheard of to be in South Africa and not know the race group coloured exists. I mean I've been in supermarkets many times where people have assumed that I'm Indian. Then they start saying things to you that are like generalizations or stereotypes about Indian people. Many I don't identify with, so you kind of like justifying to people. So when you say you're coloured they look at you like, "ok, what is that?" Ja, I just think that in South Africa specifically, people should be aware of coloureds. Eventually the whole of South Africa will be coloured (laughs).

I: That's because of?

G: That's because of intermarriage. And that's because people don't stick to marrying their own race group anymore. Because it's not a legal requirement any longer.

I: When people assume you're Indian, how does that make you feel?

G: Sometimes it really irks me. Because of the generalizations and stereotypes that people have.

I: What are those?

G: Many South African people have only focussed on the negatives aspects of race groups and people and so they would for example tell you that coloured males are alcoholics or Indians are conniving or white people are whatever, whatever. So you kinda don't, even within the coloured community, you don't want to fit into that stereotype, generalization and I think if anything that's the one thing that really gets to me. I don't know if it's like that all over, but generally in South Africa, people will generalize what each population or race group's like as far as values and morals and stuff like that. And that's not totally true. So I think why I find that I start justifying that I'm coloured is because both my parents are coloured, whereas I think if one parent was one race group and the other was another, then I think I might have grown up differently. Whereas because both parents were coloured, it wasn't an issue, it was just who I was. It wasn't like I had one of my parents being black or white or Indian or whatever. So that you were constantly worrying about the fact that you were... it was that close. I think I'll go back a little bit further to actually see the mix than my immediate parents. And so that would've also helped in the fact that I didn't have a problem in identifying myself as coloured because both my parents were the same.

I: So you feel from the impact on somebody whose maybe parents or grandparents?

G: Ja, maybe someone close to you. Ja, more parents. If your parents are different race groups then I think it does impact on the child because the child isn't quite sure what they are. And I mean, most times the child ends up carrying dominant characteristics of one of the parents and so you have a child who looks totally different to either the mother or the father. The child is a bit confused and I think the classification/identification does become an issue for the child and maybe even an extent to the parents.

I: You think your attitude about being coloured and your identification of being coloured are passed on by your parents?

G: I think maybe yes.

I: Is there anything specific that you can remember your mother saying to you that would be part of your identity?

G: I don't think so.

I: Is there anything that you've passed on to your children?

G: Well I think the Indian part has really come to the fore there. It's like the education, studying and the competition factors and I think that's according to South African stereotypes, that's an Indian thing, where that means a lot. Your education and stuff. Within the coloured community I don't know if that is as strongly verbalised as anything else so I don't know. I just think maybe that's something that I've passed onto them consciously or subconsciously. I don't know if there's anything else about being coloured that's ...

I: Do they identify themselves as coloured?

G: Yes, I think it's because both their parents are coloured. So that's kind of who you are.

I: Do you think their idea of coloured is the same as what you had at their age? Let's deal specifically with your daughter, seeing that's she's the other part of this research.

G: At her age now? (*Hmm*). I think it would be different. I think because she's had exposure to whole lot more than I did at her age. I think she would see coloured as being different to what I saw coloured. I don't think for her it would be an issue. She acknowledges that she is coloured. She identifies herself as coloured if she needed to, but it's not a label. So I don't think it would be a derogatory thing.

I: So was it a label for you? Did you ever at any stage of your life feel it was a label?

G: Because it was enforced, yes. It was like; it was labelling people according to specific criteria. It wasn't something out of choice.

### **Interview 2: PARTICIPANT 2/ GRANDDAUGHTER**

I: We spoke about your father who was married first to a white woman and you have a half-sister from that marriage. Tell me about your relationship with her and what did it mean for you?

G: I don't know, hey. I mean when I first found out about it, it was like I wasn't quite sure what the whole relationship was. There wasn't much interaction.

I: Why wasn't there much interaction?

G: I suppose because of the colour thing. I don't know, but Bev used to come visit occasionally, but I remember more Bev going to see my father's mother, my granny and Auntie Pam and that part of the family. Cause obviously Auntie Pam knew Mabel and they kind of still kept in touch. So I remember very often seeing Bev and Auntie Mabel at Auntie Pam. And it was never a funny relationship, I think mainly because of the age gap. Bev was like this much older person. She was the same age as my mother. It was never a threat or a competition. I remember often going with my father to Bev's work to just collect something from her, whatever. I don't remember her coming to our house very often. She might have done so, but I don't remember her coming very often. But we kind of kept in contact. She would phone home all the time and we used to get to talk to her. Shantal used to spend time with us often. That's Bev's daughter. Shantal used to spend lots of time with us. She was never like a niece it was just maybe almost like a cousin or something. That was kind of the relationship. Ja, we kept in contact. I remember talking to them lots on the phone and we used to see them, things like that. I think because I was young then, I don't totally remember the colour thing. I think I was quite a bit older when I did ask who Bev was or what the relationship was.

I: And how did they explain it to you?

G: I can't remember them explaining it, how they explained or when I even asked, but you know in those days lots of things like that were kept very quiet or if you were young you weren't told certain things. And if you found out it was like a big issue. I remember even asking when my cousin was getting married and if she was pregnant and I getting into such serious trouble because I was too small to be asking questions like that. It was like you didn't ask out of respect or for fear of getting into trouble. So you just either made your assumption or you just made like it didn't matter what you did or didn't know. So I can't remember, I can't tell you when I found out who Bev was or what the whole – I mean I knew Bev was my sister when I was younger I didn't quite know how. I can't remember being told.

I: Now your father was classified as white?

G: Mmm.

I: And did that have any implication?

G: Again I didn't always know that. I kind of found out very much by the way. So not knowing meaning that it didn't really have any impact on me as such. Ja, I didn't, I just didn't know.

I: How was your grandmother's attitude towards your mother? You mentioned in your last interview that she liked colour.

G: Yes. (laughs). I don't remember them exactly. I know I've heard after long, like now. When I was little I don't remember that too often. I do remember going to Auntie Pam's house, where my granny lived, without my mother. Maybe my father would take me. So I don't know. I don't remember her coming to our home very often. And I did hear afterwards like they would talk about how when they first got married, his mother would cook his food because she didn't think my mother was looking after him. Saying things based on that they obviously didn't get on too well, initially. But eventually they did get on quite okay because I think when she was sick, my mother used to go and help Auntie Pam to look after her. I think she accepted my mother afterwards.

I: Was it a colour issue?

G: I suppose we could assume, but I don't know. Maybe in light of how she was about colour, maybe it was. Maybe because Mabel was white and my father left a white person and then picked a coloured person.

I: What did your granny go as?

G: I don't know, hey. Probably went as white. I don't know. I think at that stage I don't even think I knew that people within the family were classified differently. I don't know. It was never an issue. It was never something I questioned. Maybe I thought based on what colour the person is, just made them think they were different, not necessarily classified as such.

I: And did that make a difference?



G: To me? No. No, I don't think so. Eventually she was fine with me as well, well eventually. I don't think it made a difference to me. I just knew the person for who they were and if they were family then, that's how they were.

I: And then when you got married, you kind of went into a similar situation. Your father-in-law, did he work as white or what? What was the story there?

G: Ay now you asking me. I didn't know. I think, yes, he was classified as white. She was classified as white as well.

I: And then their children?

G: I think the first three were classified as white. I know Neil was classified as white and did everything. He even went to the army and served in the army as well. So he was totally white. And his family were also classified as white. So he has always lived as white, has always been classified as white. He's never reclassified. I think Gilbert was originally classified as white and I think he was reclassified later. I'm not sure if it was when he was married or if he changed his ID. I don't know when, but I think he was initially classified as white. I think Graeme (her husband) was always classified as coloured. Even on his birth certificate, he was.

I: Now the difference among the brothers, I mean there's differences in looks and appearances, did that have any effect on the family?

G: We couldn't visit Neil and them, including Neil's mother. It was an issue because the wife didn't want anyone who darker than she was to visit in case anybody noticed that they had non-white family. Well they lived in Swaziland initially, so it was fine then because they were far out. At one stage they lived in Illovo which was more accessible for people to visit, but I ... I know that it was very strange because when Stacey was about a year or even under a year. So she was less than a year, we actually went to live with them for about a week during the holiday and it was fine. Nobody said we had to hide or anything like that. But like a couple of years later, the issue came up about ... somewhere along the line that we were not quite welcome there, but they wanted to limit visiting, almost. And so for a while we just didn't go there.

I: Was it all of you?

G: Yes, I think only Graeme's father would have been allowed. He could go because he just looked so white, you know, out of the whole lot of them. His mother wasn't allowed to go. They used to go occasionally. And then it just passed. And then eventually anybody could go anytime.

I: And when did that happen? Did it have anything to do with the changing laws in the country?

G: No, it didn't, actually. It was like maybe a few years after that. It was like ... I think the whole thing from 'yes, you can and no, you can't' was maybe five or six years in total. It was like back in the eighties. It wasn't like the laws or anything had been implemented. But everybody else, so it was fine.

I: When they were limiting visitors, what was it like? How did they get on with you and your family on a one-to-one?

G: Well we didn't see them very often then. The only time we saw them was when they visited Graeme;s parents.

I: So they would come?

G: Ja, they would come. I think quite often as well. And it was fine. It wasn't like a strange relationship or anything like that. Initially when I first got involved with Graeme and I went to his mother and them's place, I wasn't quite sure what the set-up was.

I: The set-up?

G: As being whether they were white or coloured or black or whatever. I didn't quite know if I should be seen in the yard during the day or anything like that in case. Nobody said anything.

I: What do you think brought about those feelings?

G: Because I knew that they were classified as white. I knew that the hospital, they went to the white part of the hospital, things like that. So I knew they were classified as that. But I will say in all the time I've known them, neither of them have ever said anything about colour or where I could go or where I couldn't go. They've never made me feel that that was an issue with them. His uncle, on the other hand, was super white. They lived in Richard's Bay. When Graeme was still small they used to go up there for holidays, but I think it also reached a stage where they didn't go. Either because he was older and he realised that they were different or I don't think anybody said he couldn't go. But they come and visit us. We've never been to them. I don't remember them inviting us to come and stay there or visit or anything. But they come here often or he'd phone and he'd talk to me forever on the phone and he's never nasty to me. It's just that I suppose that its out of choice that's the life they've chosen and they have a fear of everybody knowing what they're really are. Their whole family are like that. We don't really see the children. I mean they've all married white. The one son married a French girl.

I: For the marriages did you all not go up?

G: No, we weren't invited. I think when *John* got married, I'm not sure when he got married, but *Joe* is married twice. We've never been included in the wedding invitations. I think my in-laws have been included. Yes, cause recently when *James* got married, they were invited, but they didn't go. But we don't interact with them at all, except when their parents come occasionally and they phone. Ja, that's it, really really separate.

I: And Neil's children?

G: Neil's children ... are white, that's what they were. But they were never strange with us. They would come to us and we'd go there. We got on ok.

I: So within the immediate family it was ok, but once it extended to Graeme's uncle's family, you notice it more?

G: Ja, I think. With them it's still like that. Nothing's changed. We still don't go there, except Colette (her sister). Colette went to visit and Colette was invited to stay by them so I'm not quite sure what that means (laughs). But the thing is they don't talk about it. Almost like you can't go. Maybe you could go and you just don't go cause maybe you haven't been given a formal invitation or you don't know if it's ok to go or not. But my in-laws go there occasionally to go stay over by them and that's fine. Graeme is very anti-white people so he wouldn't go even if they invited him.

I: Why is he anti-white?

G: Just thinks that they need to acknowledge what they are. So for him they're finished . he doesn't interact. He won't go at all.

I: We spoke about stereotypes the last time and I want to ask you about that when you asked is your cousin getting married because she's pregnant. That's been a kind of stereotype among coloured people. There's different stereotypes. I remember in the one Lewende Taal book, they had 'sos dronk soos 'n kleurling onderwyser.' Tell me about what people think of coloured stereotypes.

G: Ok "coloureds are alcoholics," "they are specific to specific jobs," "coloureds are not supposed to be doctors or lawyers or teachers or anything, maybe teachers, ja. But not doctors and accountants and lawyers and stuff, that's not them. They are more artisans and that." Lots of people don't know too much about coloureds so that's why there is so much about a stereotype.

I: And in the community that you've lived and grown up in, among coloured people themselves, do they hold any stereotypes? Do they acknowledge some of these stereotypes?

G: Some of them are true (laughs).

I: Let's talk about that.

G: I mean like the coloured people who really do drink excessively. I mean I worked in a bottle store when I was still at school as a part-time job and the number of coloured men who came on a Friday evening straight from work buying their alcohol, was like the majority. I'm not saying that they're all alcoholics, but it was a known thing that you'd get paid and the first stop off would be either the bar or the bottle store and drink the night away kind of thing. And I think even now, now I suppose its also lots of drug abuse that has become rife in the coloured community. So maybe, yes, I suppose alcohol and drugs is part of what coloured people are, are still known as enjoying.

I: And how does that make you feel as a coloured person to have these kind of stereotypes when you're not really part of them? ... how do you manage to separate yourself from them?

G: I just don't mix with everybody (laughs). I'm just very snooty so I don't mix with everybody. I am a very private person generally. I generally don't mix with everybody. Even if there are church functions, I don't attend church functions or either social functions. Whatever they are, I just don't attend social functions. So I don't have too much interaction with the coloured people in the community, generally.

I: People who are falling into that stereotype...?

G: Not necessarily falling into any stereotype, it's just that I'm not a social person, generally. So because of where I teach, there's a few coloured teachers there and I don't interact with them outside of the school either. And we don't teach coloured children anymore. Our learners are all Zulu-speaking so it's not even that I interact with coloured parents often, the ones that I teach. So that's not true either. I have very limited contact with coloured people in the community. Part of it out of choice and part of it from circumstances. So it's actually quite easy for me to say that, "I'm different" because I'm never seen with anybody.

I: Let's move away from you there. Let's say Colette, your sister, for example?

G: She has a very wide circle of friends and also across all racial lines. She's got a mixture of friends from all previously-defined race groups. She also doesn't have too many friends within the coloured community. She's got lots friends who were at school with her and she still mixes with them. She still interacts with them.

I: So what you are saying, you can correct me if I'm wrong, it's a kind of choice that you make in terms of the people with whom you are going to socialise?

G: Oh yes, that's true (laughs). That is true. If I do socialise with anybody, it's generally family.

I: And people you would consider on the same social level as you?

G: Well, it would be family.

I: So within the coloured community there's a kind of class thing that's operating?

G: She likes this one, hey. I suppose yes, there is.

I: And how would you describe it ?

G: I think there's still the talk about different area groups, living areas, specific areas where people lived and I think even within each area and I suppose there are different levels. And maybe it is because of job positions that are held and so you might interact with people on different levels, social levels, financial levels or whatever, maybe at church, generally. But then that's on a different level. Socialising ...? I think people will socialise with people of a similar ... standard of living as them, not necessarily financial, but moral maybe.

I: What do you mean?

G: Like if I do drugs then obviously I might socialise with people who are doing the same thing. Because if I'm not doing drugs and not drinking and I'm with a whole lot of people who are, then I'm kinda not going to enjoy socialising too much. So I think a lot of behaviour dictates who you socialise with.

I: The other thing that I wanted to speak about is the difference in physical features among coloured people. How did that affect you? Did it affect you in any way and what was the general feeling of that.

G: I wouldn't say it affected me. I noticed and acknowledged differences in appearance as far as colour, hair texture -

I: Be specific

G: ... which was either straight hair or not straight hair.

I: Are those the terms that are used?

G: (*Laughs*) I don't know what terms they are. I mean the pencil test was way before our time. I only read about pencil tests in books and stuff. I don't remember the pencil test. We were not classified according to the pencil test. Our fore... maybe generations before us, maybe. So yes, you were aware of it. You noticed it. You acknowledged it. People were different in appearance, but generally it was like – because at that stage it was only coloured people went to the schools that I went to so you knew that all these people were coloured, but they all looked different.

I: Did it make a difference in the way people interacted with each other?

G: I don't think so. I don't think at school level. I think at school level you kind of just interacted with everybody and you didn't and it wasn't a determining factor who you interacted with.

I: And how people interacted with each other?

G: Ja, I don't think the appearance thing was an issue.

I: Anybody ridiculed, separated?

G: I think yes, I suppose people did. They'd maybe laugh at a person's nose. I think they did. I think when it became more noticeable was when you're getting into a relationship. And then you might find parents or family talking about 'you need to find somebody that's got this type of straight hair or whatever, then you won't be making plaits.'

I: So there was talk about it?

G: Yes, there was talk within the family.

I: Not at a level where you just friendly but once you started dating?

G: I think so. Once you started, when you reached an age where you might be getting into relationships, then you know then it was maybe mentioned a bit more. You introduce somebody then it was looking at it. I remember somebody once saying, "It's not that we racist or prejudiced against people like that. It's just that you know if your sister marries someone with straight hair and those children have nice hair and your children don't then your children will feel awkward." (laughs). I always remember that because I thought it was so well said. You know it was that whole justification and I suppose in the narrow-mindedness of the way they thought, that was probably what they were thinking. You know, "we not racist and we not prejudiced because people look different to us. It's just because of the children. They're going to be different."

I: What was their concern that the children would be different?

G: I expect that the one child might be dark with funny – bad (laughs) hair. The other might be fair with blue eyes and straight hair and pretty or something like that and the children would look at each other and wonder if they could be related. And I suppose it wouldn't be so much about the children. It would be about parents or grandparents who might wonder, "now how am I going to say that both these children belong to me." (laughs). I think the older people were a lot more aware of that and so they, even though they might have come from a past where their features or their appearance was not that grand, they wanted their future generations to be these beautiful coloured people.

I: There was almost a kind of selective ...

G: Yes, you had to find somebody who matched with you and hopefully that the genes from both of you, the right genes would reach and form the children (laughing).

I: Is there anything that you can remember when people spoke about genes that 'weren't right'? Was there any kind of prejudice to any kind of ancestral heritage?

(silence).

I: There's talk like I remember people saying that they don't hang up the photographs of their black ancestors ...

G: Oh right. Oh I think because of wanting to only acknowledge the English heritage, people did only talk about that. And they didn't talk about the local ancestry.

I: The African?

G: The African. It wasn't always African only. It might have been Indian and English or something.

I: Even being Indian wasn't ...

G: I don't think so. It was only the white part or the English part that was always spoken about because that was like the – hopefully the dominant one.

I: And why do you think that was?

G: Because of the apartheid era and that was if you wanted to look as close to white as possible because – there was still – people were still being classified as white, even though they were not white., because of appearance, colour and hair and stuff like that. So that I think lots of people believed that their children would have a better life if they could be classified as white.

I: Do you remember when you went to get your ID done?

G: No.

I: When you were about 14 you had to have your ID done. Do you remember the experience, at all?

G: Where did we do that? (laughs) Malcolm's ID was posted as his mother opened it then she said, "Aw, you classified as coloured!" I was like confused because I couldn't believe that he could be classified as anything else.

I: Why?

G: Because he just looked like a coloured. He was fair and that was it. So that was strange. But I think what always fascinated me was Graeme was never classified as white. And I mean he had straight hair. His hair was very light when he was small. Ok he's got brown eyes and he's relatively fair. And I think out of his entire family, he's the most white-looking one out of all the boys. I think he was the only one who wasn't classified as white. I'm sure his birth certificate says coloured. It does. He's original birth certificate is coloured. I couldn't understand how come. Ok he went to coloured schools. Gilbert also went to coloured schools so I don't know when he changed over. But ja, it was quite strange.

I: Going back to stereotypes, do you remember any specific teasing that would go on in the coloured community? What would be the things that they would say to a person/ is there any?

G: I think it was the nose maybe. If you had a flat nose.

I: What would they say?

G: Say that you obviously had African heritage. I think the hair also.

I: And within your family, is there anything when your children were born?

G: Ja, they looked at colour, hey. I dunno.

I: You know what I'm thinking, if your child's nose was flat...

G: Oh then you have to put a peg on it (laughs). Ja, peg on the nose. You have to play with their nose all the time because the bones are soft to get it nice. There's all these things now, that everybody's hair is straight.

I: So that's lost its whole issue, straight or curly hair has now lost its importance?

G: Everybody has straight hair

I: And now your kids have all gone to mixed schools, ex-model C white schools. What made you send your children to these school?

G: Putting Stacey in there was kind of two-fold. It had opened up that year. She was going to go to grade 4. For me it was, I was pregnant at the time, so I just thought that if she went to a different school, a new environment, it might make her less intimidated because of the new baby. That was quite a large part of why I moved her. That was the one reason. And I had never thought about doing it, but at the end of that year the parents of a child that I was teaching currently said to me that their child was going to one of the Durban North schools and why don't I just do enquiries. I did. It wasn't like a long thought-out decision.. it was "ok let's see how it goes." And I did I went. I had an interview.

I: They invited you for an interview?

G: Well it wasn't it was just er... they weren't doing interviews then. It was just a case of ... So I think I phoned the school and they said, "ok, come in with the child and the report." And that was it. And I went and had the child, Stacey and the report and I mean they accepted her straight away. They were fine.

I: There were no issues?

G: There was no issues, no interview.

I: Any screening?

G: No there was no screening at that stage. In her first year there were very few coloured children. There were mostly white children at the school. Because it was new. It had just opened so I don't think too many people knew. And I think they were kind of - I don't think they were screening really. I think they needed just to have a few children of colour, maybe.

I: Why do you think that? What year of was that?

G: 91, I think.

I: So you mean in the nineties?

G: Yes, Stacey went in 91.

I: So it was actually in the time just before the CODESA talks?



G: Mandela was released in 90.

I: So do you think they were looking to ...?

G: I don't know, hey. If I think of now, maybe. I think the interviews and stuff are – I think there's a lot more screening now. Maybe cause they more accessible to lots more people so maybe they need to screen cause they have too many numbers, I don't know.

I: What do you think they're screening for?

G: Level of academics; finance, whether you'd be able to pay the fees or not; ... ja, I think that's what they're looking for. With Stacey, there was no screening. She didn't have an interview. They looked at her report and spoke to us for a while and ...

I: And how were the teachers in your contact with them, when you had to meet them for parent evenings and other occasions?

G: Oh, they were very good. All Stacey's teachers whom I met at the primary school were fine. None of them showed anything or spoke about colour or anything like that. All her teachers were fine. Maybe because she wasn't a bad child. She worked well. She was a good child. So there was never any problems. So I think maybe based on that, I never had a problem. They were always very helpful and accommodating and that. Stacey only had one friend when she was there. Cause I think the first year she went there, there were just two coloured children, her and her cousin, Lee. I don't think there were any other coloured children there. In fact, she only had white friends when she was at primary school.

I: Did they visit her?

G: No ...

I: Was she invited to the parties?

G: Yes, she went to every available party. She slept out at somebody's house. When she had a party once. We had it at Wimpy or something.

I: You didn't have it at home?

G: Didn't have it at home.

I: Did that choice have anything to do with the colour?

G: No, it was a Friday afternoon. So the children just literally came from school. Cause it was close to school, the proximity. So there was never a colour thing, I don't think. She didn't say anything. She seemed to be fine. She was fine there.

I: What do you think are the differences in the way she relates to people of other 'colours' in comparison to you? Do you think there's any differences, any progress from how you were at her age to how she is?

G: Very different because I didn't interact with too many people. Even now I don't interact with many people of different colour.

I: Why is that?

G: I'm just not sociable. So I go to parent meetings and I, if Graeme and I don't go together, then I'll stand there and maybe someone will come and talk to me and ... I wouldn't get out of my way to make friends, to talk to anybody. I just always do that. And yes, she's a lot different. Different because of his/her interaction.

I: How is she different?

G: I suppose she's more at ease with everybody, irrespective of background, place, colour or creed, whatever.

I: Do you think people your age, our age, and maybe those who experienced apartheid, do you think you still have some reservations with others, saying the things that worry you, that you still take into situations even now ?

G: Maybe subconsciously, yes. I think so. I think. Ok maybe when we matriculated, we did have more options open to us we could go to varsity and stuff like that.

I: But you couldn't just go to any university, you needed to apply and there was the quota system and things like that?

G: Ja. There was the quota system.

I: Well quota system and ministerial permission and then the quota system. Then your marks.

G: Then your marks. You had to have exceptional marks. I think yes, that the restriction, almost, on what you could study and where you could study, that was an issue, is still an issue. And I think I always see the fact that I'm now forty and I'm still studying when I could have studied when I was twenty-something. I think that does have an enormous effect. I still get cheesed off about it. But I think I've moved on in that ... we can't always blame the situation and circumstances so we need to just forget about it and do something about it if we really want to. We can't sit back our whole life and say, "this is what happened when I matriculated and I wasn't afforded this opportunity." So I suppose now the opportunity has presented itself, that's why we're studying at forty. Out of choice, whereas initially it was out of circumstance. So ...er....

I: Let's go back on this whole thing of choosing. What was available as a coloured woman, when you wanted to study further? What opportunities were there?

G: Ay, very little, hey. I think. Er... I know when I got my certificate it said that I could go to teacher training college.

I: Didn't say 'university entrance'?

G: But it said that I ....

I: 'Tertiary institution entrance', that's what it said.

G: Ja, but I'm sure it said something on my results, ja on my results because I don't remember having applied. But I'm sure it said something about ...

I: We all applied.

G: What to teacher's training?

I: To university?

G: Did we?

I: Yes. You remember you Kathy and I went for that assessment, those things that we did when we didn't know what the hell was going on?

G: Ja. But yes, it was limited. It kind of like – when I was in matric I didn't really know what I wanted to do. I didn't really know what I wanted to study. Financially I couldn't really afford to study anyhow so it wasn't even an option of going to university.

I: What were the options available?

G: Teacher training college or otherwise you did a B.A.

I: Other careers?

G: A few at medical school, maybe five, if that, ... I don't even think five at that stage. You had to have like triple As in everything in school, if you were not black, African black. I think there were a few lawyers, a few that did law, ... but ....

I: And as a woman, what were the career opportunities available?

G: I think it was teaching more than anything else.

I: And your parents, your family, when you were growing up, did they talk about any career choices available to you?

G: No, but I always wanted to be a doctor. I never knew if I would have been able to, if I would be accepted or not, was allowed to study or whatever. I didn't know at that stage. It was what I always wanted to do.

I: There was no influence for you to not worry about studying, just get married and become a housewife?

G: No, I don't remember. No, I think my parents wanted me to study.

I: And why do you think they would have wanted you to study?

G: Maybe because we were the next generation and they thought we needed to be more progressive. Given the opportunity that my mother wasn't afforded.

### **Interview 3/PARTICIPANT 3/GRANDDAUGHTER**

I: We spoke a lot about the last time about coloured people who played white and we spoke about the people of GreenwoodPark and I wanted to look at particularly, at gender issues. Do you think that there's a difference in the way men and woman look at being coloured?

G: Its difficult for me to answer that because I would see it from a female perspective. I think maybe men are less sensitive to being coloured than women.

I: In what way?

G: In that's not an issue.

I: And its an issue for women?

G: I wouldn't say that its an issue for women but maybe that more emphasis is placed on it being a women or a coloured female to a coloured male. I'm not sure I'm kind of speculating.

I: In terms of job opportunities for women and for men of your generation, was it the same, for coloured men and coloured women?

G: Well they went into totally different jobs because of availability and that was the availability at that time.

I: You mentioned in previous interviews that men went into artisan trades, and women, what were they doing?

G: I think teaching, limited choices at varsity level.

I: Do you think that those choices had anything to do with families?

G: I think there is family input. I think the generation before us there was lots of prestige in being a teacher. It was just about accessibility. Whereas with our generation it was more about accessibility than prestige, that was what was available because of the college of education and that was what you went into. I think if you were a teacher or a lawyer in the generation before us, it was kind of prestigious because you were stepping up from an artisan. So maybe there was a bit of family influence. I think family, where the parents were not artisans, where they maybe studied at university or college, their children were encouraged to do likewise. Or if somebody in that family had studied, maybe a sibling of the parents then they would encourage their children to follow a similar thing. So yes, I think there was a family influence somewhere along the line, the encouragement, you know where your

parents wanted you to be more than an artisan. I don't think artisans were looked at in a poor light or a derogatory light, it was just if you were not an artisan then you would have been different.

I: Different in what way?

G: In that your parents might have had a sense of achievement in what you were going to become. Maybe they felt that they were or like people would look at them as having achieved or that they would have a better status because their children were graduates or professional people or something.

I: What do you think you have been influenced by your family, from your mother, your Grandmother or your extended family?

G: I suppose education.

I: Education, in just being this woman of colour?

G: I think as far as education it was always very competitive, the need to achieve, the need to reach your potential. I don't think it was only, well I didn't see it as only the need to achieve because I was a woman of colour, I think it was just a general thing in the family, where you were kind of expected, or encouraged to achieve great heights academically. When we went to school there was still very much competition, so that helped, it pushed you a little bit further as well. It was two-fold: it was your family pushing or encouraging and at school as well, there was this constant competition where you were pushed to do well, if you were academically orientated.

I: Would you say that you have any values or morals or characteristics that were passed onto you by your Grandmother or your mother?

G: Ja, I would say generally the value system and morals were family inheritance, kind of just passed down through generation through generation.

I: Maybe I should ask you this rather, what is it that you think you've got from your mother or Grandmother? The reason I've mentioned your Grandmother is because she lived with you for a long time in your life and I'm assuming that there's some kind of influence that she might have had. What is it that she might have influenced?

G: It is very difficult to pinpoint to say what you might have got, it's kind of almost on a daily basis I'm kind of reminded of things from Gran or my mother or an aunt. I mean with Gran I always remember the fact that she is, it was always and still is always reading. And she would read to me and I remember learning to read at an early age and I still read now. And I think a lot of that is from Gran's influence. I kind of see Gran as having a wealth of knowledge. we would sit and watch shows on TV and she would be able to answer almost everything. And I think for me, it's kind of the case of having her being so well-read and that's why she has such a great wealth of knowledge and otherwise, and family history and things like that.

I: You saying general knowledge and family history, she had a wealth of that. So you would say the desire for reading, having a good general knowledge came from your Grandmother and your mother.

G: I would say largely my Grandmother. She would, my mother would read occasionally as well, but I always remember Gran as always reading.

I: The way your mother interacted or related to your father, would you say that it was passed onto you as how to relate to your husband?

G: I don't know, maybe subconsciously, but I don't think so.

I: Do you think that you relate to your husband the way your mother related to your father?

G: No, I think its just very different.

I: In what way?

G: Maybe because of the generation, maybe because my father was a lot older than my mother and maybe, I don't know. It's just very different and I think because I didn't really take note of what they were doing as a learning thing. I don't think so. No, no I don't think I relate similarly to my husband.

I: How do you relate to your husband? Your mother didn't work?

G: Yes. I think now that we're very independent in all aspects of my life and so I think it puts a different perspective on your relationship with your spouse. Whereas with mother, she didn't work and she was totally dependent on my father and this really evident when he died she couldn't do a thing. She was very spoilt, I think. Spoilt is the word to use, and dependent, in that my father did everything and that my father was there to do everything. I think that I'm very different in that I can do most things on my own, for myself. And I think it was because we were forced to, we were kind of encouraged or forced to do things because we drive around. It was something she didn't do, so that lessens the dependence because you have access to the car and you can drive yourself around. And then because I work, so I'm also independent in that aspect, not only financially, but also socially, emotionally, etc. so I think you grow more as a person, or I've grown more as a person than my mother because she didn't interact with so many people on a different level.

I: Different level?

G: When I say a different level I mean like at the workplace, that kind of thing, whereas when you interact with people at the workplace, they all come from different backgrounds so you're opened up to a lot more. She was quite sheltered so I was brought up like that?

I: You mentioned your sheltered upbringing and I was wondering did your parents socialise?

G: Yes, they did I mean I remember us going to lots of family parties, get-togethers and I mean they socialised a lot more than I do now.

I: And from what you're saying, they socialised a lot within the family?

G: I don't think it was only family, but it was lots of family. And they went to lots of dances, so they did socialise with lots of people.

I: From our interviews is there anything that you've thought about that you want to add to this discussion?

G: It has been very interesting for me. It's forced me to think about what has happened while I was growing up. I generally don't remember much. I don't know if I've blocked out a lot because of the problems in my childhood or because I just. I'm actually not quite sure. That actually still bugs me a little because I enjoy having these conversations with Bron (*interviewer*) because Bron remembers what we did when we were children and most of them I don't remember and I really think that something has obviously happened somewhere along the line that has either caused me not to remember or caused me maybe blocked them out. Because a lot has emerged from my childhood that I really don't remember. And it's not only childhood, even in my early growing years, maybe early teenage years as well, that I still don't remember and I think that maybe I block them out for specific reason. I mean I wouldn't say that they were not important. I think I've actually remembered a lot more now, I've remembered or recalled a lot more now. Ja I've actually been forced, I've been allowed to recall a lot of stuff, which has been good for me and maybe made me aware of things that did happen, that I might not have wanted to have remembered, so I've recalled them and they have been good for me. I haven't dwelt too much on them but maybe just speaking about them has been a good experience for me.

I: And have thought about being a coloured woman any differently? Would you want to be identified as that?

G: I don't think it really matters. Every now and again we have to fill in stats where it's asked what race you are. I don't think it's an issue and it's because of where I work. At work I work still in a predominantly in a coloured government school, although we don't have coloured children, but there's still quite a few coloured members of staff. You can say the school is still within a coloured environment almost. So my interactions are still predominantly with coloured people.

I: Do you think that you've passed on any of your identity of being coloured onto your daughter?

G: I don't think so. I don't know. I think she's just the next generation and she's been to an ex-model C school from such a young age and I don't think it's been an issue. Although I suppose when you talk relationships, then maybe she is pressured to find a boyfriend who is coloured.

I: Do you think that comes from you?

G: More her father I think. I don't know. I don't think I've ever pressured her into looking specifically for a coloured boyfriend. I think maybe family, extended family, pressure for her to find a coloured boyfriend.

I: Boyfriend or husband?

G: Er I suppose looking at long-term relationships, looking at husband. So generally I'd encourage her to find a boyfriend because usually you don't know where these relationships are going to go to. So it's better to be safe. Other than that I don't know, hey. The one thing I do remember about her is that when she went to high school she associated mostly with only coloured girls. None of them were at her primary school. Whereas primary school she interacted with different race groups. But once she got to high school all the girls that she interacted with were of coloured origin

#### **APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT 4/GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER**

##### **Interview 1**

I: Ok, tell me about you growing up and going to school?

Great-Granddaughter (GG): I started in grade one in Briardene Primary School. From std. 2 I moved to Northlands' primary. And from high school, I was at Northlands' Girls High.

I: Gosh that's your whole school career in a sentence. You went to Briardene first. Briardene is predominantly a coloured school?

GG: And black.

I: There were black students there.

GG: Ja

I: What was it like to mix with different race groups?

GG: (Confused look)

I: Was there a distinction between them?

GG: I don't think so. I think everyone was mixing quite fine. It was kind of the end of the apartheid era.

I: That was what year?

GG: It was before Nelson Mandela came into power. It was ninety er...

I: Was it early nineties ... 89 ...90?

GG: Ja



I: And then you went to Northlands'?

GG: Primary?

I: Ja, primary. And there, what were the race groups?

GG: It was mainly white, but from that year 91, there were quite a few black and coloured people coming into the school.

I: And what was it like to mix with these people in the school?

GG: I think there was still a bit of racism. The teachers were all still white, so I think there was. But on the whole it wasn't too bad. I had mainly white friends. I don't remember mixing with coloureds at all.

I: Why do you think that was?

GG: I don't know maybe the race issue. Maybe other coloureds didn't feel comfortable mixing with whites.

I: For you it wasn't?

GG: It wasn't really an issue.

I: If I ask you ... Did people ask you what you were ... to identify yourself in a particular way?

GG: As coloured?

I: Ja.

GG: I think most people knew I wasn't white. But whether I was Indian or whatever, they weren't too sure about that. But they used to ask, "How are you coloured? What makes you coloured? And like what are your grandparents and parents?"

I: So what would you say to that, "What makes you coloured?"

GG: I'm mixed, I've got er.. then I'd say like what my grandfather ... grandparents were and go back and tell them.

I: Which was?

GG: Everything!

I: Tell me because I don't know.

GG: Well my grandfather, my father's father, they are German mixed with coloured stroke black. My granny's family were Scottish and Irish. And then my mother's father was St Helena. And my granny was Indian, Welsh and kind of mix. So it was a bit of every kind of blood.

I: So how did it make you feel having to explain all that?

GG: I think it wasn't so bad because people didn't know what I was. So it was fine explaining that I am coloured because coloured is a variety of anything mixed together. Ja, these people knew I was coloured and not black or anything else.

I: And you prefer to be identified as coloured?

GG: Well, I think yes because that's what I am (laughs).

I: When people ask you now, who are you, who is Stacey, what do you say?

GG: Race wise?

I: Any way. How do you just identify yourself now?

GG: I have to say that I'm probably more westernised, that's how I got ... we don't really have a culture. So ... I'm mixed with everything and ...

I: Do you include coloured in your identity?

GG: I don't actually tell people what I am. People kind of leave it to their imagination or whatever. Most people think that I'm Indian or I don't say. Whatever you say or conclusion you draw, that's fine.

I: So the identity of coloured...

GG: It doesn't matter what people think I am. It's not an issue, an issue.

I: Was it ever an issue at any stage?

GG: I think it was the fact that I wasn't white was more an issue, being non-white.

I: And why?

GG: Probably with the whole apartheid era and that most of the schools I went to were white. So I was always the new one coming in and finding and then I had to find friends who were white.

I: And was it an easy adjustment or was it difficult?

GG: At first, in the beginning it wasn't so easy, but erm ja once you got into it. I think the children at that stage weren't too bad. It was more the parents and grandparents who lived in the era and were more affected by it... held grudges towards other races.

I: You were saying that the identity of coloured doesn't come into it. When do you think that people identify themselves in racial categories?

GG: Like?

I: When do you think people need to identify themselves in a racial category as coloured?

GG: I don't think you need to. I think we're supposedly gone beyond the stage of needing to classify what race you are. Although sometimes for applications, even for articles, they actually say specify what race group you are as opposed to just being normal South African.

I: Was there any difference in high school in your relations with other race groups?

GG: High School, there was a lot more coloureds. I don't ... probably just in std. 6 I used to mix a lot with whites. From std. 7 I still had a lot of white friends, but the coloureds kind of ... all stuck together. There was quite a lot of coloureds at that stage.

I: And why do you think they stuck together?

GG: I don't know maybe because of familiar background and similar interests.

I: And when you went to university?

GG: I think at that stage I mixed with every race possible there. That was never even a race issue.

I: Are there differences among coloured people and does your generation of women feel there are differences and are they important?

GG: I think there are differences depending on ... how you are coloured. If there are probably a strong black or Indian, there will still be that culture coming through. In our generation, I don't think we follow any culture being coloured. I think it's because we're westernised, we follow that whole pattern.

I: When you mixed with people, in your studies and when you've worked, in times like that, other race groups, you say, are not sure what race group you belong to. Does that happen when you look at other people? Are you ever not sure if a person is coloured or not?

GG: I think it happens. We can't tell most of the time, but being coloured we probably can tell a lot better whose coloured and who isn't. but there are a lot of times when we class people wrongly or er..

I: At the moment there's a debate about the coloured identity. There's one group that are very pro a coloured identity, having a coloured identity and being proud of this identity and creating a specific racial category as the other three categories exist. And there's another group who are saying that we should, coloured people should be under the overall identity of black. What do you think of that?

GG: I think that we should have our own identity. Coloured is just as important as white or Indian or black because we're not white or black or Indian. So we need to be classed differently to them. I don't think ... although I don't think we should bother to

class people. As what they are, doesn't affect the way we treat them, doesn't make them any different from us.

I: Is there any incident that you can remember from your school days when interacting with like in your school days, you were one of the few coloureds entering a white school, of things that people said that you remember ... stereotypical ...?

GG: I don't really remember myself, but I know the coloureds who were affected when the white teachers were, even in high school, they were very racist toward them and they used to call them funny names and ...even blacks.

I: Like?

GG: Like er ...we don't like to say mixed-breed and they used to call them things like that and they used to be really horrible. A lot of my friends even used to get chased out of class, which I think was a race issue. A lot of the blacks were as well.

I: So they were referred to as 'mixed-breeds'?

GG: And bushmen.

I: And bushmen. And those terms are regarded as derogatory.

GG: I would say so.

I: What do you feel about that?

GG: The fact that it's derogatory? I don't know I just don't think name-calling is nice. We don't say funny names to whites or Indians or Blacks for that matter. So I think bushmen is kind of er people think of cavemen and ...

I: Does it mean backward?

GG: Could be like a Stone Age kind of identity.

I: Do you think being coloured is different for a man than for a woman?

GG: I think for a woman it is more difficult. For a man it is kind of just easier to just slot in everywhere. Men kind of don't, whereas women have more emotional issues with their past and issues about that. Whereas men I don't really think they're very intense about where they actually come from, whereas females are. And I think a lot of the past traits of females are carried down to our generation.

I: Like what?

GG: A lot of characteristics from grannies and great-grannies. Probably just the way we are. If we go somewhere and if there's whites, first observe how they are with us because of those days and ...

I: You mean your behaviour would be determined by the way the white person would react to you.

GG: Probably. I don't think I would just go up to a white person and say "Hi" or first wait to see what ... how they respond.

I: Do you think your generation reveres white people in any way? Looks up to them, uses them as role models?

GG: I think some of them do.

I: And you, how do you feel?

GG: I don't. I think everyone's the same. I don't I think it's more from parents saying things about the white people.

I: Like what?

GG: We being superior over the black people and children probably picking up from that and just living that through, but I don't feel like that. I don't remember my parents ever saying who doesn't. It just never bothered them.

I: Grandparents?

GG: Yes, grandparents also kept up with the whole 'white being better than black' still is probably.

I: Do you think that your attitude is different to theirs?

GG: I think so. I think that we are... because I was exposed to multiracial at school and it was probably easier to mix with races, and that is why blacks don't mean as much as they used to in those days, where they actually used to be slaves or they really didn't like them. Whereas now, I mean best friends are blacks and it's fine.

I: And how do you bridge that between yourself and your grandparents, who might have a negative attitude towards a black person and a more positive attitude towards a white person?

GG: I think we fight about it quite a lot, but it doesn't really er ... just kind of keep quiet and listen to what they say and take nothing in. Because that's how it was those days and I didn't live in the era so I actually don't know what it was like.

I: Do you think that the changes that people have in identity are due to politics or social changes? What do you think? Or the way they look at being coloured has changed?

GG: Probably politics. Although I think being coloured is still the same, as it was those days because those days it was probably pro-white and now it's pro-black. We kind of fit in on both occasions. So I don't think that we are better off or worse off than the past.

I: Do you think there should be a change of attitude towards this identity?

GG: Coloureds? I don't know I think it's just fine to be treated the same. I don't think anyone should be superior or inferior to another race.

I: Let's go back. Tell me more about when you were in high school? What was it like, socialising with people?

GG: Well in high school, it was mainly with coloureds. We went to a coupla socials at school, where there was every race. But from std. 7 I started mixing with blacks and Indians and coloureds. Was probably about ten percent of the school was coloured at that stage, which was quite a lot because at primary school, there were maybe five or six people that I was aware of in our grade and probably the whole school, there wasn't many. But in high school... socialising... I think everyone just kept to themselves because ... I think that's how it still is though. Even at varsity level we kinda stick to the people who are the same as us or of the same social circle.

I: Are your friends mostly coloured at varsity?

GG: No, I wouldn't say so. (Laughs) I've a few coloured friends, but I do have whites and a lot the people who were at primary school and high school are at varsity, so we kind of just keep those friends because you've known them. And it runs from white right through to black.

I: Previously there has never been much of a distinction between the Malay people who attended coloured schools and coloured people. Sometimes the Malays are classified as coloured. Did you come into contact with any Malay people in your school?

GG: That I was aware of? No.

I: You didn't come into contact with any Malay people. And after school?

GG: Probably, I'm not sure of the Malays here, but Cape Malay, probably when I was in varsity in Cape Town. I socialised with quite a few of them.

I: Ja, you've had a wide experience because you've experienced being at a university with a large group of coloured people because you were at the University of Cape Town. What was it like there compared to Durban?

GG: Well Durban is predominantly Indian-based. You do ... I think coloureds and whites are definitely a minority and Blacks, as well at university. Cape Town, there was a lot of foreigners though and other races, there wasn't only..., but the majority were definitely coloureds and Malay.

I: Would you say that there were differences between the Cape Town coloureds and the Durban coloureds?

GG: Probably with their way of living and the way they grew up. I think families are different the way they bring up their children depending on their morals and their

standards. So I suppose it happens in every family. It's not just a Malay or coloured experience.

I: People you socialised with there?

GG: I socialised with Malays and coloureds. Ja, both of them. Probably on a social circle, most still do the same thing, like strangers from all races. You go out and have a nice time and that was fine.

I: Tell me about living in Cape Town? Where you lived? How long you lived there?

GG: OK I lived in Ottery, which was probably coloured, and Malays were the majority there. I think that the people there were probably friendly towards everyone. People in Cape Town are generally friendly. Varsity... how I socialised was probably with family and friends, who our family knew. Racewise I think I had friends, black friends who came up with me to Cape Town. Probably my only black friend. Else it was coloureds. I think we still kinda just stuck to each other.

I: Coloured people?

GG: Yes.

I: And you could identify who was coloured in Cape Town? And they could identify you?

GG: I can't distinguish between all the kinds of people. Some of the coloureds in Cape Town are quite difficult to classify, but the majority I think were easy to identify.

I: Did they know who you were? Did you ever get considered Indian?

GG: Not in Cape Town. I think it was more a Durban thing and it still is in Durban. I think in CT it wasn't a fact that I was a Cape coloured because of my accent, well I couldn't, well I wasn't a Cape Malay because of that. People saw me they could have thought that until I actually started speaking. They probably picked it up.

I: Do you think besides the accent, are there differences between the coloureds from CT and the coloureds from Durban?

GG: Socially, no. but er I think they have more culture than the coloureds from Durban.

I: In what way?

GG: They kinda have strong beliefs and they follow ...

I: Strong beliefs?

GG: I dunno I think it's just more. I just think that Durban coloureds don't have any culture, whatsoever. I don't have any background that I feel strongly about. Ok our religion that's fine, but culture, we just don't have.

I: And the coloureds in CT do?

GG: Somehow I think they're more cultured than we are.

I: In what way? What do they do that you would consider part of their culture?

GG: Well maybe the Cape coloureds follow the Malay style as well?

I: Which is what?

GG: I think it's kind of, even the food that they eat. Small things like that, which we don't. We fit into everything really. We eat everything.

I: And they eat what type of food?

GG: They cook like Asians.

I: And we don't we have different curries that are popular here?

GGI: Yes, but we eat everything. We follow from the whites, the Indians and probably from some of the blacks. It's not like a set coloured dish that we have.

I: So the Cape coloured people follow like an Asian tradition, but it's not an Indian Asian?

GG: Yes, I would say not Indian Asian.

I: So where's it coming from?... Where do you think it's coming from?

GG: I dunno I probably say the Far East.

I: Their ancestral heritage?

GG: Ja, probably.

I: You think it's different to here? To Durban ... ancestral heritage?

GG: No, probably not, but I think they follow the heritage more.

I: Is it different being coloured?

GG: It's not any different from being anything else. So I just don't get affected by any racial discrimination or anything.

I: Would you say that's different to the way your mother would feel?



GG: Because she lived in apartheid and I listen to the fact that they had to go to coloured schools whereas I didn't. So I think it would be very different.

I: Your choices were more open?

GG: Probably, we had more opportunities.

I: So would you say that that is one of the reasons why you have very little experience of distinction of what it means to be coloured compared to another race group.

GG: I think so.

I: In terms of the coloured people that you know and that you interact with, is there discrimination among the coloured people today, among your age group?

GG: I don't think so. The people that I socialise with are probably people who were at school with me or at church. Those are my coloured friends as such. So I don't think there's any discrimination among them.

I: Have you ever had a situation where you were discriminated against for the fact that you're coloured?

GG: Not that I'm aware of. Although if we go shopping with my grandparents, my grandfather especially. He loves white people, so he'll go talk to them and the moment I come there, they kind of looking to you as if to say, "What are you doing here? How do you fit into the whole thing?" and they probably like, "I'll see you. Bye." And they'll walk away. So that's the only time it actually happens. Probably the older generation though. Because if I saw you with people, they wouldn't react that way.

I: And how does that make you feel?

GG: I don't think it actually affects me.

I: It doesn't bother you?

GG: Not really. I think it's because it's the past generation. I think if it's the young people being that way, then it would be more of a problem.

I: I was going to ask you earlier what does the term coloured mean to you?...does it have any meaning to you?

GG: I don't think so. I think coloured is just the same as anything else. Though as I said earlier is the fact that we just don't have a culture and that's what coloured is ... races mixed together and that is how come we don't have a culture. We choose not to follow one because there is such a variety to follow, so we just choose not to. In SA we don't have the pressure to follow any culture because there's so many cultures living here.

## Interview 2: PARTICIPANT 4/GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER

I: You were saying because the female characteristics were stronger than the masculine ones, that women, the modern women, the new generation, were more independent...

GG: Ja because they concentrate more on the feminist qualities

I: Feminist qualities?

GG: Where they want to be identified because of who they are and not because of where they've come from, if you concentrate on that.

I: So rather for the person themselves and not for their ancestral background?

GG: Ja, basically developing their own identity.

I: Why is it that you think that these things don't bother guys too much?

GG: They're just naturally independent, the way they just portray that image. They don't need to impress people or to develop this identity 'cos they already have it.

I: So that makes the identity more complicated for women?

GG: Ja

I: You spoke about also your friends at varsity, those that you've had from school have kept together at varsity. Is there any particular reason why the group has stayed together?

GG: I think probably because we became comfortable with each other and we went to new surroundings we stayed with people we were more familiar with, we stuck with because it was easier to get along with, 'cos we were used to being together and doing stuff.

I: If your group had to separate, what would cause people in your group to separate, form a different group or go their own separate way? What do you think it would be?

GG: Maybe sticking to their own people because some people, not all the people we mixed with were coloured, there were blacks and... and I don't think I'd feel comfortable around like say twenty blacks and I'm the only coloured so to speak.

I: Okay why wouldn't you feel comfortable?

GG: I don't know I think just because of their culture and stuff. I can handle, I mean I do have a lot of black friends, but probably easier if you have more of a variety of races than mixing with them.

I: And in any of the other groups, would you feel comfortable with them, if there were majority whites,...

GG: No, it would all be same as the example I gave. It doesn't matter what the race group is.

I: Is there any group that you're more comfortable with than others?

GG: I'd probably say coloureds and Indians. (laughs).

I: Besides coloureds. You'd say Indians? Tell me about that.

GG: Ja, I'd say Indians maybe its because of the area where I live, there's quite a few Indians around. And also the places that I go to have more Indians and I get on with them.

I: So you prefer a diverse group within your circle than having a dominance of one particular group. What is it, besides being comfortable with each other, that keeps the group together? (*silence, looks confused or unsure*) besides the people you knew, you made new friends at university, how did they get into your group of friends?

GG: Probably because of similar interests, studying the same subjects so you saw them quite few times in lectures, probably after hours like going to a club, or going shopping, having the same kind of interest going to these places.

I: How easy is it for you to mix in your friends' groups?

GG: I think I fit in easily. I think because I'm open-minded about them. It's easier to just mix with all types of cultures and people and their moral and standards and different types of living.

I: Would there be any particular moral or value that you would object to in anybody else no matter what race? Do you have any particular moral or value that's important to you that would interfere with you forming a relationship with somebody, [moral/value] that comes from your family?

GG: I can't think of any.

I: When you're looking at choosing a partner to have a relationship with, would that include any expectations that your family would have?

GG: No I don't do that.

I: What is the type of person that you would look for?

GG: I think it's not about race or culture, it's more about if I'm happy with the person. If we do similar things and have similar interests, I think it's kind of important to be able to do all that. But as far as family goes, I don't really give it a second thought.

I: So you wouldn't worry about what family he came from and what social-economic status, hair texture or skin colour...?

GG: (*laughs*) I do, I do.

I: Which do you consider?

GG: Well I do consider the background of the family and where they come from and their finances, obviously. Of course looks is important, if you talking about hair texture (*laughs*), if you're talking about what colour skin, complexion or whatever you want to say. Ja I think maybe that's important.

I: Why is that important, hair texture, skin if we looking at background?

GG: I think that might actually have lot to do with family values. 'cos I think family kind of makes you think of straight hair, or make sure he's not dark or that kind of thing about the person. It's just nice because you need to think of your children (*laughs*).

I: It's nice because you need to think of your children? What your children's hair?

GG: Yes (*laughs*).

I: So that would be important, having some consideration of family input into your relationship. Would religion be important for you?

GG: Think so, think it would probably come from the family than me. I don't think religion's an issue.

I: Since we've had these interviews, is there anything that you've thought about that you'd like to add or comment on?

GG: No.

I: I just want to go back to our discussion on the men and women, looking at the coloured identity differently. You had mentioned in our previous interview that you think its difficult for a woman and a man slots in easier. And you mentioned the emotional issues that people have with the past, what are these emotional issues?

GG: I think the way women were suppressed because of men, because they were female and aside from the fact that men were superior over them. I think that still plays a big part 'cos women are still feel that they need to be subservient to them.

I: Subservient in what way?

GG: I think in most ways. If the husband says x, they need to basically obey, not obey, follow what he says. So I think some females depending on how they were brought up are still following their family values which still put the man first.

I: Their family values put the man first? Do you think that value of putting the man first, was that passed on to you?

GG: I don't think so.

I: What do you think was passed onto you ito of family values, what do you think that you've gotten from your mother ito values?

GG: I think to be independent, basically that you don't need a man for any financial or any kind of support.

I: So its more about independence. So how do you obtain that independence?

GG: I think its about being financially stable because finance is the big part of it, being independent in that way. And I think also in the way that you think, your character, er ...

I: Meaning? (silence, thinking) how would you portray yourself to be independent?

GG: Probably like if you can stand on your own two feet, if you don't need a guy to do anything for you, not even financially. And also in the sense where you're not taking what the man says, its more about making your own decisions for the family as well.

I: What do you think it was like in your mother's time?

GG: I think it was harder. I think they were forced to listen to the man as such, he was the man and they needed to respect him. And it probably still comes across, they were brought up doing, so they do it, even though it's a new generation, but because of the era they were brought up in, they still have a dependence on him.

I: And from your granny or great-granny have you learnt anything from them ito being a woman, and a coloured woman at that? Has she passed anything onto you or tried to influence who you are in any way?

GG: No I think they all just push you to get your education so that you can just be yourself, not need anyone to do anything.

I: So its still that independence, particularly from a man.

GG: Ja, I think so. Independence is probably about developing your own identity.