

**THE ROLE OF SELECTED CHURCHES AND
COMMUNITIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND
MAINTENANCE OF INTER-RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN
NATAL IN THE CONTEXT OF APARTHEID
(1970-1994)**

By

Linda Naicker

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SUPERVISOR: PROF. PHILIPPE DENIS

SUMMARY

In this study, the role of selected churches and communities in the development and maintenance of inter-racial relationships, in South Africa's racially stratified apartheid society, was explored. The study traced the history of anti-miscegenation attitudes - from the arrival of the Dutch settlers in the Cape in 1652 - and the theological basis upon which the segregation policies of apartheid were built. The focus of the study was on inter-racial couples and children, who survived the turbulent period of apartheid. Respondents were recruited through the use of the snowball sampling method. A semi-structured interview process was the primary tool for collecting data. Nine people, representing six family units were interviewed. The results of the study indicate that some inter-racial families were able to navigate the period of apartheid and to create a counter-culture of resistance to the oppressive legislation, which criminalized their relationships while others struggled under repression. The system was detrimental to all inter-racial relationships. However, Black women suffered more and were often exploited. The level of support from churches and communities was varied but in general, people in inter-racial relationships relied heavily upon select circles of friends and family within their communities, who helped preserve the clandestine nature of their relationships. In some instances, local churches chose to confront the prevailing injustice of apartheid segregation legislation and to help families construct alternative realities, while in other instances, local churches shared in the general race prejudices of the time and did not offer meaningful support.

DECLARATION

I declare that, *the role of selected churches and communities in the development and maintenance of interracial relationships in Natal within the context of apartheid (1970-1994)* is my own work, and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE

L.W. NAICKER

DATE

As the supervisor, I hereby approve this thesis for submission.

SIGNATURE

PROF. PHILIPPE DENIS

DATE

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction and Rationale for the Study

The aims of this study are to assess the role of selected churches and communities in Natal (1970-1994) in the development and maintenance of inter-racial relationships, in the South African context of apartheid, and to document the lived realities of people involved in such relationships. South Africa under apartheid rule was divided along racial lines, by means of stringent legislation designed to keep the various race groups separate. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act - Act 55 of 1949; the Immorality Act - Act 21 of 1957; the Population Registration Act - Act 30 of 1950; the Group Areas Act - Act 41 of 1950; and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act - Act 49 of 1953, were especially significant in enforcing racial separation.¹ Although the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act were repealed in 1985, other segregation legislation, which served to provide formidable barriers to inter-racial contact and to maintain a racially stratified society, remained intact.²

While a wide range of studies on inter-racial relationships in the United States of America have been conducted, very few studies dealing with the South African context exist. The subject of inter-racial relationships was seldom addressed under apartheid because the disclosure of such relationships would have been seen as a manifestation of assimilation of the race groups in apartheid society.³ Books such as Karl Rogers' *On Becoming Partners*, was banned in South Africa because it contained a chapter on inter-racial marriage.⁴

The present study seeks to:

¹ O'Malley, P. The Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue. www.nelsonmandela.org/./memory Accessed: 7th July 2011.

² Yancey, G.A and Yancey, S.W. Black-White Differences in the Use of Personal Advertisements for Individuals Seeking Interracial Relationships. *Journal of Black Studies*. Volume 27: 650-667. 1997. p 650.

³ Morral, L. *Interracial Families in South Africa: An Exploratory Study*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg. 1994. p 12.

⁴ Rogers, C.R. *Becoming Partners: Marriage and its Alternatives*. Dell Publishing Company, New York. 1972.

1. Document how interracial relationships in Natal were developed and maintained within the context of apartheid.
2. Evaluate how selected churches and communities in Natal engaged with interracial couples and family units.
3. Identify what challenges and support selected interracial families experienced in relation to their local churches and communities.
4. Determine to what extent selected churches and communities in Natal conformed to the status quo and to what extent they resisted.

1.2 Literature Review

A large body of material detailing South Africa's history since the arrival of the Dutch settlers, as well as settler and missionary attitudes towards indigenous people and miscegenation exists. J.C. Wells' *The Suppression of Mixed Marriages among LMS Missionaries in South Africa before 1820*, and A.L. Stoler's *Making the Empire Respectable: The politics of race and sexual morality in 20th century colonial cultures*, addressed the topic in detail. Julius Lewin, in his work, *Sex, Colour and the Law*, dealt with the development of anti-miscegenation legislation from 1903, under British rule. Lewin charted the progress of anti-miscegenation legislation until 1964, documenting the racially prejudiced attitudes of White South Africans and the effects of legislation on all South Africans, both Black and White. He maintained that South African society was caught in a web of racially prejudiced thought and action, stemming from the habitual ill-treatment of Blacks.⁵

Under the policy of apartheid, books such as C.R. Rogers' *Becoming Partners: Marriage and its Alternatives*,⁶ was banned because it contained a chapter on inter-racial marriage in South Africa. Apartheid segregation legislation was dealt with in works such as Muriel Horrell's *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa*⁷ and Thiven Reddy's *The*

⁵ Lewin, J. *Sex, Colour and the Law*. University of the Witwaterstrand, Johannesburg. 1969.

⁶ Rogers, C.R. *Becoming Partners: Marriage and its Alternatives*. Dell Publishing Company, New York. 1972.

⁷ Horrell, M. *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa*. Institute of South African Race Relations, Johannesburg. 1978.

*politics of naming: the constitution of Coloured identities in South Africa.*⁸ A number of publications dealing with the issue of race relations and the effects of segregation legislation were published by the Institute of Race Relations. *South Africa: Basic Facts and Figures*,⁹ compiled by Muriel Horrell, and an annual survey of race relations, dealt with the day to day events in South Africa under apartheid. These works contain many accounts of people affected by the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act and the Population Registration Act.

On the theological front, a host of literature exists justifying Afrikaner notions of racial segregation and sanctioning anti-miscegenation laws. Most notable of these is, *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture*, published by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1974.¹⁰ The work considers scriptural data on race and contains a chapter on marriage and mixed marriages. The document spelled out that the prohibition of mixed marriages is sanctioned by biblical scripture and explicitly rejected mixed marriages on the grounds that they were pragmatically unworkable.

Works criticising the Dutch Reformed Church's stance on race relations were also extensive. Books such as *Delayed Reaction*,¹¹ by Professor A.S. Geysers and Ambrose Reeve's *South Africa – Yesterday and Tomorrow: The Challenge to Christians*,¹² dealt with the witness of the Church with regard to justice and were highly critical of South African policies. In addition to this, many conferences, synods and church organizations criticized racial segregation, the stance of the Dutch Reformed Church and the legislation concerning inter-racial relationships.

⁸ Reddy, T. "The politics of naming: the constitution of Coloured identities in South Africa". in Erasmus, Z. (ed) *Coloured by History Shaped by Place*. Kwela Books, Cape Town. 2001.

⁹ Horrell, M. *South Africa: Basic Facts and Figures*. The South African Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg. 1973.

¹⁰ General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture*. Dutch Reformed Church Publishers, Cape Town – Pretoria. 1974.

¹¹ Geysers, A.S. *Delayed Reaction*. NC Kerkboekhandel, Pretoria. 1960.

¹² Reeve, A. *South Africa – Yesterday and Tomorrow: The Challenge to Christians*. Gollancz, London. 1962.

Moreover, recent scholarship documenting the presence of inter-racial relationships in apartheid- and post-apartheid society exists. In 1994, Morral conducted research on seven inter-racial families.¹³ In 1995, Ross conducted six interviews with people who were in inter-racial relationships in apartheid South Africa.¹⁴ In 2007, Jaynes conducted research on inter-racial relationships with thirteen University students,¹⁵ and in 2008, Mojapelo-Batka conducted research with six inter-racial couples.¹⁶

However, very little to no work has been done with regard to the responses of local churches to inter-racial relationships under apartheid and the day to day struggles of people engaged in such relationships. The present research seeks to present a critical study of the attitudes of local churches to inter-racial relationships and to recover their silenced voices. The main argument is that the presence of inter-racial relationships in the context of apartheid, presented a challenge to the local churches as well as to the communities in which they lived.

The present study will explore whether churches and communities developed a counter-culture of resistance to apartheid's racial segregation measures, thereby supporting and sustaining inter-racial relationships, or whether they acquiesced to the status quo.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Theories are essential components in recovering muted voices. According to Maluleke, theoretical astuteness is particularly significant because it gives a voice to the marginalized and oppressed of societies.¹⁷ Over the course of several books, culminating in his 1990 book, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, James Scott offers unique insights into various components of the inner mechanisms of

¹³ Morral, L. *Interracial Families in South Africa: An Exploratory Study*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg. 1994.

¹⁴ Ross, C.J. *An Existential-phenomenological exploration of interracial love relationships in South Africa*. Thesis for Masters Degree in Research Psychology. Rhodes University, Grahamstown. 1988.

¹⁵ Jaynes, C.L. *Interracial Intimate Relationships in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Unpublished Master of Arts Dissertation. University of the Witwaterstrand, Johannesburg. 2007.

¹⁶ Mojapelo-Batka, E.M. *Interracial Couples within the South African Context: Experiences, Perceptions and Challenges*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of South Africa. 2008.

¹⁷ Maluleke, T.S. "The Quest for Muted Black Voices in History: Some Pertinent Issues in (South) African Mission Historiography". *Missionalia* 28: 1. 2000. p 41-61.

resistance. In seeking to understand that which oppressed groups do in order to best- defend their interests, Scott examined the ordinary weapons of the relatively powerless. These acts can be singular or collective but they fall short of open defiance.¹⁸

In, *Domination and the Arts of resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, Scott outlines his theory of public versus hidden transcripts. Public transcripts are the expected discourses between the dominant and subordinate classes, serving to maintain order. The public performance of the subordinates is shaped to appeal to the expectations of the dominant.¹⁹ The public discourse however, does not reflect the true feelings of either class. This is particularly true of subordinates who put on a performance in order to appease the dominant class, giving the impression that the expected stereotype is maintained. The relationship between slaves and masters - in which a slave master would assume a position of power and control, the slave generally assuming the position of deference and inferiority - is an example of the expected stereotypical display.²⁰

However, this is not always a true representation of the subordinates' feelings but rather serves to maintain order in society by preserving the expected race relations. For the subordinates, the performance in the public arena is a "mask" which veils their true feelings and which allows them to protect their own welfare. The hidden transcript, which takes place offstage, often contradicts the public transcript because it is here that the subordinate may express a different viewpoint.²¹ An example of the hidden transcript is the body of slave songs that often alluded to ideas of escape and freedom, through the cover of a religious context. The master would have heard the religious context of the song but the fellow slave would have heard the message of hope for freedom.²²

"Infrapolitics" develop in the space between the hidden and public transcripts. It is a form of resistance to domination which is neither hidden nor public. Here, the oppressed are

¹⁸ Scott, C.J. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1985. p 29.

¹⁹ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990. p 2.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. p 5.

²² Ibid. p 27.

able to develop movements without formal structures which are largely immune to surveillance and provide a defence against domination.²³ Open forms of rebellion are rare, and usually quashed by superior force. The subordinates therefore practice and express their resistance to oppression in many and diverse ways, “in the immense political terrain that lies between quiescence and revolt”.²⁴

The hidden transcript allows the subordinate to subtly protest and resist oppression. The hidden transcript may therefore be seen as activism because these subtle forms of resistance may invoke change. When the pressures of maintaining the public and hidden transcripts come to a head, the views expressed in the hidden transcript may be brought into the open by outspoken statements of action. Even though this is rare, there are times when subservience fades away and is replaced by open defiance, causing a tense moment in power relations.²⁵ This tests the accepted discourse and allows the subordinate to place pressure on the dominant ideal.

1.3.1 Applying the Theoretical Framework

This study will show that in situations of repression, inter-racial families were able to construct and preserve hidden transcripts, which became the infrastructure of their resistance. Their counter-narratives will demonstrate, that the oppressive legislation which forbade inter-racial relationships under apartheid, did not determine their subservience but instead gave rise to a resistant counter-culture; made possible by the shared suffering of the oppressed in apartheid societies. United under the social injustice of apartheid, communities and some local churches rallied around inter-racial families and helped them to construct this alternative culture that protected them from total domination, even at the risk of reprisal.

Through a host of veiled tactics, the hidden transcripts of inter-racial families were able to masquerade in the public arena without being detected, despite surveillance and the risk of police brutality. In the long-run, the presence and preservation of inter-racial

²³ Ibid. p 184-200.

²⁴ Ibid. p 199.

²⁵ Ibid. p 6.

relationships in apartheid societies, solidified forms of resistance which were able to bring about structural change on the macro-level. This was in the form of the repealing of legislation forbidding inter-racial relationships in apartheid South Africa, which may have, in a small way, contributed to the total dismantling of the entire system in 1994.

1.4 Research Methodology

1.4.1 Research Design

Methodologically, the present research is divided into two parts. The first part employs written resources comprising both primary and secondary sources, which trace the historiography of inter-racial relationships in South Africa. Since very little academic work was done on the subject, newspaper and magazine articles documenting the topic were also used. The oral-history methodology is used in the second part.

1.4.2 Qualitative Research Method

The aims of the present study are to examine the role of selected churches in the development and maintenance of inter-racial relationships, and to document the experiences of inter-racial families in South Africa's racially stratified apartheid society. To this end, a qualitative research design was employed. Qualitative research emphasises socially constructed reality, the relationship between the researcher and the subject matter, the constraints which shape the enquiry, and the nature of the enquiry.²⁶ This method aims at uncovering an individual's or group's social, cultural or normative behaviours and interactions. Social settings, motives and meanings, actions and reactions, and organizations and culture are analysed.²⁷

The qualitative method allows the researcher to get to know the research subject personally and to learn of their moral struggles, successes and failures in a world that is

²⁶ Denzin, N.K and Lincoln, Y.S. "Entering the Field of Qualitative Research" in Denzin, N.K and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage, Thousand Oaks. 1994. p 1-18.

²⁷ Roth, J.P. *Qualitative research*. RCI Publications, Ontario. 1993. p 46.

Terre Blanche, M. et al. *Research in practice: Applied Methods for Social Sciences*. University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town. 2006. p 16-17.

often at variance with that person's needs, hopes and dreams.²⁸ In this study, qualitative research design allowed for direct contact with couples and families in inter-racial relationships. The researcher was thus able to enter their worlds as far as possible and to hear their stories.

1.4.3 The Snowball Sampling Method

Participants were recruited through the snowball sampling method. A sample can be described as a set of people drawn from a larger population for the purpose of a survey. Snowball, or chain sampling, identifies cases of interest from people known to the surveyor or researcher, who in turn know of other cases. The idea is to identify one person who will direct the surveyor or researcher to where others can be found and in turn, those others will be able to identify yet others, and the chain continues.²⁹

1.4.4 Inclusion Criteria of Research Participants

Two factors influenced the selection of research participants for this study. Firstly, even though the policy of apartheid was based on stringent racial segregation, legislation concerning inter-racial relationships was only strictly enforced in relationships where one partner was White. Secondly, since this study is concerned with the role of the churches in the development and maintenance of interracial relationships, only persons belonging to the Christian faith were recruited.

Participants would be married or unmarried persons who were engaged in inter-racial relationships during the period of apartheid and children born of such relationships. In the context of this study, the term 'Black' is used according to the Black Consciousness Movement's broad definition of 'Black', which includes all those classified as non-White under apartheid legislation.³⁰ This broad definition is employed because the term 'Black'

²⁸ Taylor, S.J. and Bogdan, R. *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: the search for new meaning*. (2nd edition) John Wiley and Sons, London. 1984.

²⁹ Fridah, M. W. *Sampling in Research*: www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/samprnon.php. Accessed: 2/04/2010.

³⁰ Frankental, S and Sichone, O. *South Africa's Diverse Peoples*. ABC-CLIO Inc, California. 2005. p 142.

rather than 'non-White' is a positive description that defines people in their own terms and not in terms of others.³¹

1.4.5 Data Collection

A crucial element of the oral history methodology is the interview technique. Data was collected by means of oral history interviews. The oral history methodology places emphasis on the historical aspects of the subject matter. Priority is given to the accounts of first-hand participants in events and situations. The data gathered is treated as historical evidence and is recognised as having historical value.³² All participants were interviewed by the researcher over a period of eight months from December 2010 to July 2011. The interviews were semi-structured, providing consistent investigation of the topic with basic introductory questions. This approach afforded flexibility to engage in natural conversation that provided deeper insight.

According to Fontana and Frey:

the semi-structured approach makes the interview more honest and reliable, because it treats the respondent as an equal, allows him or her to express feelings, and therefore present a more realistic picture than can be uncovered using other methods.³³

Merriam noted that highly structured interviews do not afford a true participant perspective but simply get reactions to the investigator's pre-conceived notions of the world.³⁴

³¹West, G. *Biblical Hermeneutics of Liberation: Modes of Reading the Bible in the South African Context*. Cluster Publications. Pietermaritzburg. 1995. p 89.

³² Mogashoa, H. "Correcting the 'Baptist' History of William Duma (1907-1977): An Oral History Contribution" in Denis, P. (ed) *Orality, Memory and the Past: Listening to the Voices of Black Clergy under Colonialism and Apartheid*. Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg. 2000. p 194-209.

³³ Fontana, A. and Frey, J.H. "Interviewing: The Art of Science" in Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks. p 371.

³⁴ Merriam, S.B. *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco. 1998. P 74.

1.4.6 Research Ethics

Oral history practitioners are bound by certain ethical norms or guidelines which serve to reduce risk of harm to research participants in an interview situation. The principles of autonomy and respect for the dignity of the interviewees motivated the seeking of their informed consent and the guarantee of confidentiality. For this study, participants were briefed on the nature and purpose of the study well in advance and were informed of their right to withdraw from the interview process at any time. The researcher was careful not to raise false expectations when requesting permission to conduct the interviews. The researcher exercised sensitivity to the interviewees' emotional responses. Together with the research participants, the researcher explored ways in which the participants could benefit from the process. It was decided that each interviewee would receive a copy of the interview transcription as a memento. It was also decided that a booklet containing the interview transcripts of all the research participants be compiled and made available to the research participants at a later date. Every phase of this project was planned carefully, in advance, to avoid difficulty.³⁵

1.5 Chapter Outline

The present study is comprised of eight chapters.

Chapter One

An introduction and rationale for the study is provided, as well as an overview of the relevant literature, a presentation of the theoretical perspectives and an explanation of the methodology employed.

Chapter Two

A presentation of the social and political context which gave rise to anti-miscegenation legislation in South Africa and the social and political scene which led to the dismantling of apartheid, are discussed. Issues of race and racism, and the historical roots of racism in South Africa are explored. Attention is given to laws prohibiting inter-racial

³⁵ Denis, P. "The Ethics of Oral History" in Denis, P and Ntsimane, R. (eds) *Oral History in a Wounded Country*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg. 2008. p 63-84.

relationships, as well as to the process that led firstly to the repealing of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts, and eventually to the dismantling of apartheid and the transition to majority leadership under a new constitution.

Chapter Three

This chapter deals with both the influence of Christianity on racial segregation measures adopted under apartheid and with the influence of Christianity on the dismantling of apartheid. A critical discussion on the religious facilitation, acquiescence and opposition to anti-miscegenation legislation is presented, as is the role played by church leaders in the rescinding of laws banning inter-racial relationships.

Chapter Four

The nature of the study, a presentation of the description of the research sample, and the interview process are discussed in this chapter. Also discussed, are the social and religious profiles of each participant as well as the interview contexts.

Chapter Five

Chapter five is a presentation of the experiences of inter-racial families within their various churches.

Chapter Six

This chapter entails a critical discussion of the experiences of inter-racial families within their various communities. Through the lens of James Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*,³⁶ encounters with apartheid law enforcement, community support, experiences of children born in inter-racial families and the gendered nature of the oppression is discussed.

Chapter Seven

³⁶ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990.

In this chapter, a critical enquiry into the extent of support, or lack thereof experienced by inter-racial families, is presented.

Chapter Eight

Chapter eight draws conclusions, presents the contribution to new knowledge, addresses the limitations of the study and offers recommendations for further areas of research.

1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the aims of the study, its rationale, and an overview of the relevant literature were discussed. Additionally, a presentation of the theoretical perspectives, an explanation of the methodology employed and the chapter outline were given.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

For nearly three centuries of White occupation of the Cape, the Dutch settlers made no effort to curb miscegenation³⁷ by law. It is difficult to ascertain how extensive miscegenation was in the 17th and 18th centuries because once the process had been established, people of mixed³⁸ descent would reproduce themselves and so enlarge the ‘mixed race’ population. However, there can be no doubt that miscegenation did take place on a considerable scale long before social theory and political pressure combined to eradicate it.³⁹ This chapter examines the social and political context which formed the bedrock for anti-miscegenation attitudes in South Africa.

2.2 Race and Racism

Haney-Lopez, Professor of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, defines race as a vast group of people, loosely bound together by historical contingent, socially significant elements of their morphology, and/or ancestry. Race is a social phenomenon in which contested systems of meaning serve as the connections between physical features and personal characteristics. The notion of race is subject to the macro forces of social and political struggle and the micro effects of daily decisions.⁴⁰

The World Council of Churches defines racism as a racial group or cultural entity that denies the dignity of another. This denial leads to the ultimate assertion that this group is superior and demonstrates the desire to dominate.⁴¹ Racism served to secure White dominance politically, economically and socially. The mixing of the races represented a threat to that dominance.

³⁷ Interbreeding of races, especially Whites and Non-Whites (Oxford Dictionary).

³⁸ The study will use the terms ‘mixed’ as per apartheid’s racial classification system only to address concepts of race and racism defined by the apartheid system. While the concept is refuted by the author, the use of the term is inevitable in apartheid society’s system of strict racial categorization.

³⁹ Lewin, J. *Sex, Colour and the Law*. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. 1969. p 64.

⁴⁰ Haney-Lopez, I.F. “The Social Construction of Race” in Delgado and Stefancic (eds) *Critical Race Theory*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia. 2000. p 163.

⁴¹ The World Council of Churches. *Churches Responding to Racism in the 1980s*. 1983. p 58.

Scientists have found that there is no evidence to support the dividing of humankind into biologically diverse race groups. The notion that humanity can be divided along racial lines is rooted in history rather than in biology. The history of science and genetic studies of the last few decades have failed to justify the existence of biologically different race groups.⁴² Scientists have calculated that the average genetic difference between two randomly chosen individuals is 0.2 percent of all the genes, and that the physical traits used to distinguish one race from another - such as skin colour, eye colour, nose width, and hair - are determined by about 0.01 percent of the genes. Moreover, these genes can adapt rapidly to environmental factors.⁴³

During the 17th and 18th centuries, European scientists and anthropologists classified people according to races. In so doing, they created a hierarchy among humanity with White and European at the top. This was motivated by European imperialism and the drive to find scientific justification for European superiority and paternalism. By the 19th century, with the rise of the Darwinian evolutionary theory and Romantic philosophy's emphasis on the idea of 'nation', the concept of race became a full blown ideology.⁴⁴

2.3 Historical Roots of Racism in South Africa

At the outset of the establishment of the Cape Colony, European male settlers outnumbered their female counterparts. Sexual encounters between male European settlers and indigenous women were widespread. The most common form of inter-racial sex was illicit and forced intercourse between European masters and female slaves. European men sometimes married African and Asian slaves. It was also not uncommon for European men to take indigenous women as concubines. This resulted in a substantial population of 'mixed race' children.

Some mixed race offspring were designated slaves, while others were adopted into European families. However, most retained an intermediate status as house servants or

⁴² Haney-Lopez, I.F. "The Social Construction of Race" in Delgado and Stefancic (eds) *Critical Race Theory*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia. 2000. p 164.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Chong, S. "The Myth of Race" *The Banner*. 2003. p 38-40.

skilled labour. This new demographic came at a time when notions of the separation of races in South Africa were being defined. The emerging and ever growing 'mixed race' population blurred the clear hierarchy between White and Black. The European settlers now had to reaffirm their superiority within a population that was no longer simply White and Black.⁴⁵

When the London Missionary Society (LMS) came to South Africa at the turn of the 19th century, they brought a different philosophy on race relations to the Dutch-dominated settlement. These missionaries believed that converting indigenous people to Christianity could elevate them to achieve equality with Europeans. In 1796, the director of the LMS suggested that single missionaries marry indigenous women in order to smooth out cultural differences and to present to the natives models of the ideal convert. The LMS believed that intermarriage could serve to cement relationships between local powers and missionaries. The position of the LMS did not serve the demands and dictates of the colonial economy. The separation between indigenous people and colonialists was what justified the takeover of foreign lands and the exploitation of indigenous people.⁴⁶

Tension erupted between settlers and the British missionaries. The settlers believed that the missionaries were too sympathetic to indigenous populations. Missionary attitudes to indigenous and mixed populations threatened the dominance of the White minority in the face of an overwhelming indigenous majority. Conservative missionaries, not wanting to deepen the rift between settlers and themselves, reproved the actions of their liberal counterparts. In 1817, a synod was held in Cape Town demanding that missionaries who were in relationships with African women, be expelled.

However, the leadership of the LMS in London did not forbid mixed marriages but in an effort to remedy the situation, they stopped sending single men to the mission field and

⁴⁵ Sonnabend and Sofer. "South Africa's Stepchildren". *South African Affairs Pamphlets* 16 (3rd series). Society of the Friends of Africa. Johannesburg, 1948.

⁴⁶ Wells, J.C. The suppression of mixed marriages among LMS missionaries in South Africa before 1820. *South African Historical Journal*, 44. p 1-20. 2001.

decreed that all marriages of missionaries would have to take place within the borders of the Cape Colony.⁴⁷

2.4 The Law

Colonial authority in the Cape was constructed on the notion that Europeans in the colonies were a biologically and socially superior entity in comparison with indigenous people. This false yet extremely powerful premise, necessitated the construction of legal and social classifications which designated who could obtain membership to the elite group and who could not, and who could become a citizen rather than a subject.⁴⁸ In order to maintain this economically-, politically- and socially elite status, the settlers established a social code dominated by race. This was done through a combination of slavery, restrictions on free Blacks, colonial frontier wars and extermination. In so doing, the gradually emerging European ideology of racism became entrenched in South African society by the 19th century. Though still widely practiced, inter-racial relationships became a social taboo which reinforced the hierarchical notion of White superiority in South African settlements.⁴⁹

The first attempt to legislate on the subject of inter-racial marriage was made by the British soon after the close of the South African war in all four British colonies - as they were then called. A Cape law passed in 1902 was adopted in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and in Natal in 1903. The Cape law prohibited, under severe penalty, intercourse between consenting adults for the purpose of gain, if the woman was White and the man Black. In the Transvaal and in Natal, the reference to gain was omitted.⁵⁰

The reason given for the introduction of this law in South Africa was the arrival of prostitutes from Britain, who were meant to cater for British soldiers but who found clients among Africans. This law was in line with British Colonial tradition, and similar

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Stoler, A.L. Making the Empire Respectable: The politics of race and sexual morality in 20th century colonial cultures. *American Ethnologist* 16 (4). 1989. p 635.

⁴⁹ Wells, J.C. The Suppression of Mixed Marriages among LMS Missionaries in South Africa before 1820. *South African Historical Journal*. 44: p 1-20. 2001.

⁵⁰ Lewin, J. *Sex, Colour and the Law*. University of the Witwaterstrand, Johannesburg. 1969. p 63.

laws were passed in Rhodesia and Kenya. The main idea behind the law was that sexual relations between White women and Black men would pour Black blood into the White race, thereby diluting the ‘purity’ of the White race.⁵¹ White South Africans became increasingly concerned with preserving ‘White purity’. Anti-miscegenation attitudes were the norm by the end of the 19th century and well into the 20th century. The dangers of race mixing were made clear in social, biological and political arguments, with the degenerate effects of miscegenation, as well as the affirmation of White supremacy, as their goal.⁵²

These sentiments reflected White fears of losing their position of dominance, as reflected in a statement by one contemporary historian, G. Cornwell: “The iron rule of endogamy at the heart of the notion of caste helps to explain why ‘miscegenation’ has been such an obsession among [W]hite South Africans...”⁵³ Another historian, A.L. Stoler noted: “it provided not so much a new vocabulary as it did a medical and moral basis over [W]hite prestige”.⁵⁴ These attitudes not only served to define a collective attitude of exclusion but also served to regulate the behaviours of both dominated and dominator.

In 1905, the Cape Parliament had for the first time provided that special schools be established, which by law were to be restricted to children of European parentage only. A White man married to a woman whose father was White and mother was not, entered his children at one such school. White parents began to complain to the School Board and the children were ordered to leave immediately. The father, believing that he had grounds for legal action, decided to sue the School Board, claiming that since three of the children’s four grandparents were European, the children should also be classified as such. The Appeal Court however rejected his application.⁵⁵

The reason for the rejection was that the Court could not ignore the universal meaning applied to ‘European’ in South Africa. South African society held that a White person

⁵¹ Ibid. p 64.

⁵² Beinart, W. *Twentieth Century South Africa*. Oxford University Press. 1994. p 37-140.

⁵³ Cornwell, G. George Webb Hardy’s ‘The Black Peril’ and the social meaning of ‘black peril’ in early twentieth-century South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22 (3): 441-453. 1996.

⁵⁴ Stoler, A.L. Making the Empire Respectable: The politics of race and sexual morality in 20th century colonial cultures. *American Ethnologist* 16 (4). 1989. p 645

⁵⁵ Sachs, A. *Justice in South Africa*. University of California Press, Berkeley. 1973. p 134-135.

from the United States who had never been to Europe was European, while a Black person who was born in Europe, was other than European. Moreover, the status of a child born to a couple, where one parent was European and the other was indigenous, was unclear.⁵⁶

According to the Court, the rejection of the application to sue the School Board was necessary because of the vague expression of the statute that was contained in the legislature. This stated that the aboriginal natives of the country belonged to an inferior race and that intimacy with the Black slaves or yellow races lowered the White race, without raising the inferiority of the Black races. Intermarriage and illicit intercourse between people of two races was condemned. The Court also stated that while such a chasm was regrettable, it was necessary to decide how far back in a person's pedigree the Court would be allowed to go, in order to decide whether the person's European extraction was unmixed.⁵⁷

When South Africa became a Union in 1910, the Minister of Justice, Tielman Roos, stated that he had received requests from White women's organizations for legislation on the issue of inter-racial relationships, and that several commissions of inquiry objected to the double moral standards reflected in the earlier laws enacted by the British, before the Union. According to Roos, the aim was to protect White women from Black men, as well as Black women from White men. He claimed no objection to inter-racial marriage but artfully stated that the law in the Transvaal did not allow such marriages and made no administrative provision for them to take place. The subject was seemingly not debated in Parliament for the next ten years, and except for the occasional court case on the matter, neither was much heard of it in the press.⁵⁸

By the end of the 19th century, social, political and biological arguments on the dangers of race mixing were normative in South Africa. Whites became increasingly concerned

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Lewin, J. *Sex, Colour and the Law*. University of the Witwaterstrand, Johannesburg. 1969. p 65.

with preserving the purity of the White race. The mixed race population described by Findlay in his 1936 book, *Miscegenation*, highlighted White fears:

The real objection to primary miscegenation, the crossing of the pure stocks, is that the progeny is thrown neither into one social group or another. Tainted as a rule with illegitimacy, its association within the family is peculiar; the half-breed, according to the opportunities his appearance offers, feels that his membership of the family and cultural group is nothing definite.⁵⁹

Under Prime Minister J.B.M Hertzog, the Nationalist Government passed the first Immorality Act in 1927 against sexual intercourse (but not against inter-marriage) between Europeans and Africans. By 1937, a private member's Bill to extend the legal prohibition against intercourse with Africans to inter-marriage with Africans was introduced. The measure was opposed on the grounds that strong social sanctions already existed. Time was not given for the Bill to proceed and it was never voted on and eventually fell away.⁶⁰

The National Party under Dr D.F. Malan came to power in 1948 and with it came the promise to legalize apartheid (separation of the races). Historically, the dominant political powers in South Africa supported both the dividing of its citizens along racial lines and the emphasizing of race and ethnicity. In order to make the policy of apartheid work, race and ethnicity had to be fore-grounded. Key notions of racial and ethnic classification became the taken-for-granted context and in that context, the mechanics of state and society made racial and ethnic division a political device.⁶¹

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act - Act 55 of 1949, firmly prohibited marriage between White persons and persons from other race groups. In 1950, sexual intercourse was likewise prohibited if one person was White and the other belonged to another race group. In 1957, the Strydom government introduced the Immorality Act - Act 23 of 1957,

⁵⁹ Findlay, G. *Miscegenation*. Pretoria News and Printing Works, Pretoria. 1936. p 9.

⁶⁰ Lewin, J. *Sex, Colour and the Law*. University of the Witwaterstrand, Johannesburg. 1969. p 64-66.

⁶¹ Ibid.

which made it a criminal offence to commit any “immoral or indecent” act if one person was White and the other belonged to another race group. This Act made it easier for convictions to be secured and produced a spate of prosecutions.⁶²

Numerous prosecutions for violation of the Immorality Act were reported in the daily newspapers and by 1960, over 300 cases had been heard every year in the magistrate’s courts in all parts of the country. Among the accused was a minister from the Dutch Reformed Church, the headmaster of a school, a well known attorney, wealthy married farmers and the secretary to Prime Minister Strydom. The police, who were eager to arrest people, made no distinction between stable relationships involving families and children, and casual incidents resembling prostitution. While police received help from informants in some incidents, it was admitted that only a very small percentage of offenders were discovered.⁶³

On the 17th of February 1958, *Time Magazine* published an article, “South Africa: the Prime Minister’s Secretary”, detailing the story of a thirty nine year old White man, Gideon Andrew Keyser. Keyser was private secretary to Johannes Gerhardus Strydom, Prime Minister of South Africa. According to the article, Keyser was prosecuted under the 1957 Immorality Act, which forbade Whites from sexual relations with people of other races. Keyser is reported to have arranged a meeting with a young African girl with the intention of exchanging money for sexual favours. The girl reported the incident to the police and when Keyser appeared, the police waited until his intentions were apparent and then arrested him. The court found him guilty and he was given a suspended sentence of four months in prison and four strokes with a bamboo cane.⁶⁴

An article published in *Time Magazine* on the 9th of February 1962, “South Africa: Sex and Colour”, reported that in the past decade, about 4 000 couples had been convicted. In 1961, John Rudd, a 34 year old White businessman from Johannesburg, was arrested in his home with Dottie Tiyo, a 21 year old professional dancer (African). The pair was

⁶² Ibid. p 66.

⁶³ Ibid. p 67-68.

⁶⁴ “South Africa: The Prime Minister’s Secretary” *Time Magazine* (US) February 1958.

convicted for contravening the Immorality Act and each was sentenced to six months imprisonment. In Klerksdorp, a White father of four asphyxiated himself rather than go to court for his affair with a Black woman. In Port Elizabeth, a White man drove his car off a pier when he learnt that the police would bring Immorality Act charges against him.

In 1962, the Durban Regional Court heard the case of a 28 year old Indian man, Syrub Singh and a 22 year old White woman, Charlotte Bloem. Singh and Bloem were married in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia and settled in Durban. The prosecutor argued that the Singh's marriage did not exist since South Africa's Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act rendered it automatically invalid and that as an unmarried couple, they were in violation of the Immorality Act.⁶⁵

The Following is a table of convictions for inter-racial sexual activity during selected years (1928-1966)

CONVICTIONS FOR INTER-RACIAL SEXUAL ACTIVITY DURING SELECTED YEARS 1928 TO 1966			
Year	Intercourse between 'European' and 'Native'	Intercourse between 'European' and 'non-European'	Sex between 'White' and 'Coloured'
1928	89		
1948	78		
1949	118		
1950		265	
1951		275	
1952		313	
1953		261	
1954		360	
1955		313	
1956		305	
1957			363
1958			457

⁶⁵ "South Africa: Sex and Colour" *Time Magazine* (US) February 1962.

1959			551
1960			427
1961			389
1962			382
1963			364
1964			382
1965			405
1966			488
(Figures taken from annual Police Reports)			

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2.5 The Population Registration Act

The basis of the National Party’s policy of separate development was the Population Registration Act - Act 30 of 1950, which classified the entire population according to racial groups. The Population Registration Act put all South Africans into three racial categories:⁶⁷ Bantu (Black/African), White, and Coloured (mixed race). A fourth category: Asian (Indians and Pakistanis), was later added. Race became the determinate for all social interaction. The ‘racial category’ was everything. Individual persons did not exist outside the group categorization.⁶⁸ The group defined and determined where and with whom the individual person could live, work, own land, worship, socialize, attend school, obtain health services, play sport, enjoy entertainment, or marry.

When the Act was first passed in 1950, it defined racial groups relatively loosely. A Coloured person was defined as “a person who is not a [W]hite person nor generally accepted as a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa”.⁶⁹ However, the Act was revised six times to tighten loopholes. Amendments to the Act sub-divided Coloured

⁶⁶ Sachs, A. *Justice in South Africa*. University of California Press, Berkeley. 1973. p 175.

⁶⁷ The study will use the terms ‘African’, ‘Indian’ and ‘Coloured’ as per apartheid’s racial classification system only to address concepts of race and racism defined by the apartheid system. The terms are inevitable when dealing with South Africa’s racially defined apartheid society.

⁶⁸ Horrell, M. *Race Classification in South Africa: Its effects on human beings*. (Fact Paper) The South African Institute of Race Relations. 1958.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

South Africans into further categories such as Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Chinese and other Coloured.⁷⁰

The first Race Classification Review Board was established in 1954. In January 1958, a Population Registration Office was opened. In September 1959, it was announced that the board of review was to be replaced by a special appeals board to be set up in the Transvaal, the Cape Province and possibly in Natal. At first, race classification was based largely on general appearance rather than any notion of racial purity. By 1960, the criteria had become acceptance.⁷¹

Informers could raise questions about a person's racial classification or acceptability as a member of a particular race group, at a cost of R20. This objection would lead to an investigation of the individual's background and social relationships.⁷² Even if a person was deemed to be White but spent too much time socially with people from other race groups, that person ran the risk of being re-classified into a 'lesser' race group, according to apartheid's racial classification system. According to Muriel Horrell, researcher at the South African Institute of Race Relations, "this method served to prevent friendships across an arbitrarily determined colour line".⁷³

In February 1958, the *Cape Times* reported the Minister of the Interior as saying that the Population Registration Act served to assist people by removing all uncertainty, unease and the "cloud which hovered over them". However, by the end of 1961, the newspaper reported that there were at least 20 000 people in the Cape Peninsular alone who were still uncertain of whether they were officially White or Coloured. Every year the official Government Gazette would register the number of people who had been re-classified on racial grounds. By 1984, there were still re-classifications.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Valentine, S. "Beyond Identity: All human beings belong to the same race" *Sunday Times Heritage Project*. April 17th 2008.

In 1958, *The Star* reported the story of a man who was re-classified as Coloured even though his European lineage could be traced. He lost his job as an artisan at the railway station because only Europeans were allowed to be on the artisan pay schedule. When his European wife heard of his plight, she was deeply ashamed and filed for a divorce. Having lost everything, the man tried to commit suicide by taking a bottle of aspirin. He was very ill and eventually recovered. His wife fell ill while attending their divorce case hearing and never recovered. She died three years later. The man was rejected by his family and friends and had to begin a new life as a Coloured person.⁷⁵

In 1967, a Cape Town welterweight boxer, Ronnie van der Walt, received a letter from the Ministry of the Interior informing him that in terms of the Population Registration Act, he was classified as Coloured. Van der Walt had attended a Whites only school and boxed in a more lucrative Whites only circuit. The letter was also sent to the Boxing Board, and Van der Walt was taken off the bill. Even if Van der Walt was able to prove his White status, he ran the risk of exposing his wife's Coloured origins and being accused of contravening the Immorality Act. He left the country and moved to Britain, his boxing career in South Africa ruined.⁷⁶

The racial hierarchy in South Africa during the apartheid era, which branded other race groups as inferior to Whites, has since the beginning of South African history caused a myriad of sufferings and difficulties for children born of inter-racial relationships. These children posed a challenge to the racial order. The ruling powers of the time therefore construed them as misfits who belonged to no racial group. The Population Registration Act served to place this group of people into a racial category of their own, thereby effectively dealing with the 'problem' of mixed race children and safeguarding the 'purity' of the White race.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Muriel Horrell argued that the intention of the Act was to prevent the ‘passing’ from one group to another.⁷⁷ According to Van de Berghe, the Act served to legally entrench the racial caste hierarchy of South African society.⁷⁸ Reddy argued that the Nationalists needed to pass legislation on individual identity along racial and ethnic lines, so as to make legal that which appeared to pervade society socially. Firstly, the fear of miscegenation and secondly, since the state despotically imposed racial identities on its citizens, the Population Registration Act allowed the state to act as the final judge when these classifications were contested.⁷⁹

2.6 The Group Areas Act

The Group Areas Act - Act 41 of 1950, assigned races to geographically distinct residential and business areas. The primary task of the Act was to provide separate areas that would be used exclusively by one racial group for residential and business purposes. The past patterns of residential settlement led to mixed areas and this had to be sorted anew. A complementary objective of the Act was to preserve the racial purity of a particular area from influx by other racial groups. Once an area was assigned to one race, individuals from other races needed permits to remain in that area for a specific period of time, after which they had to move to the area designated for them.⁸⁰

Blacks were subject to harsh restrictions with regard to socializing, marriage, movement, living areas, employment, education and medical resources. The apartheid police were given free reign to exercise brutality on those whom they believed to be in violation of apartheid’s oppressive laws. Incidents of arrest and brutality for being in the company of people from the White race group, for not being in possession of a passbook, for failure to pay poll- or tribal tax, for being unemployed, or for just looking suspicious in the eyes of the police, were not uncommon. Random raids were executed on sleeping communities with the aim of flushing out ‘perpetrators’. Racial intimidation and violence

⁷⁷ Horrell, M. *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa*. Institute of South African Race Relations, Johannesburg. 1978. p 16.

⁷⁸ Reddy, T. “The politics of naming: the constitution of Coloured identities in South Africa”. in (ed) Erasmus, Z. *Coloured by History Shaped by Place*. Kwela Books, Cape Town. 2001. pp 76-77.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Mojapelo-Batka, E.M. *Interracial Couples within the South African Context: Experiences, Perceptions and Challenges*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of South Africa. 2008. p 9.

were characteristic of the era. The National Party's tyranny and reign of institutionalized racism was epitomized by its abuse of power, racial injustice, inequality, victimization, brutality and oppression.⁸¹

2.7 An Inconsequential Political Measure

The South African Institute of Race Relations reported that 1 916 people were prosecuted under section 16 of the Immorality Act between 1974 and 1982.⁸² During the late 1970s, the government came under increasing pressure to abandon both the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, due to criticism both domestically and internationally. Prime Minister P.W. Botha suggested that he was willing to consider changing the inter-racial sex laws. His decision was heavily influenced by the changing stance of the Dutch Reformed Church on the matter.⁸³

In 1983, the government established a select parliamentary committee to investigate the prospect of changing the laws. In 1984, the committee reported its suggestion that the laws be scrapped. In 1985, the then Minister of Home Affairs and National Education, F.W. de Klerk, announced that it was time to remove the issue of laws governing sex from the political realm. However, he stressed the preservation of group identity and community life and that other legislation would still be in effect.⁸⁴ While these developments represented a dramatic move towards social change, many believed that the removal of these laws was merely cosmetic, since the rigid system of segregation was still upheld by other legislation.

According to the Central Statistical Services of the Republic of South Africa, there was a slight increase in marriages involving one White spouse between 1987 and 1990.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Kaffir Boy: The True Story of a Black Youth's coming of Age in Apartheid South Africa* by Mark Mathabane. <http://www.enotes.com/kaffir-boy/copyright>. Accessed: 20/12/2010.

⁸² Morral, L. *Interracial Families in South Africa: An Exploratory Study*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg. 1994. p 46.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Jaynes, C.L. *Interracial Intimate Relationships in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Unpublished Master of Arts Dissertation. University of the Witwaterstrand, Johannesburg. 2007. p 66-67.

⁸⁵ Morral, L. *Interracial Families in South Africa: An Exploratory Study*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg. 1994. p 98.

1987	474	34.03%
1988	409	38.01%
1989	807	52.95%
1990	1 345	42%

The central Statistical Service no longer reports figures on mixed marriages, thus, the above conclusions are speculative, rather than conclusive. Jaynes contends that a possible explanation for the increase from 1987 to 1989 could be related to there having been a back-log of people in established relationships who wanted to marry but had been legally prohibited from doing so. The backlog was probably somewhat addressed by 1990.⁸⁶

While inter-racial relationships were decriminalized, mixed couples were still unable to live together, according to the provisions of both the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act. Rather than amend these measures, the government provided that mixed couples could be re-classified under the Population Registration Act. The White partner in the relationship would have to take on the racial classification of the Black partner. After re-classification, they could live together legally, in the appropriate Group Area.⁸⁷ The repeal of the laws regulating inter-racial relationships was considered a political maneuver, designed to appease the opponents of apartheid.

F.W. de Klerk assumed the presidency of the country in 1989 and took dramatic steps towards dismantling apartheid. The government began to negotiate with Black leaders and established an independent judiciary that guaranteed racial equality. By 1991, all legislation enshrining apartheid was repealed. In 1992, a referendum to end apartheid was approved and a multi-racial election took place in 1994.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Jaynes, C.L. *Interracial Intimate Relationships in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Unpublished Master of Arts Dissertation. University of the Witwaterstrand. 2007. p 11.

⁸⁷ Simon, D. Crisis and Changes in South Africa: Implications for the apartheid city. *Transactions of the Institute of the British Geographers*. 1989. p 189-206.

⁸⁸ Goodsell, E. Constitution, Custom, and Creed: Balancing Human Rights Concerns with Cultural and Religious Freedom in Today's South Africa. *Journal of Public Law*. Volume 21: 111-154. Brigham Young University. 2007. p 119-120.

2.8 Conclusion

The history of legislation on inter-racial relationships in South Africa shows that legislation served to regulate a stringent racial hierarchy, dominated by notions of White supremacy. The National Party was able to maintain its power by keeping a firm grasp on segregation laws. The move to legalise inter-racial relationships in 1985 was an important step towards the dismantling of apartheid. Just as anti-miscegenation laws were used as the bedrock of apartheid in the earlier 20th century, the decriminalization of inter-racial relationships was an important step towards the eventual disintegration of apartheid.

The transition to majority leadership under a new constitution changed South Africa's social landscape. Since the new constitution, which outlined extensive civil rights and protection from discrimination was ratified in 1996; all South Africans experience a more tolerant system of race relations.⁸⁹ The effects of apartheid legislation could not be eased by the scrapping of a few laws, since the entire system was designed to keep the different race groups separate. Liberation from political oppression only came with the total overthrow of apartheid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

Religion has always played a major role in most societies and in the politics of the human race throughout history. In South Africa, Christianity became a powerful influence with regards to racial segregation since the arrival of the Dutch settlers in the 17th century. The problem of clandestine inter-racial relationships is linked to South Africa's history of racial segregation. The Dutch Reformed Church, according to van Jaarsveld, provided a theological base upon which the segregation policies of apartheid were built.⁹⁰ According to Rossouw, religion played a major role in the foundation and rise of apartheid. Rossouw noted that the Church was one of the first places where apartheid was practiced, long before it became institutionalized in 1948.⁹¹

While the Dutch Reformed Church acquiesced to the policy of apartheid up until 1986, many other Christian denominations proclaimed that apartheid was a contradiction of the Gospel. Church organizations and individual religious leaders were persecuted by the government, as it sought to enforce its racial policies through legislation such as the Internal Security Act, which banned organizations adjudged to endanger the security of the state, and the Affected Organizations Act. The latter authorized the Executive to withhold all foreign financial support for organizations which were “under the influence” of a person or organization abroad. Legislation such as this was designed to keep religious leaders and organizations in check. According to Erin Goodsell, author of: *Constitution, Custom, and Creed: Balancing Human Rights Concerns with Cultural and Religious Freedom in Today's South Africa*, “ultimately, acts of religious activism against apartheid were far outnumbered by instances of respect for, or acquiescence to apartheid”.

⁹⁰ van Jaarsveld, F.C. *The Afrikaner's Interpretation of South African History*. Simondium, Cape Town. 1964. p 52.

⁹¹ Rossouw, G.J. “Essentials of Apartheid” in Hofmeyr, Lombard and Maritz (eds) *Perspectives on Christianity: 1948, plus 50 years of theology, Apartheid and church: past present and future*. IMER, Pretoria. 2001. p 95.

Goodsell noted that religion, whether through facilitation, acquiescence, or opposition, played a significant role in the battle over apartheid.⁹² This chapter will examine the religious context that facilitated the rise and fall of the policy of apartheid, and will examine the role of churches and church leaders in the construction and repeal of anti-miscegenation laws in South Africa.

3.2 Religious Facilitation, Acquiescence and Opposition to Apartheid and Anti-miscegenation Legislation

3.2.1 The Dutch Reformed Church

Opposition to inter-racial marriages by the Dutch Reformed Church revolved around the notion of group ethic. A complex theology, supported by exclusivist trends in biblical scripture, was tailored to appeal to the Afrikaner historical experience.⁹³ After the cessation of the Anglo-Boer wars in 1902, a renewed awareness of identity by descendants of Dutch settler stock began to develop. A formal language known as Afrikaans developed and the settler descendants began to call themselves Afrikaners. The Afrikaners saw themselves not only as true Africans, but also as God's 'chosen' people. The Afrikaners identified strongly with the Israelite people of the Old Testament, who made their exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land. The Afrikaner nation saw itself as a special people of God with a special mandate from God to Christianize the heathen in South Africa.⁹⁴

By the early 20th century, the social and spiritual survival of the newly formed Afrikaner nation became entwined in church philosophy and politics. Decisions taken by the Dutch Reformed Church had a major impact on the politics of the country. According to Terreblanche, the National Party's agenda, which was formulated long before it came to power in 1948 and which was fully supported by the Dutch Reformed Church, was to

⁹² Goodsell, E. Constitution, Custom, and Creed: Balancing Human Rights Concerns with Cultural and Religious Freedom in Today's South Africa. *Journal of Public Law*. Volume 21: 111-154. Brigham Young University. 2007. p 120.

⁹³ Furlong, P.J. The Mixed Marriages Act: A historical and theological Study. *Communications* 8. Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town. 1983.

⁹⁴ de Klerk W. *The Puritans in Africa: A Story of Afrikanerdom*. Rex Collins, London. 1975. p 213-222.

create a new socio-economic order which favoured the Afrikaner nation. An important factor in this agenda was the official implementation of the policy of apartheid, which would effectively deal with the native problem and ensure the purity of the Afrikaner nation.⁹⁵

An article in *Die Kerkbode*, an official organ of the Dutch Reformed Church, on 22nd September 1948, summed up the Dutch Reformed Church's stance on race relations in South Africa:

Basic to our overall attitude, is without doubt the strongest aversion to not only all instances of miscegenation between [W]hite and non-[W]hite but also of placing the non-[W]hites on an equal footing with the European population on the social level. As a church we have as a rule... separation of these two population groups. In this respect apartheid can rightfully be called church policy.⁹⁶

In 1947, Professor Groenewalt was tasked to prepare a report on the feasibility of apartheid in light of biblical scripture. Groenewalt completed his studies at the University of Stellenosch in 1929 and went on to obtain his DTh in 1939 at the Free University of Amsterdam. He was called to the chair of New Testament in 1937. His report was an attempt to link 'pure' principles from the Bible with the reality of the practical, historical situation in South Africa. According to the report, the division of the races was a conscious act of God. God divided people according to their colour and originality. Each individual in the human race belonged to the group where his/her hair texture and skin colour matched. God wished to separate people in order to maintain their separateness.

Groenewalt argued that apartheid should be adhered to in every aspect of people's lives - national, social and religious - and that the principles of apartheid enjoyed the blessings of God. The Council of the Dutch Reformed Church adopted Groenewalt's report, along

⁹⁵ Terreblanche, S. *A history of inequality in South Africa 1652-2002*. University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg. 2002. p 302.

⁹⁶ The Dutch Reformed Church. *Die Kerkbode*. September 1948.

with the Natal and Free State Synods. After initially not wishing to adopt the report, the Transvaal Synod affirmed the scriptural basis for racial segregation two days later.⁹⁷

The Dutch Reformed Church believed that in order for the Afrikaners to fulfill their special mission from God, strict lines of racial separation were to be maintained. With the inception of the policy of apartheid in 1948, a strong alliance between politics, law and Afrikaner civil religion was established. By 1948, apartheid, with its strong resistance to social contact between the different races in South Africa, was indubitably church policy as reflected in the official organ of the Dutch Reformed Church.⁹⁸

The traditional fear of the Afrikaner of racial equality (equalitarianism) between [W]hite and [B]lack derives from his aversion to miscegenation. The Afrikaner has always believed firmly that if he is to be true to his primary calling of bringing Christianity to the heathen, he must preserve his racial identity intact. The church [Dutch Reformed Church] is, therefore, entirely opposed to inter-marriage between Black and White and is committed to withstand everything that is calculated to facilitate it.⁹⁹

Afrikaner theologians provided the framework and justification for apartheid. While the Afrikaners used the Bible to justify racial separation, biblical support was not the primary pillar for the policy of apartheid. The policy of apartheid was an ideological structure for which a religious background was devised that supported the existing ideology. Religion, in this case, Christianity, was made subservient to national ideology. The aim was to ensure the continuance of the Afrikaner nation and to guarantee that power remained in the hands of the White race group.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ van Rooyen, J.H.P. *Kerk en Staat*. University of Utrecht, Utrecht. 1964. p 54.

General Synod Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church. *The Story of the Dutch Reformed Church's Journey with Apartheid (1960-1994)*. 1997.

⁹⁸ The Dutch Reformed Church. *Die Kerkbode*. September 1948.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Chong, S. "The Myth of Race" *The Banner*. March 2003.

The focus on mixed marriages entered South Africa's political discourse in the 1930's, with the contest between the Purified National Party (Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party / GNP) of Dr D.F. Malan and the United Party (UP) of J.B.M. Hertzog and Jan Smuts. The 1938 election was said to revolve around the issue of mixed marriages and which party could most effectively prevent it.¹⁰¹ Hyslop remarked that Malan, an ordained minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, played a major role in the invention of the 'sin' of mixed marriage in order to maintain power.¹⁰² Furlong noted that the powerful influence of the Dutch Reformed Church propelled the drive for anti-miscegenation legislation.¹⁰³ By taking the lead role in creating the policy of apartheid, the Dutch Reformed Church provided a moral legitimization for the state's oppressive laws.

In 1965, a commission appointed by the Dutch Reformed Church submitted eight reports to the Cape Synod. One of the reports, *Ras, volk en nasie in die lig van die Skrif* (Race, People and Nation in the light of the Scriptures), was ultimately approved as a policy document for the Dutch Reformed Church by the General Synod in 1974. The approved document was entitled, *Ras, volk en nasie en volkereverhoudinge in die lig van die Skrif* (Race, People and Nation and relations between Peoples in the light of the Scriptures).

Concerning apartheid, the document stated that, in keeping with the Old Testament, the church should avoid the modern tendency to eradicate indiscriminately all diversity between Peoples. Furthermore, the New Testament allowed for the regulation of the co-existence of different Peoples in one country, on the basis of separate development.¹⁰⁴ Concerning mixed marriages, the document stated that, inter-racial marriages were, "not merely undesirable, but also unsanctioned... in other words, unscriptural".¹⁰⁵ Inter-racial marriages were strongly rejected on the grounds that they were pragmatically unworkable

¹⁰¹ Hyslop, J. "The representation of white working class women in the construction of a reactionary populist movement: 'Purified' Afrikaner Nationalist agitation for legislation against 'mixed' marriages, 1934-1939. *African Studies Seminar Paper No. 340*. African Studies Institute, University of the Witwaterstrand. 1993. p 2.

¹⁰² Ibid. p 26.

¹⁰³ Furlong, P.J. *The Mixed Marriages Act: A historical and theological Study. Communications 8*. Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town. 1983.

¹⁰⁴ The General Synod Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church. *The story of the Dutch Reformed Church's Journey with Apartheid (1960-1994)*. 1997.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

and would impede the happiness and full development of a Christian marriage. The document stressed that inter-racial marriages would eventually destroy the God-given diversity and identity of the races.¹⁰⁶

The policy of apartheid was called into question throughout the 1970's and 1980's. From within the ranks of the Dutch Reformed Church itself, an official organ of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, *Die Ligdraer*, wrote in 1980:

The Dutch Reformed Church honestly believed that it was the only policy which could serve the highest interests of the [W]hites and non-[W]hites... The Fruits of the policy, however, are the quintessence of ambivalence, of good and of evil, of opportunities for self-realization intertwined with circumstances of gross dehumanization, of large-scale material and technical progress coupled with unbelievable deprivations in human values. For this reason the members of the ([B]lack and [C]oloured) churches have experienced the apartheid policy, with all the benefits it has brought, as extremely oppressive... Therefore, the Dutch Reformed Mission Church asks the Dutch Reformed Church to turn on its tracks and repudiate the policy of apartheid, and to help bring about the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Group Areas Act.¹⁰⁷

In 1982, the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church reconfirmed its decision that apartheid was a 'sin' and that the moral and theological justification of it was a mockery of the Gospel. The pronouncement of the Synod was in line with the decision of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) earlier that same year, when it suspended the membership of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. Shaken by the decision of the WARC, the Dutch Reformed Church began to gradually distance itself from its previous function as initiator of apartheid. However, the Dutch Reformed Church

¹⁰⁶ General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture*. Dutch Reformed Church Publishers, Cape Town – Pretoria. 1974. p 93-99.

¹⁰⁷ The General Synod Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church. *The story of the Dutch Reformed Church's Journey with Apartheid (1960-1994)* Dutch Reformed Church Publishers, 1997.

continued to function in many ways as the official church throughout the period of apartheid.¹⁰⁸

By 1986, the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church rescinded certain views contained in its 1974 policy document, *Ras, volk en nasie en volkereverhoudinge in die lig van die Skrif*, with the adoption of the policy document, *Kerk en Samelewing* (Church and Society). Concerning apartheid, the document stated that, the forced separation and division of peoples could not be considered a biblical imperative. Apartheid as a social and political system, adversely affected human dignity and could not be accepted on Christian-ethical grounds because it contravened the very essence of neighbourly love and righteousness. The Dutch Reformed Church was prepared to co-operate in the Spirit of Christ to seek a solution which would enable every sector of society to attain the highest level of wellbeing.¹⁰⁹

Concerning marriage, the document stated that, the Bible did not forbid inter-racial marriages. However, in its pastoral work, “the church was to give due warning that the social circumstances, as well as ideological, philosophical, cultural, and socio-economic differences and other factors, could cause serious tensions. Where such marriages did take place, those involved were to receive pastoral guidance in all aspects of marriage”.¹¹⁰

An article in *Die Kerkbode* in 1990 stated: “The official Dutch Reformed Church acknowledges that apartheid is a sin and confesses that its part in enforcing and upholding apartheid was wrong”.¹¹¹ In 1997, the Dutch Reformed Church produced a document: *The Story of the Dutch reformed Church’s Journey with Apartheid (1960 –*

¹⁰⁸ The Research Institute on Christianity in South Africa. *Faith Communities and Apartheid: A report prepared for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. March 1989.

Goodsell, E. Constitution, Custom, and Creed: Balancing Human Rights Concerns with Cultural and Religious Freedom in Today’s South Africa. *Journal of Public Law*. Brigham Young University. 2007. p 120-121.

¹⁰⁹ The General Synod Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church. *The story of the Dutch Reformed Church’s Journey with Apartheid (1960-1994)*. Dutch Reformed Church Publishers, 1997.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

1994). The document evaluated thirty four years of Dutch Reformed Church history and offered an apology for its role in the facilitation and acquiescence of the policy of apartheid and for the many injustices which it created.¹¹²

3.2.2 Social Analysis

The apartheid theology of the Dutch Reformed Church could be located in three categories of “racist theologies” spelled out by Ogilvie in his article, *Children of a White God: A Study of Racist “Christian” Theologies*:

1. White supremacy theology; which holds that the White race is superior to all other races and that the destiny of the White race is to dominate other peoples.
2. Separatist theology; which claims that it is the will of God that the races be kept separate in terms of family, national boundaries and social and economic development.
3. Nationalist theology; which is founded on the belief that one nation is the chosen nation, favoured by God, and that the chosen nation must be closed to other races on the grounds that admitting them would compromise the character of the chosen nation.¹¹³

The superior and ‘chosen status’ the Afrikaner nation accorded themselves, stemmed from their association of Christianity with European culture and supremacy. The Afrikaners asserted that by divine election, their destiny was to dominate. This historically baseless theory provided a theological basis for White supremacy. The idea that the separation of the races was the will of God and that racial purity was a matter of divine law, stemmed from their fear of racial equality with Blacks and their aversion to miscegenation. Ogilvie noted that this kind of racism is based on a “classicist” notion of culture. The classicist notion holds that cultures are never static but are continually in a process of decline, evolution or degeneration. The theology of separate development was primarily the fear of racial contaminations, which was believed would dilute the purity of

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ogilvie, M.C. Children of a White God: A Study of Racist “Christian” Theologies. *The Human Nature Review*. Volume 1: 1-27. 2001.

the White race and eventually results in its decline or degeneration. Ogilvie argued that the reason why leaders of the Afrikaners viewed inter-racial marriage negatively was neither theological nor biblical but simply as a result of prejudice and the desire to attain and hold power.¹¹⁴

The policies of the apartheid government met with opposition from some members within the Dutch Reformed Church itself. At the Rosettenville Conference in 1949, the first ecumenical conference after apartheid was officially instated, Professor B.B. Keet of the Dutch Reformed Seminary in Stellenbosch said:

I believe that our brethren who want to maintain *apartheid* on biblical grounds are labouring under this misunderstanding. They confuse *apartheid*, which is an attitude of life, with a diversity which includes unity. Christian unity, I know, will include diversity, but it must never be seen as separation; and *apartheid* is separation”.¹¹⁵

A leading theologian in the Dutch Reformed Church, Professor Ben Marais, attacked the policy of apartheid in his work, *Colour: the Unsolved Problem of the West*.¹¹⁶ The most notable opposition from within the ranks of the Dutch Reformed Church came from the Reverend Beyers Naude, a distinguished minister in the church and Director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa (CI). The CI was established in 1963 with the aim of bringing about a change of attitude regarding race relations in the ranks of the Afrikaner churches.¹¹⁷

3.2.3 The English-speaking Churches

The Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches are commonly known as the English-speaking churches. According to de Gruchy, since 1948, synods, conferences and assemblies of the English-speaking churches have protested against

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ de Gruchy, J. *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. David Philip, Cape Town, South Africa. 1979. p 58.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p 59.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

every piece of legislation designed to further apartheid and entrench discrimination. Race classification, the Group Areas Act, the Immorality Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and other legislation have all met with strong protest by the English-speaking churches. This led to considerable tension between the state and the English-speaking churches. The churches rejected the national policy as unjust and were relatively free to criticize the government's policy of separate development. While the criticism sometimes led to conflict and confrontation, it did not affect the status quo because the Dutch Reformed Church's notion of separate development took precedence in the eyes of the government.¹¹⁸

However, even among the English-speaking churches, some of its members supported apartheid on a personal level. John de Gruchy noted that while the English-speaking churches criticized apartheid in principle and passed resolutions on related legislation, their efforts were not coupled with adequate action. De Gruchy maintained that:

A major failure of the leaders of the churches has been their over-confidence in the power of resolutions. There has been a tendency to believe that if the right word is uttered, the task is achieved. Thus, there has been a plethora of pronouncements but a lack of grass-roots teaching and a paucity of deeds.¹¹⁹

When the legislation on inter-racial relationships was passed in 1949 and 1950, protests against it by some members of the English-speaking churches appeared in the press. In protest against the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act, the President of the Methodist Church of South Africa slated the laws as non-Christian and said, "We believe that all people of God's family have an equal right in His sight".¹²⁰ The Anglican Bishop in Natal denounced the law as, "utterly stupid and completely unworkable".¹²¹ An Anglican priest in Natal resigned his appointment as a marriage

¹¹⁸ de Gruchy, J. *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. David Philip, Cape Town. 1979. p 85-97.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p 93.

¹²⁰ "Religion: Marriage in Africa" *Time Magazine* (US) April 1950.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

officer and surrendered his license to the government in protest against the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act”¹²²

3.2.4 The Roman Catholic Church

The organization of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa is the same as elsewhere in the world. It is part of the one universal Roman Church, one and the same for all, regardless of race. The 1952, 1957, 1960 and 1962 Catholic Bishop’s statements, insisted on the idea of one South African society, not several separate societies. The statements reflected that it was Christian duty to use every lawful means to bring about a more equitable and harmonious relationship between the entire South African population. However, Cawood maintained that there did not seem to be any greater fellowship between Black and White Christians in the Roman Catholic Church than in other denominations. Individual Catholics shared in the general race prejudices of the time.¹²³

Marriage in the Roman Catholic Church is a sacrament and no doctrine of the church forbade inter-racial marriage. Roman Catholics emphasized human unity based on the biblical tradition of Adam and Eve as progenitors of all races. Human unity was therefore the basis for inter-racial relationships.¹²⁴ On the issue of government legislation, Catholic Christians owed their first allegiance to Rome. In response to the legislation on inter-racial marriage in South Africa, The Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate in Natal said, “I can see nothing scripturally which would forbid mixed marriages”. In spite of the legislation, Father Thomas L. Gill of the Roman Catholic Church solemnized a marriage between a White man and a Coloured woman in the Cape in 1950. He was convicted and fined \$56 for his crime.¹²⁵

¹²² Cawood, L. *The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa*. The South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg. 1964. p 76-79.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Botham, F. *Almighty God Created the Races: Christianity, Interracial Marriage, and American Law*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. 2009. p 6.

¹²⁵ “Religion: Marriage in Africa” *Time Magazine* (US) April 1950.

3.2.5 Church Bodies and Organizations which Opposed Apartheid

The Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES)

The RES was founded in 1946. Since its inception, racial segregation was high on its agenda. From 1956, the RES declared that there was no scriptural evidence for or against mixed marriages. In 1968, the RES declared that church and state may not prohibit mixed marriages. Some thirty church leaders, representing Calvinist opinions in seven countries, gathered in Potchefstroom in August 1958 to discuss the Synod's attitude to race relations.

The Synod declared that, the fundamental unity of the human race is as important as considerations of race or colour. No particular section of the community should regard itself as placed in an exceptional position or should consider itself superior to any other race. It is the duty of the church to avoid attitudes which can engender estrangement with other races. The church should guard against any impression of discrimination which would imply the inferiority of other races. The church has a duty to scrutinize the policies of secular governments in the light of scriptural precepts. No direct evidence can be produced for or against inter-racial marriage.¹²⁶

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches

The WARC is the oldest and largest reformed ecumenical body in the world. In 1976, a document was formulated to address theological guidelines on human rights and the practical implications of human rights. In a later document (1982), the WARC focused specifically on the South African situation, maintaining that the White Afrikaans Reformed Church's moral and theological justification of apartheid was a pseudo-religious ideology, as well as a political policy.

In its 1982 document, the WARC stated that, apartheid was a sin, and the moral and theological justification of it was a travesty of the Gospel and a theological heresy.

¹²⁶ Theological Forum of the Reformed Ecumenical Council. *Racism: The REC and its Strategies to Combat Racism*. Volume XXV, No. 4. 1997.

Apartheid contradicted the very nature of the Church and obscured the Gospel. The institutionalizing of apartheid policies in the laws, policies and structure of South African society resulted in horrendous injustice, suffering, exploitation and degradation of millions of Black South Africans. Apartheid was unequivocally rejected and the Church in South Africa was urged to commit to working towards dismantling the system in the Church and in politics.

The Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk were suspended from the privileges of membership of the WARC until such time as the two churches had given evidence of a change of heart. The suspension came after several earlier appeals to these churches to denounce apartheid, were rejected.¹²⁷

The World Council of Churches (WCC)

The English-speaking churches, the Dutch Reformed Synods of the Cape and Transvaal, the Moravian Church, the Tsonga Presbyterian Church, the Bantu Presbyterian Church, and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, were all members of the World Council of Churches. Since the first assembly of the WCC in 1948, South Africa's racial policies were on the agenda. The world-wide Christian concern about apartheid grew rapidly in the 1960s. The WCC declared that, "any form of segregation based on race, colour, or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel".¹²⁸ Several conferences were organized by the WCC to discuss the problem of race relations in South Africa.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC)

The SACC, formerly known as the Christian Council, was established in 1968. Its membership was extensive. Inter alia, it included all English-speaking churches. The Roman Catholic Church, the Sendings Kerk and the N.G. Kerk in Afrika were observers.¹²⁹ In 1968, the SACC published a document, *Message to the People of South Africa*, condemning those who justified separate development on theological grounds.

¹²⁷ The World Alliance of Reformed Churches. *Resolution on Racism in South Africa*. Geneva. 1983. p 26-30.

¹²⁸ de Gruchy, J. *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. David Philip, Cape Town. 1979. p 85-97.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p 127.

¹²⁹ Ibid. p 253.

The *Message* ushered in a new phase of intense relations between the SACC member churches and the Dutch Reformed Church, as well as between the SACC and the state. The SACC organized several conferences at which member institutions were able to grapple with the issues facing South African society.¹³⁰

The Cottesloe Declaration (1960)

On March 21st 1960, police killed 60 youths and wounded 180 at Sharpeville during a protest march against the notorious pass laws. The incident sent shock-waves throughout the country and internationally. To address the situation in South Africa, the WCC initiated a process that led to the Cottesloe Consultation, which was held from the 7th to the 14th of December 1960 at the University of the Witwaterstrand.¹³¹

The role of the Dutch Reformed Church with regard to racism was put under the spotlight by the WCC and representatives of South African member churches. The general theme of the Consultation was the Christian attitude towards race relations. The churches were called upon to consider every point where they might unite their ministry in the spirit of equality.

Among other resolutions, the Consultation declared that, all South Africans had an equal right to make their contribution towards the enrichment of their lives and their country and to share in the ensuing responsibilities, rewards and privileges. The Church as the Body of Christ was a unity within which lies natural diversity, which should not be annulled but sanctioned. No one may be excluded on the grounds of race or colour. There were no scriptural grounds for the prohibition of mixed marriages but due consideration had to be given to certain factors which made such marriages unadvisable.¹³²

The various synods of the Dutch Reformed Church which met in 1961 rejected the resolutions of the Cottesloe Conference, stating that the policy of differentiation was

¹³⁰ Ibid. p 115-122.

¹³¹ The General Synod Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church. *The story of the Dutch Reformed Church's Journey with Apartheid (1960-1994)*. Dutch Reformed Church Publishers. 1997.

¹³² Ibid.

scripturally based and offered the only realistic solution to the problem of race relations in South Africa. Additionally, the Dutch Reformed Church stated that the Cottesloe Conference impugned and undermined the policy of separate development. As a result, the NGK and the NHK resigned from the World Council of Churches.¹³³

The Rustenburg Consultation

Thirty years after the Cottesloe Conference, a historic consultation was held in Rustenburg in November 1990. More than two hundred delegates from churches and Christian organizations in South Africa gathered to discuss the theological and political situation in South Africa. It was here that Professor Willie Jonker, a Dutch Reformed Church member and academic, denounced apartheid on behalf of himself and the Dutch Reformed Church. Professor Jonker of the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch declared:

I confess before you and before God not just my own sin and guilt, and my personal responsibility for the political, social, economic and structural injustices under which you and our entire country are still suffering but I also venture to do so vicariously, on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Church, of which I am a member, and for the Afrikaners. I am at liberty to do so because at its last General Synod, the Dutch Reformed Church declared apartheid a sin and acknowledged guilt for its own omission, in that it did not long ago warn against apartheid and distance the church from it.¹³⁴

An article in *Die Kerkbode* in 1990 stated that, “the official Dutch Reformed Church acknowledged that apartheid was a sin and confessed that its part in enforcing and upholding apartheid was wrong”.¹³⁵

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

3.2.6 Church Leaders' Involvement in Rescinding Laws Banning Inter-racial Relationships

In 1981, Prime Minister P.W. Botha met with a delegation of church leaders to discuss rescinding the laws regarding inter-racial sex and marriage. The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town was asked to canvas the opinions of all the churches. The Archbishop reported that all the churches were in favour of the removal of the laws, with the exception of the Hervormde Kerk and the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingskerk. The Archbishop also reported that the Anglican Church had taken a decision to solemnize inter-racial marriages, despite the law, and that ministers would perform the ceremonies and declare the couples married in the eyes of God.¹³⁶ In the face of mounting international and local pressure, the Prime Minister now faced the dilemma of having to prosecute ministers who chose to conduct marriage ceremonies for inter-racial couples, despite the law.¹³⁷

After two years of discussion, Prime Minister Botha concluded that the churches were divided on the issue and suggested that they provide a unanimous decision.¹³⁸ The Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingskerk noted that the Prime Minister was incorrect in stating that the churches were divided, since it was a matter of the two Afrikaans churches on one side and the mainstream churches on the other. The President of the SACC questioned the Prime Minister's motive for seeking consensus on the matter, since consensus was not normally sought before the implementation of legislation. He added that if the Prime Minister sincerely believed that the laws were untenable, he should change them.¹³⁹

In a time of national political upheaval due to the atrocities of the apartheid regime, Bishop Desmond Tutu, recognizing that the scrapping of the laws was an inconsequential measure, stated that the laws were not a priority amongst Black South Africans. He noted that there were far more important issues for the government to address, like the

¹³⁶ The Argus. 17th December 1982.

¹³⁷ Eastern Province Herald. 25th April 1983.

¹³⁸ The Cape Times. 22nd April 1983.

¹³⁹ The Argus. 22nd April 1983.

scrapping of apartheid itself and the mysterious deaths in detention.¹⁴⁰ The South African Catholic Bishops' Conference said that the move left the pillars of apartheid untouched. Dr Nthato Motlana, a community leader in Soweto, said that the move was of no interest to Black South Africans since the primary battle was for one man one vote. He added that the government's good intentions would be more believable if they repealed the pass laws and the group areas laws.¹⁴¹ In 1985, the government repealed both the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act. These Acts were replaced by Act No. 72 of 1985 - the Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act, commencement date, 19th June 1985.¹⁴²

3.3 Conclusion

Legislation on inter-racial marriage was built on a foundation laid decades earlier. The Nationalist government drew from the racist discourse of the Dutch Reformed Church, the discourse on Afrikaner Nationalism and the discourse on White supremacy, to create a narrative that justified legislation against inter-racial relationships. Mainstream church leaders saw the repealing of the legislation on inter-racial relationships as a political move designed to appease opponents of the apartheid regime. The reality of the situation was that the government still kept a firm grasp on other segregation laws as it struggled to hang on to its popular support. Nonetheless, the move to legalize inter-racial relationships was an important step in paving the way for the total downfall of apartheid.

¹⁴⁰ Rand Daily Mail. 14th July 1984.

¹⁴¹ Associated Press. 16th April 1985.

¹⁴² Morral, L. *Interracial Families in South Africa: An Exploratory Study*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg. 1994. p 49.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

4.1 Introduction

Racial categorisation, despotically imposed by the government and enforced through a system of unjust laws, was used to justify political and social inequality in the South African context of apartheid. Chapters two and three discussed a range of racially based laws which were set in place to enforce segregation. However, even though inter-racial relationships were prohibited by law, the gradually developing field of research in this area indicates that they did occur in the context of apartheid - although constituting a very small demographic.

In 1994, Morral conducted research on seven inter-racial families. The study dealt with the causes of inter-racial relationships and marriage, the patterns of adjustment, and identity development of children born of the relationships. The study concluded that the prevalence of inter-racial marriages in South Africa could be viewed as a barometer of social change.¹⁴³

In 1995, Ross conducted six interviews with people who were in inter-racial relationships during the period of apartheid. The study dealt with the causes for inter-racial love and discussed issues such as motive, rebelliousness, and the concept of marginality. Ross expressed the belief that societal acceptance of inter-racial relationships indicated the extent to which groups achieved social, political and economic equity.¹⁴⁴

In 2007, Jaynes conducted research on inter-racial relationships with thirteen University students. The study dealt with the discourses surrounding race and racism in South Africa. The aim was to explore whether the discourses on race and racism intersected with the discourses on inter-racial intimate relationships. The findings were that

¹⁴³ Morral, L. *Interracial Families in South Africa: An Exploratory Study*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg. 1994.

¹⁴⁴ Ross, C.J. *An Existential-phenomenological exploration of interracial love relationships in South Africa*. Thesis for Masters Degree in Research Psychology. Rhodes University, Grahamstown. 1988.

opposition to inter-racial intimate relationships in post-apartheid South Africa is indicative of underlying feelings of racism.¹⁴⁵

In 2008, Mojabelo-Batka conducted research with six inter-racial couples. The study focused on the experiences, perceptions and challenges of being in inter-racial relationships, against the backdrop of previous legislation designed to keep the different race groups in South Africa separate. The findings were that inter-racial relationships challenge racial norms and cultural collectivism.¹⁴⁶

The above mentioned studies are mainly located in the field of psychology and deal with psychological issues that stemmed from being in inter-racial relationships. To date, no study has been done that focuses specifically on the historiography of inter-racial relationships in South Africa and the role of religion in the acquiescence and opposition to legislation banning such relationships. Moreover, no study exists which focuses on the day to day experiences of inter-racial families in a country where such relationships were criminalized.

4.2 The Present Study

The present study is exploratory in nature and deals only with couples and families with a Christian background, who lived in Natal during the period of apartheid. The aims of the study are to investigate how inter-racial couples and families experienced the church, and to gain a deeper understanding of their day to day experiences in apartheid South Africa.

4.3 The Sample

Through the snow-ball sampling method, eighteen inter-racial families were identified. Eight of those families belonged to the Muslim faith and were therefore outside the scope of this research. Four Christian families declined participation in this research for fear of being judged. The reason given was that even though inter-racial relationships was now

¹⁴⁵ Jaynes, C.L. *Interracial Intimate Relationships in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Unpublished Master of Arts Dissertation. University of the Witwaterstrand. 2007.

¹⁴⁶ Mojabelo-Batka E.M. *Interracial Couples within the South African Context: Experiences, Perceptions and Challenges*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation: University of South Africa. 2008.

legalized in South Africa, they feared that their local churches would bring disciplinary action against them for having been in relationships outside of marriage and that this would compromise their standing in society.

The research participants consisted of nine individuals, representing six inter-racial family units. All the participants belonged to a Christian denomination. In three of the family units, two people per family were interviewed. In the remaining three family units, only one person per family was interviewed. The researcher was unable to interview entire family units for several reasons, namely, one spouse was deceased, or the couple was no longer together. The children born of the relationship were married and living in different parts of the country. Family members were not available for the interview process due to time constraints, or, individuals did not wish to disclose certain information concerning previous relationships to the current spouse.

4.4 The Interview Process

All interviews were conducted by the researcher following a semi-structured interview process. Interviews were conducted on an individual basis and follow-up interviews were conducted either in person or telephonically. The face-to-face interviews were audio-taped and later transcribed. A consent form was signed by all participants. The duration of the face-to-face interviews was one to one and a half hours. The duration of the telephonic interviews was ten to fifteen minutes. The telephonic interviews were manually transcribed. A questionnaire was prepared only as a guide during the interview process. The interviewees were allowed to speak freely and the interviewer only interrupted in order to direct the conversation to the topic of discussion or to gain clarity on a certain aspect.

The researcher ensured that interviewees understood the purpose of the interview, as well as discussing issues of confidentiality and measures to be taken to ensure anonymity. The researcher ensured that the interviewees did not have any false expectations with regards to benefits from the interview process. The researcher ensured that interviewees understood their right to withdraw from the interview at any time during the course of the

interview. All interviews were made available to interviewees. Once all the information had been collected, the researcher analyzed the data and extracted central themes from the experiences of interviewees, which gave shape to the research.

4.5 Profile of Research Participants

Four research participants freely agreed to have their names published. Five research participants did not wish to have their identities disclosed for various reasons. Nevertheless, all names were replaced by pseudonyms in order to ensure anonymity.

a) Jack and David Kent: a father and son from a White/African inter-racial family

Jack Kent, a sixty-four year old White, English-speaking man, was born in England and has been living in South Africa since 1971. He was baptised in the Anglican Church and has always maintained strong ties with the Anglican tradition. Jack met Thembi Mgadi in 1978. Thembi, a Zulu-speaking South African, was born and raised in Edendale, a township in Pietermaritzburg, designated for Africans under the Group Areas Act. Thembi's father was a Lutheran minister and the family had always been very religious, even observing some African traditional religious practices. Thembi was married to a Malawian Muslim who had passed away two years before she met Jack. Thembi and Jack lived together clandestinely in Edendale since 1979, even though Jack was prohibited from doing so by the Group Areas Act.

Jack and Thembi's first child, a daughter, was born in 1980. In 1982, their second child, a son was born. The children had to be registered as Africans under the Population Registration Act and only took on their father's surname in 1993. A family friend who was also a Pentecostal minister, urged the couple to consider getting married despite the prohibition laws of the country. The couple were married in 1984 in a private ceremony at their home but the marriage was not officiated. After the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act was repealed in 1985, a second ceremony was conducted in order to officiate the marriage. After the couple were legally married, Jack was re-classified as African under the Population Registration Act. Both Jack and Thembi were active in their children's upbringing. Their daughter passed away suddenly in 2005. Their son, David, is

single and lives in the family home in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. When he turned twenty, David abandoned the Christian faith. He is now a practicing Wiccan. According to David, Wiccanism is an ancient religion that is concerned with the preservation of human life and dignity, and with nature.

Jack and David were interviewed for this research. Thembi granted permission for the research to be conducted and for her story to be told, even though she was not available for an interview. Jack's interview was conducted in the Boardroom at the Church of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg. David's interview was conducted in a quiet Restaurant in Pietermaritzburg, close to his place of employment.¹⁴⁷

b) Gail Govender and Nate Smith: a mother and son from a White/Indian inter-racial relationship

Gail Govender, a fifty-seven year old English-speaking Indian woman, was born in Nottingham Road in Natal. Her parents were devout Pentecostal Christians, and Gail was raised with strong Pentecostal values. The family relocated to Mooi River, a small town nearby where the dairy and textile industries were developing. In 1975, Gail went to work at the Natal Clover Dairies where she met Henry Smith. By this time, Gail had a two year old daughter from a previous relationship.

Henry Smith, a White, English-speaking South African man in his early thirties at the time, worked as an electrician and technician at the same company. Henry moved to Natal from Cape Town after his marriage with a White woman ended in divorce. His four children from that marriage lived with their mother in Cape Town. Henry was born into the Anglican tradition but did not observe any religious customs. The couple began dating in 1975, despite the prohibition laws which forbade them to do so.

Gail fell pregnant in 1976 but due to the stress caused by constant harassment by the police and their employers, she miss-carried at seven months. When Gail fell pregnant

¹⁴⁷ Jack Kent, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 7 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.
David Kent, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 10 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

with their second child, a son, in 1978, the couple relocated to Winterton, a small town nearby, and set up house on a secluded farm on the outskirts of the town, away from the surveillance of authorities. The couple had another son in 1979 and a daughter in 1985. All the children were registered under their mother's surname, and only took on their father's surname in 1994, a year before Henry Smith passed away. Gail lives in Estcourt, in KwaZulu-Natal. All her children have relocated to other parts of the country.

Nate Smith, the couple's eldest son, is now thirty two years old, is married and has two children. Nate is a devout Christian, belonging to the Pentecostal tradition. Even though the family lived in seclusion and never attended church together, Nate attended church in Pietermaritzburg with his extended family during the school holidays. He attributed his dedication and commitment to the Christian faith to his grandmother, who taught him to pray and to read the Bible daily.

While the entire family granted permission for their story to be told, only Gail and Nate participated in this research. Two of Gail's children live in other provinces of South Africa, and due to their busy schedules, were unable to participate in the interview process. Gail was interviewed at her home in Estcourt, and Nate was interviewed at his home in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal.¹⁴⁸

c) Dave Gray: a White/Coloured inter-racial relationship (three previous inter-racial relationships)

Dave Gray, a fifty-seven year old English-speaking White man, was born in Kilembe, Uganda. His parents were baptised in the Catholic Church but were never very religious and did not instil any religious values in their children. His mother moved to South Africa and settled in Doonside on the Natal South Coast, with her three children in 1959. When he was seventeen, Dave met and fell in love with a fifteen year old Zulu-speaking girl. The relationship ended suddenly, with the mysterious disappearance of his girl-friend a short while after they began dating.

¹⁴⁸ Gail Govender, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 11 December 2010 in Estcourt.
Nate Smith, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 7 July 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

In 1978, Dave joined the South African army and after he had completed his service, he moved to Johannesburg, Transvaal, where he met and fell in love with a Swazi woman, Bonny Simelani. The couple had two children together and lived in Berea without any threat of prosecution. However, the relationship did not last very long, and Dave soon relocated to Durban in Natal, where he met and moved in with a Zulu-speaking woman, Ntombi Ntuli. Dave and Ntombi had a son but when the child was eight months old, the couple parted ways.

In 1981, Dave moved to Pietermaritzburg where he met Carol Williams, an English-speaking Coloured woman. He moved into Carol's home and the couple had a son in 1982. Carol threatened to leave Dave if he did not consent to marriage. The couple were married in a Pentecostal church in 1986 and lived together in Woodlands, Pietermaritzburg, a residential area designated for Coloureds under the Group Areas Act. Even though Carol and Dave were married before the Population Registration Act was repealed, Dave was not re-classified under the Act, which stated that a White person who marries a Black person must take on the racial classification of the Black spouse.

Dave was eager to be a part of this research and to tell his story. However, he did not wish to involve his current family because he wished to keep his previous failed relationships, and the children born of those relationships, a secret from Carol. Dave was interviewed at the researcher's residence in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal.¹⁴⁹

d) *Maria Naidoo: a White/Indian inter-racial relationship*

Maria Naidoo, a fifty-one year old English-speaking woman, was born Maria Cavarlos. Maria, an only child, was baptised in the Catholic Church. When Maria was four years old her parents moved from Portugal to Cape Town, South Africa. In 1980, when she was twenty years old, Maria met Striny Naidoo, a twenty-two year old English-speaking Indian man from the Pentecostal tradition. Striny and Maria worked together in the textile industry in Cape Town. Shortly after the couple began dating, family pressure influenced

¹⁴⁹ Dave Gray, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 20 December 2010 in Pietermaritzburg.

their decision to move to Natal, where Striny's family lived. In December 1982, Maria and Striny were married in the Catholic Church in the northern suburbs of Pietermaritzburg, even though they were forbidden to do so by the country's prohibition laws. Their eldest daughter was born in 1983 and a second daughter was born in 1985. Maria and Striny's marriage was officiated in 1986. The couple live in Pietermaritzburg.

Striny Naidoo granted permission for the research to be conducted but did not wish to be part of the interview process. Only Maria participated in this research. The interview was conducted at Maria and Striny's home in Northdale, Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal.¹⁵⁰

e) Lorrain Green and Wendy Munroe: a White/Coloured inter-racial relationship

Lorrain Green, a fifty year old English-speaking Coloured woman, was born Lorrain Munroe. Even though Lorrain's parents were very religious and belonged to the Anglican tradition, Lorrain herself did not attend church or observe any religious traditions in her youth. After matriculation in 1984, Lorain left Pietermaritzburg and went to Johannesburg in the Transvaal, in search of work. There she met an English-speaking White man, Patrick Hood, and began a relationship. When she fell pregnant, Lorrain discovered that Patrick was married and had two children. She moved back to Pietermaritzburg, where her daughter, Wendy, was born in December 1985. Several years later, Lorrain married a Coloured man, John Green and had two children. Wendy took on Lorrain's maiden name and continued to live with her grandparents after her mother got married and moved out of the family home.

Wendy Munroe is twenty-six years old and is currently working as a waitress at a local hotel. She has never met her father and regards her grandfather as a father figure in her life because he played an active role in her upbringing. Even though her family was very religious, Wendy did not attend church regularly. She believes that religion is for older people and prefers to focus her attention on working hard and getting a good education in order to improve her life. Wendy does not wish to meet her father or to have a relationship with him because he abandoned her.

¹⁵⁰ Maria Naidoo, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 12 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

Both Lorrain and Wendy were interviewed at the coffee shop, at the Church of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal.¹⁵¹

f) *Beryl Pillay: a White/Indian inter-racial relationship*

Beryl Pillay, a fifty-four year old English-speaking Indian woman, was born and raised in Pietermaritzburg. Beryl and her family were staunch Pentecostal Christians and the family had always played an active role in the church. Her father passed away when Beryl and her sister were very young. Beryl left school a year after she entered high school and went to work in order to supplement the family income. Beryl met Nathan Pringle, a thirty-five year old White South African male in 1981, at the shoe factory where they both worked. Nathan was baptised in the Methodist Church and was a committed Christian. Their clandestine relationship ended when Beryl fell pregnant in 1982. Their son was born in September 1982 and the couple reconciled briefly. However Nathan soon left his job and moved away from Pietermaritzburg. Both Beryl and their son neither saw nor heard from him again. Beryl's relationship with Nathan and the resultant pregnancy were strongly criticised by the pastor of her church and Beryl, disappointed in the lack of support from the Pentecostal Church, eventually left and joined the Anglican Church.

Beryl was interviewed at her residence in Raisethorpe, Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal.¹⁵²

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the nature of the present study, the sample size, the interview process, and the social and religious profile of the research participants are provided. While the sample size is relatively small, it must be noted that eighteen inter-racial families were identified,

¹⁵¹ Lorrain Green, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 12 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

Wendy Munroe, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 8 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁵² Beryl Pillay, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 25 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

of which eight were Muslim and therefore outside of the scope of this research, and that four Christian families declined to be interviewed.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES OF INTER-RACIAL FAMILIES

5.1 Introduction

While the phenomenon of racial segregation governed by laws was not unique to South Africa, the South African policy of apartheid was unique in that it claimed a Christian basis for the separation of the races. The Afrikaner ideology of select destiny, calling and mission, supported the notion of a God-ordained White superiority and resulted in Church (DRC) sanctioned racial segregation laws which forbade inter-racial relationships. Conversely, many church denominations openly opposed the country's segregation laws. In John de Gruchy's *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, the author stated:

If the first step to liberation is an awareness of the situation in which one finds oneself, then the next step is a way of redemption that relates to that situation. For the Christian, such redemption is embodied in the message of the Kingdom of God, a message which not only provides a perspective on history and its crises, but which also enables people to respond courageously and hopefully to the realities confronting them.¹⁵³

For the local churches in South Africa, one of those realities was the question of inter-racial relationships and how the church should respond to the challenge of such relationships in a context where it was forbidden by law. Were churches obligated to obey the law, albeit oppressive, and to condemn such relationships, or did their ministry and calling demand a more radical approach? This chapter will examine the extent of the support, or lack thereof, experienced by the six families in their various churches.

5.2 The Kent Family

Jack and Thembi Kent were unable to attend the Anglican Church during the early years of their relationship because Jack worked most Sundays. The couple were also afraid to

¹⁵³ de Gruchy, J. *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. David Philip, Cape Town. 1982. p 193.

take their light-skinned children into the city centre, where the church was situated. The couple were also very careful regarding to whom they disclosed their relationship. A few members of the Anglican Church were friends of the family and regularly visited the family home to pray. Jack and Thembi instilled strong Christian values in their children from a very early age. The family attended night services at the Full Gospel Church of God (Pentecostal) in Sobantu, situated in a township designated for Africans under the Group Areas Act. The couple decided that this was their safest option because if they were ever stopped by the police, Jack would explain that he was merely transporting people to church.

The Kent family had strong ties with the church in Sobantu, since the minister, Rev. Wilfred Dlamini, was a friend of the Mgadi (Thembi's maiden name) family. Rev. Dlamini visited the family regularly at their home for prayer and counselling. In May 1984, Rev. Dlamini went to the couple's home with a very serious appeal. He informed the couple, that living together before marriage was an incorrect way of life for a Christian, and offered to perform a wedding ceremony in their home, if they desired to be married. Jack and Thembi assured the minister of their desire to be married but could not understand how it would be possible, since they were legally forbidden to do so.

Rev. Dlamini stated that the only instance, in which he would not perform a marriage ceremony for a couple, was if polygamy was involved. Since he knew the couple well, he could vouch for their moral fibre, and was willing to perform a marriage ceremony for them. He also stated that apartheid laws did not displace what was contained in the Bible. Since he believed that the couple was not in violation of the teachings of the Bible, there was no reason why they should remain unmarried.

On the 1st of June 1984, one year before the repeal of both the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act, Rev. Dlamini performed a wedding ceremony for Jack and Thembi at their home in Edendale. The marriage was officiated in 1985, after the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act was repealed. After the official marriage

ceremony, Jack was re-classified as Black under the Population registration Act, and was able to live freely in Edendale.

The family then began to attend the Anglican Church in central town on Sunday morning, without fear of prosecution but continued to visit the Full Gospel Church of God in Sobantu on week nights. According to Jack, “the Anglican Church and the Pentecostal Church had been pillars of strength to me and my family during the dark days of apartheid”. He maintained that both churches were very sympathetic to the family’s plight and that both expressed their objection to the racial laws of the country. Both churches also assured Jack that should the family be in any danger from the authorities, that they would do everything in their power to assist them. Jack Kent asserted that it was the support and assurance which he received from these two churches, which enabled his family to stay together throughout the turbulent era of apartheid.¹⁵⁴

The couple’s son, David, has a very different perspective of Christianity. According to David, the Christian services which he attended when he was a child always raised questions in his young mind. The ministers would preach that people should endure whatever suffering was inflicted upon them and be happy about it because suffering prepared people for the after-life. From the age of seven until he was thirteen, this view appealed to him. He recalled that his earliest memory as a child was that he had to be hidden and that if people outside his family saw him, he would be in great danger:

Can you imagine what that kind of thing does to a child? I was like two and three years old when I was confined to the backyard blocked off from everything in the world by these high brick walls. I was not allowed to go anywhere with either one of my parents. At that time, my personality was being formed. Who I was, was being defined in my mind. So obviously I felt as if I was not good enough, like they were ashamed of me or something. You feel like something is wrong with you, like you don’t fit in anywhere, and that affects your image of yourself. So when the preacher says that there is a place where I would be accepted for who I

¹⁵⁴ Jack Kent, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 7 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

am, of course I want to go there. They preached about heaven, they said the streets were paved with gold and all people would be able to sit at the feet of Jesus without being afraid or in want of anything. As a little child who had to hide away just because of the colour of your skin, of course this message appealed to me.¹⁵⁵

According to David, the defining moment came when he was thirteen years old:

I was sitting in church and the preacher kept on saying that people must glory in their afflictions. I thought to myself, what kind of a God is this that allows people to suffer and then expects them to be happy about it? It just does not make sense. That was when I began asking my Dad questions about religion, about apartheid, about Christianity, and that sort of thing. I began to read books about apartheid, that the whole thing was a Christian concept, and I said to myself, no way! This whole Christianity thing is just a tool that the powerful use to oppress other people. I told my parents that I did not want to go to church anymore because I did not think that Christianity was a good thing. They were outraged! My father said that as long as I lived under his roof, I was required to go to church, so I went. My parents soon realized that forcing me to go only caused me to become more rebellious, and boy did I rebel. I went to church with them every Sunday, but I made it clear that I was not happy about it. Eventually, they just gave up trying to push me and said I should do whatever makes me happy.

Not wanting to distress his parents, David eventually went back to church but when he turned twenty, he abandoned Christianity altogether and began practicing Wiccanism.¹⁵⁶

5.3 The Govender / Smith Family

Gail Govender was born and raised in a Christian home. She belonged to the Pentecostal tradition but was unable to go to church because her inter-racial family had to live in

¹⁵⁵ David Kent, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 10 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

seclusion during the apartheid period. In order to go to church, the family would have had to travel a very long distance to the nearest church, and risk being seen together in public. Gail however, was able to go to church with her children occasionally, when they visited her extended family. The Pentecostal church to which Gail belonged knew of her relationship with Henry Smith and that the couple had three children together. However, members of the clergy did not ask any questions about the relationship or visit the family during their time in seclusion. Gail noted that she received neither rebuke nor support from her church. The church simply opted to ignore the entire situation.¹⁵⁷

In 1990, when the system of apartheid was beginning to crumble, the family moved to a residential area in Estcourt where they were able to attend church freely. Henry Smith was not a religious man and never went to church. Gail and her children were welcomed into the Pentecostal church in Estcourt and received much-needed support from them. By this time however, there was no fear of reprisal from the government since the laws concerning inter-racial relationships were already repealed and the entire system of apartheid was beginning to crumble.

Nate Smith said that a love for the Christian faith was ingrained in him at a very early age. His grandmother's daily ritual of reading the Bible and praying, on the rare occasions that she was able to visit, as well as his attending church services in Pietermaritzburg when he visited his extended family during the school holidays, helped foster his strong commitment to Christianity. He acknowledged that the church to which he belonged did not emphasize a strong commitment to what was happening in the country politically but focused rather on spirituality. Nate maintained that living in seclusion alienated him from what was happening in the outside world and his understanding was that the Church was a place concerned only with the spiritual life of people. He grew up believing that religion and politics were separate entities and he had no problem with the Church's lack of interest in the political situation of the country that affected his life.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Gail Govender, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 11 December 2010 in Estcourt.

¹⁵⁸ Nate Smith, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 7 July 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

5.4 The Gray Family

According to Dave Gray, the Church and religion of any kind was insignificant to him, even though he was baptised in the Catholic Church:

I always felt judged by the Church. All my relationships were with Black women and I knew that the church would not be happy with that. When I was with Bonny in 1977-78, she went to church but the pastor called her up and told her in front of everyone that what she was doing with a White man was not right. Then all the elders prayed for her to leave me. But that didn't happen. I left when I was ready to leave, not when the church told me to.¹⁵⁹

Dave and his current wife, Carol, were married in a Pentecostal church in 1986. He has attended church on most Sundays ever since. According to Dave, the only reason why he went to church was to keep the peace at home. His wife is very religious and attends church several times a week. She asked the entire family to commit to attending church at least once a week.

According to Dave, the church he attended exploited his family financially but offered no support:

What does the Church do for people? Nothing! In fact, like everybody else in this world, the Church just wants your money. You have to give them ten percent of what you earn because they say if you don't, you will suffer. My problem is, my wife makes me give them ten percent and we are still suffering. It is still a battle to live every day. I think I lived a better life before I was giving my hard-earned ten percent. Now, I have to take that little bit of money which I can buy food with or buy shoes for my son or something, and give it to the pastor. They don't tell you what happens to that money but the pastor drives a fancy car, wears the best clothing and travels all around the world. Tell me, when has the church helped anyone? When it was apartheid, what did the church do? Nothing! Now that

¹⁵⁹ Dave Gray, telephonic interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 5 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

apartheid is over, we are still suffering. The difference is that in apartheid, a White person like me did not suffer for money. We could get good work and earn good money but we suffered in other ways. Now it's worse, we suffer because we don't have enough money to live, and even now, the Church does not help us, but they take from us.¹⁶⁰

5.5 The Naidoo Family

Maria Cavarlos and Striny Naidoo's relationship met with strong opposition from her Catholic family. Maria's father believed that because Striny was an Indian and a Pentecostal, the relationship was in violation; not only of the laws of South Africa but also of the teachings of the Catholic tradition, which he believed did not sanction mixed marriages. Maria was deeply committed to the Catholic tradition but because her father refused to accept Striny, she moved away with him from the Cape to Natal in 1981. In Natal, Maria went to a Pentecostal church with Striny's family but never committed to Pentecostalism.

In 1982, Maria received a letter from her mother urging her to return home immediately because her father was very ill. Maria and Striny rushed to her father's hospital bed but when her father saw the couple, he turned away from them and breathed his last. Maria was heart-broken because she believed that she had betrayed her father and the Catholic Church. Desperately searching for forgiveness, Maria went to the Catholic Church in their neighbourhood when the couple returned to Natal.

Maria maintained that that was the most momentous day of her life:

I walked into the church and entered the confessional booth. I was so filled with all kinds of emotions and sobbing uncontrollably. I kept on asking myself, why did you mess up your life like this? When I opened my mouth, the words just fell out. Bless me Father, for I have sinned. It's been two years since my last confession.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

Maria proceeded to tell the priest her story. She said that she was not only granted absolution that day but that it was also the beginning of a process that re-united her family and that re-established her relationship with the Catholic Church. The priest assured Maria that the Catholic Church did solemnise mixed marriages and that marriage in the Catholic Church was a sacrament. The priest also explained that the laws prohibiting mixed marriages in South Africa violated people's right to religious freedom, by preventing them from receiving the sacrament of marriage. In light of this, the priest took the position that since this law was oppressive, it would not constitute a sin if he performed a wedding ceremony for a racially mixed couple.

The couple received marriage counselling and Striny was baptised into the Catholic Church. They were married in December 1982, with both families present to witness the ceremony. Their two daughters, born in 1983 and 1985, were also baptised in the Catholic Church. Their eldest daughter married a Lutheran minister in 2005 and went to the University of Potchefstroom to study theology. Their youngest daughter went to a seminary in Cape Town to study theology in 2006.¹⁶¹

5.6 The Green / Munroe Family

Lorrain Green said that even though she did not attend church on a regular basis, she received compassionate support from the Anglican Church to which she belonged. On hearing of her pregnancy and that the father of her child had abandoned her, the clergy at the church of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg rallied around her and her family. By the time she had given birth to her daughter, the Immorality Act, which criminalized inter-racial relationships, was already repealed. However, the father of her child said that he would not contribute financially to the upbringing of their daughter because she was born of an illegal relationship and he was therefore absolved of all responsibility. The church leaders assured Lorrain that this was not the case and helped her to secure financial aid from him.

¹⁶¹ Maria Naidoo, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 12 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

In addition to this, Lorrain received support from a group of Christian women in her neighbourhood. The women belonged to different churches and church denominations in the city. Among them were Anglicans, Methodists, Pentecostals and one member of the Church of the Nazarene. This group of women came together in order to pray and to provide assistance to women in the neighbourhood who were experiencing difficulties. The group of women provided Lorrain with care and counselling as she struggled to cope with her situation. Lorrain claimed that many women from this group had similar experiences to her and understood her predicament. She maintained that her involvement with this group of women gave her a new love for the Christian faith.¹⁶²

According to Wendy Munroe, church had never been a place where she could either feel comfortable or fit in. Even though her family was very religious, Wendy did not attend church regularly. She maintained that going to church did not benefit her in any way:

Why should I go to church when the church deals with nothing that pertains to me? They have never supported me with anything. Even when I was little, my grandfather used to make me go to church. I was so shy and quiet; I wasn't a child that could make friends very easy and that sort of thing. If the church was so caring, they would have seen that I was like that because I was insecure. I didn't know who my father was and I always felt like something was missing even though my grandfather was in my life and he was the only father I knew. I got support from my family and from my community here in Woodlands, not from the church. The church will tell you to forgive. How can you forgive someone when you don't even know them? Why should I be asked to forgive my father? Then they will preach that apartheid is the cause of all the problems in the world. I think that this kind of thing that happened to my mother can happen to anyone, even if the man is a Coloured or Indian or what. The church needs to start dealing with things that can help people live better, not help them dwell on the past. If

¹⁶² Lorrain Green, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 12 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

they want to help me, they must give me money so I can study, that's what I need, not all that nonsense that goes on.¹⁶³

5.7 The Pillay Family

Beryl Pillay's experience in the Pentecostal Church resulted in her leaving the Pentecostal tradition and joining the Anglican Church. Beryl played an active role in the church from a very early age. From the age of sixteen, Beryl taught Sunday school and sang in the church choir. She was deeply committed to the church and attended church services several times a week. According to Beryl:

My whole life was centred on the church. On Sunday mornings, I was the first one at church. I would go early, get everything ready for the main service, and then teach at Sunday school. I had the pre-schoolers. After Sunday school, I went to the main service then we came back to church at seven for the evening service. Tuesday was prayer meeting, Wednesday was cell meeting, Thursday was leadership meeting and all the Sunday school teachers had to go; and Friday was band practice. I even went to church on some Saturdays to help with the cleaning. I was a good Christian but even good Christians make mistakes. Pastor Martin [the pastor of her church] knew me well. I was Christened and baptised in that church.

When Beryl fell pregnant in 1982, her mother took her to the pastor to explain the situation and to receive advice and support. The pastor's response was that Beryl had brought sin into the church by being in a relationship before marriage. He said that if that was the only problem, Beryl would have had to discontinue all activities in the church and undergo a period of church discipline and after a while, once the leadership determined that she was repentant, they would re-instate her. However, since the father of Beryl's child was a White man, Beryl had jeopardised the church because such a relationship was not only sinful but also against the law. He told Beryl and her mother that he had no other recourse but to approach the covering body of the church and hand

¹⁶³ Wendy Munroe, telephonic interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 8 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

the matter over to them. Not wanting to be subjected to more humiliation, Beryl left the church. In 1986, Beryl married a Coloured man from the Anglican tradition and joined the Anglican Church.¹⁶⁴

5.8 Conclusion

The formulation of the Churches' responsibility for Christian witness, produced at the Cottesloe ecumenical gathering in 1960, held that:

The Church of Jesus Christ, by its nature and calling, is deeply concerned with the welfare of all people, both as individuals and as members of social groups. It is called to minister to human need in whatever circumstances and forms it appears and it insists that all be done with justice. In its social witness the Church must take cognizance of all the attitudes, forces, policies and laws which affect the lives of people; but the Church must proclaim that the final criterion of all social and political action is the principle of Scripture regarding the realization of all [people] of a life worthy of their God-given vocation.¹⁶⁵

The six families who participated in this research experienced support or lack of support from their local churches in varying levels. While on the macro level, the most notable opposition to apartheid legislation banning inter-racial relationships came from the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church, the Pentecostal Church remained largely silent about the political state of the country up until the mid to late 1980s. On the micro level, in the local churches, support or lack thereof was dependant not so much on the official positions of the Churches, but on the personal level of willingness to resist apartheid oppression by local ministers.

The Kent family received support from both the Anglican and the Pentecostal churches to which they belonged. The Gray family did not receive support from their local Pentecostal church, but, rather, according to Dave Gray, felt exploited by the church. The

¹⁶⁴ Beryl Pillay, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 25 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁶⁵ The World Council of Churches. *Report on the W.C.C. Mission in South Africa*. Geneva, 1961. p 30.

Govender / Smith family belonged to a Pentecostal church which placed sole emphasis on spirituality, and were therefore ill-equipped to make a meaningful contribution to the plight of the family. The Green / Munroe family received support from the Anglican Church and from a group of inter-denominational church women. The lack of care and concern experienced by Beryl Pillay in her local Pentecostal church prompted her to leave the church and join the Anglican tradition. The Naidoo family's experience of support, counseling and nurturing in their local Catholic church led to the re-uniting of a family and Maria Naidoo's reconciliation with the Catholic tradition.

The challenge for the local churches was whether they were prepared to provide responsible witness to inter-racial families, or whether they chose loyal accommodation of apartheid oppression. Inter-racial families presented a political, social and moral challenge to the churches, and the level of support which families received, was varied.

CHAPTER SIX

DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE

6.1 Introduction

The social and political situation of people in inter-racial relationships, in the South African context of apartheid, was multifarious. Since apartheid legislation made separation of the races a legal device, inter-racial couples faced a host of difficulties. Living areas, education, and work options were divided along racial lines. Primary, secondary and tertiary education was racially segregated. Transport, entertainment and recreational areas were all separate. In fact, every aspect of life was subject to the government's policy of separate development. The government's justification for the separation was that racial groups must be kept separate because separation of the races was in the best interest of all South Africans.¹⁶⁶

Yet, in spite of pressure to conform and regardless of the country's rigorous system of laws designed to preserve the 'purity' of the White race, inter-racial relationships did occur. In these instances, people chose to discreetly disobey the law, knowing that if they were found out, the penalty would be severe. Every individual involved in an inter-racial relationship had his/her own unique set of problems and experiences. This chapter will analyse the experiences of inter-racial families within their various communities, through the lens of James Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.¹⁶⁷

6.2 Public versus Hidden Transcripts

Scott developed the concepts of "hidden transcripts" and "public transcripts" in an attempt to explain how the dominated, as well as the dominant, operate. The public transcripts are the expected discourses between the dominant class and the dominated class and do not reflect the true feelings of either. The "hidden transcript" is what takes place off-stage and often contradicts the "public transcript".

¹⁶⁶ Paton, A. *The Long View*. Paul Mall Press, London. 1968. p 101-127.

¹⁶⁷ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990.

Both groups deliver obligatory performances in the public sphere. The dominant group uses the threat of violence to enforce behaviours which exhibit their power. In this way, they extract performances from the dominated which appear to support the status quo. Each group also has a “hidden transcript”, in which resentments, hostilities and different conceptions of the world are aired. For the dominated, “hidden transcripts” are often the sites in which power is questioned and rejected.¹⁶⁸

The hidden transcripts of the subordinates require sequestered spaces, out-of-the-way of the powerful, and often indicate a set of social relations not governed by the dominant. There is an entire arena of what Scott refers to as “infrapolitics”, where subordinates construct and defend these spaces and which the dominant try to purge. The public transcript of the dominated consists of modes of interaction with the dominant which serve to safeguard their hidden transcript.¹⁶⁹ The clandestine nature of inter-racial relationships in the context of apartheid necessitated a public exhibition of conformity by the participants, which masked their resistance.

Scott maintained that “[e]very publicly given justification for inequality...marks out a kind of symbolic Achilles heel where the elite are especially vulnerable”.¹⁷⁰ The “public transcript” of the dominant consists of a set of claims which serve to legitimise their position. However, their “public transcript” has its own ‘dirty linen’ or aspects of power relations, which it seeks to hide. This is a space for possible negotiation and for a set of taboo acts which will repudiate or profane the form of domination in its entirety.¹⁷¹ The dominated deal with public transcripts in three ways: they use public hegemonic claims to extract concessions; they create a “folk culture” of ambiguous forms which straddle both the hidden and public transcripts; and they explosively express ideas of the “hidden transcript” in revolts.¹⁷² The dominated operate with “an experimental spirit and a capacity to test and exploit all the loopholes, ambiguities, silences, and lapses available”,

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p 1-20.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. p 5.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p 3.

¹⁷² Ibid p 19-20.

thereby “setting a course at the very parameter of what the authorities are obliged to permit or unable to prevent”.¹⁷³

To keep the oppressive system of apartheid in place, the South African government mandated the police to violently enforce the law. The police were given the power to exert brute coercive force on anyone who challenged the hegemonic order, and inter-racial families were at risk of reprisal everyday. Their very existence suggested that people in South African societies were resisting apartheid oppression and directly defying state forces and they had to be aggressively dealt with.

6.3 Encounters with Apartheid Law Enforcement

Under apartheid, South Africa was a police state controlled by military style force. Defence of apartheid structures and laws was high on the police agenda. The capricious nature of apartheid laws gave the police wide-ranging power. This highly authoritarian police system enforced radical separation and as a result, the majority of South Africans viewed the police as the enemy. According to Rauch:

The brutality and violence with which the SAP [South African Police] fulfilled its mandate...was notorious. They were heavy handed in their manner, prejudiced against [Blacks], and frequently disregarded due process... Confessions were often obtained through coercion, and torture was not uncommon.¹⁷⁴

The mandate of apartheid era police was not so much the control of common crime but the enforcement and policing of racial boundaries.¹⁷⁵ The existence of inter-racial families reflected the government’s inability to control the way in which people chose to live their lives. Inter-racial relationships were regarded as subversive and had to be eradicated so that the system of apartheid would appear to be effective. The presence of such relationships in apartheid society reflected dissatisfaction with racial segregation

¹⁷³ Ibid. p 138.

¹⁷⁴ Rauch, J. *Police Reform and South Africa’s Transition*. Paper presented at the South African Institute of International Affairs Conference, Johannesburg, South Africa. 2000.

¹⁷⁵ Beinart, W and Dubow, S. *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*. Routledge, London. 1995. p 13.

and had to be meticulously stamped out. The police-force was the apartheid government's mechanism for enforcing racially based laws. Three research participants experienced confrontations with the apartheid police.

Even though John Kent was able to live in an Africans-only township in Pietermaritzburg, with no confrontation with the police regarding his living arrangement, he experienced police harassment several times while travelling by car with his wife between 1979 and 1985. Jack believed that his ability to trick the police - and other authorities - into believing that he admired and respected them and was grateful for the service that they provided enabled him to live a relatively peaceful life during the years under apartheid. According to Jack:

When the police stopped me, and they did very often, I would play them at their own game. On one occasion the policeman asked me to show him my driver's licence. It was late at night, you see, so he shone his torch right into our faces. He said, "Why are you driving around with a native woman in the front seat of your car? What's going on here?" I would just calmly say every time they stopped me, "Officer, she is my employee and I have no fear in this country because of the great job that our law enforcement is doing. I mean, look at you; you are here so late at night to protect me. You could easily park off some where and have a good sleep but you are here making sure that I am safe. With you around what do I have to fear?" You see, I always played them up, pretending to be so grateful for their presence. That was my strategy... A policeman asked me once to have my wife move to the back seat. I said, "If you don't mind officer, I would rather have her sit up front so I can see what she is getting up to". When they allowed us to drive away we would always have a good laugh! I have to say we had a lot of fun deceiving them. They thought they were in control but we managed to fool them right under their noses.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Jack Kent, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 7 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

Gail Govender was confronted with the might of the police-force on more than one occasion. She recalled many incidents where the police chased the couple in their car but were never able to arrest them. When they began living together in a Whites-only suburb in the early stages of their relationship, Henry Smith created a space in the cellar of their house, concealed with a trap-door and covered with a carpet, where Gail could hide if the police came by.

Her first experience of police brutality occurred in 1976. The police stormed into her parents' home and proceeded to interrogate her family:

They asked my mother if she knew that her daughter was in love with a White man and that it was illegal in this country. My mother said that it was not true. Her daughter would not be in a relationship with a White person. Then they saw my younger sister and they asked her if she was having an affair with a White man. She said no, she didn't know what they were talking about. The White policeman said, "Do you know what happens to people who have affairs with White men in this country? Do you want to go to gaol?" She said she was not having an affair with a White man. She told them that she didn't even know any White men. Then they began to tear the house apart. They broke things and left a big mess. Everyone was terrified. The children were crying but they did not care. They just turned the house up-side-down.¹⁷⁷

Dave Gray's terrifying encounter with the police occurred in 1976. He recalled that the police found him with his Black girlfriend on the beach. The police put the young woman in the back of the police vehicle and ordered him to follow them to the police station in his own vehicle. According to Dave, it was clear that the police did not expect him to obey them. He knew that he was not the target but that his young Black companion was. As he sped away in the other direction the police made no effort to stop him. When asked what he thought had become of his companion, he replied:

¹⁷⁷ Gail Govender, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 11 December 2010 in Estcourt.

I think she was raped and murdered. I'm not saying I know for a fact what happened but from all the stories I know about the police, I think I am safe in assuming that she was. I mean I looked for her everywhere after that. She did not go back to work the next day or ever again. She did not even go to collect her wages. Her employer told me that I must tell her to come and pick it up when I see her. I mean, she did not have any family around there that would be looking for her so if she disappeared like that no one would question it. Her other friends did not know what happened to her so what am I supposed to think? She was never seen again. I feel bad. Maybe if I were older and more experienced I would have taken the matter up but I am ashamed to say I did nothing and nobody else did anything to investigate what happened to her.¹⁷⁸

Scott's description of the public transcript of the dominant elucidates the actions of the apartheid police. According to Scott, the public transcript of the dominant is designed to display their superiority and status. A breach of the public transcript disrupts their ceremonial reverence because these small acts of insubordination represent a small insurgency within their public transcript: "The very operation of a rationale for inequality creates a potential zone for dirty linen that if exposed, will contradict the pretensions of legitimate domination".¹⁷⁹ True to form, the actions of the apartheid police served to convey that no such breaches would be tolerated.

However, Dave Gray stated that even within the apartheid system that criminalized inter-racial relationships, there was room for exceptions, depending on the person's rank and status in society, and that the various communities in which he lived understood this phenomenon. He maintained that after he had completed his army service, he did not experience difficulty with the police. When asked if he knew why he was able to engage in inter-racial relationships, without police intervention, after he left the army, he replied:

¹⁷⁸ Dave Gray, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 20 December 2010 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁷⁹ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press. 1990. p 105.

Well, I think having been an officer in the army had something to do with it. A special kind of officer. I mean I wore my army pants almost every day. People around me knew I was ex-army so that gave me some kind of status. I was friendly with a few White policemen who knew of my relationships and they didn't hassle me at all. I walked freely with my women. We had children together and I walked with my children in the street. Nobody said anything. That's just how it was and they accepted it. In this relationship that I am in now [with a Coloured woman] it was easy even during apartheid. We lived in the Coloured area and you can see how I am [gesturing to his unkempt beard and matted hair]. They don't know if I'm Coloured or White unless I tell them.¹⁸⁰

6.4 Community Support

In elaborating on how communities of dominated people function, Scott maintained that it is within restricted social circles that dominated groups find partial protection from the humiliation of domination, and that it is from within these circles that an audience for the hidden transcript is drawn.¹⁸¹ Shared oppression plays a powerful role with regard to the cohesion of the dominated. Oppression generates the necessity for the creation of spaces free from surveillance and control. Community participation is often enlisted in the formation of these spaces and it enables the creation of a resistant counter-culture.¹⁸²

Even though in some cases, the threat of informants from within communities was high, people in inter-racial relationships, in the context of apartheid, generally depended on the support of a select group of people from within their various communities. Anchored in the assurance of community support, inter-racial families constructed a counter-culture of resistance to apartheid's segregation laws.

Jack and Thembi Kent had a close circle of friends who facilitated the development of their relationship. The couple were able to go to the theatre, the cinema and even on

¹⁸⁰ Dave Gray, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 20 December 2010 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁸¹ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990. p 105.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* p 16.

outings to the beach. According to Jack Kent, even though all entertainment venues were strictly racially divided, there were many clandestine venues which they frequented. It was there that the couple met other inter-racial couples and were able to develop a strong support system. According to Jack Kent:

The Black community was our lifeline. Knowing that we were not alone in the struggle gave us hope and allowed us to imagine a better future and the end of apartheid. If we wanted a place to eat, there was a little Indian restaurant in Durban that we went to and we knew we were safe there. My sister-in-law lived with us and she would help my wife with the shopping and that so that I would not have to do those things and put the family at risk... Our car broke down once, just at the entrance to Edendale. A whole group of people who knew us but we did not know them, helped us fix it and go home before the police came along. Our lives were filled every day with little gestures of support and love and care.¹⁸³

Jack Kent maintained that the greatest threat came from the White population group:

Even if they were your friends, you had to think twice before you let them in on your secret. I remember this one chap from my work, he suspected something. We were cordial with each other but he used to drive by our home in Edendale every so often. We were very suspicious of him. Maybe he was shocked that I lived in the township but the lengths he would go to! He'd come by late at night but we always had someone in the house stay awake so that they could keep an eye that we were safe, you see. This guy would come along, dressed in dark clothing, a cap, and just watch the house. He never said a word to me, but I knew it was him.¹⁸⁴

Scott's claim that there is another realm of subordinate group politics, which necessitates disguise and anonymity, is useful in analysing the way in which Gail Govender was able

¹⁸³ Jack Kent, telephonic interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 15 April 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

to preserve her hidden transcript. According to Scott, it is here that subordinates are most vulnerable because if they fail to render plausible performances, there will be grave consequences to bear: “A convincing performance may require both the suppression and control of feelings that would spoil the performance and the simulation of emotions that are necessary to the performance. The performance... comprises not only speech acts but conformity in facial expression and gestures as well as practical obedience to commands that may be distasteful or humiliating”.¹⁸⁵

For Gail Govender and Henry Smith, public appearances necessitated a set of performances and disguises that veiled their true identity. When shopping for school clothing or supplies, Henry Smith drove the family into town but parked in a secluded back street and waited in the car while the family shopped. If anyone asked about her light-skinned children, Gail told them that she was a maid and worked for the family. The family lived in seclusion for the most part but there were occasions when it was necessary for Gail to travel long distances with her children. Those were the times when the family was most at risk.

On one occasion, Gail’s eldest son was very ill and had to be hospitalized in Pietermaritzburg. When her son was released, Gail went to board a train in order to return home. As she sat on a bench at the train station cradling her eight month old baby, she caught the attention of a group of policemen. In most countries of the world this would have perhaps been an odd picture. A dark skinned Indian woman carrying what looked like a White baby. People observing this scene would possibly have imagined several reasons to rationalize what they saw but the safety of mother and child would not have been compromised. In South Africa under apartheid, it had the appearance of a crime punishable by law and warranted closer investigation by the police.

Gail knew that she had to put on a performance that would ensure their safety, so she began mentally preparing her story as one of the policemen approached her. She had

¹⁸⁵ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990. p 19-29.

rehearsed this scene several times in her mind and knew that if she showed any fear or anxiety her “hidden transcript” would be exposed with dire consequences. Fortunately, her Coloured friend who had gone to the shop to buy food suddenly appeared and said, “thank you for taking care of my baby. Did he give you any trouble?” The policemen, realizing that there was indeed a plausible explanation for the scene and believing that the law had not been contravened, turned and walked away.¹⁸⁶

For Gail, the ordinary activity of travelling with her child in public was an endeavour that required a host of coded tactics. Community solidarity, language and performance were enlisted to preserve her hidden transcript. According to Gail, she seldom moved from one city to another without a friend who could provide a plausible pretext for her light-skinned children. Her small circle of light-skinned Coloured friends was a safeguard in the event of confrontation with police. The public performance of Gail and her friend displayed a mastery of facial expression and language that was designed to tactically reflect conformity. The two women had a mode of communication, a language that was spoken in the face of power, which served as a barrier that the dominant found impossible to penetrate.¹⁸⁷ Yet Scott says that to call it “conformity” does not do justice to the skill and ingenuity of the dominated: “it is an art form in which one can take some pride in having successfully misrepresented oneself”.¹⁸⁸

Maria Naidoo, Beryl Pillay, Dave Gray and Lorrain Green, said that they did not encounter problems in their respective communities. Maria Naidoo’s tanned complexion gave the impression that she was Coloured and was therefore not under any threat from the authorities.¹⁸⁹ Beryl Pillay said that her relationship with Nathan Pringle was kept a secret from the entire community.¹⁹⁰ Dave Gray said that he blended in very well in the Coloured community in which he lived and that it was taken for granted that he was

¹⁸⁶ Gail Govender, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 11 December 2010 in Estcourt.

¹⁸⁷ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990. P 32.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p 33.

¹⁸⁹ Maria Naidoo, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 12 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁹⁰ Beryl Pillay, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 25 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

Coloured.¹⁹¹ According to Lorrain Green, her relationship with Patrick Hood was short-lived and her daughter was born after both the Mixed Marriages- and Immorality Acts were repealed. She was therefore never in any danger.¹⁹²

6.5 Experiences of Children born in Inter-racial Families

Scott maintained that, “[i]n any established structure of domination, it is plausible to imagine that subordinate groups are socialised by their parents in the rituals of homage that will keep them from harm”.¹⁹³ The over-riding wish of the dominated is to keep their children safe, so they train their children in the routines of conformity. To this end, the children are socialised to acquiesce to the expectations of the dominators.¹⁹⁴ The careful subordinate must conform to domination, by speech and gesture, to that which is expected and must necessarily control natural impulses. Every system of domination produces its own harvest of insults and injury to human dignity, which is played out in the form of humiliations, contempt, ritual denigration, etc. Scott contends that perhaps the worst of these was not personal affliction but the abuse of one’s child or spouse.¹⁹⁵

Nate Smith maintained that even though the family endured hardships under apartheid rule, his parents made the restrictions which were necessary to ensure their safety, appear normal to the children. Living in isolation was the only way of life that he knew. When White people visited his home to discuss matters of business with his father, his mother took the children to a room in the far end of the house and ensured that they played quietly until the guests left. However, he recounted an experience that he describes as “particularly distasteful”:

Now when I think back on it, I realize that it was so weird but back then, it was the normal thing to do. My mother would dye our [all three children] brown hair black at least once every month. She covered our heads with a black hair dye that

¹⁹¹ Dave Gray, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 20 December 2010 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁹² Lorrain Green, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 12 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁹³ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990. p 24.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p 36-37.

had a revolting odour. Then we had to wash the dye off in a huge trough of water in the back yard. The dye damaged our hair and caused skin irritations but my mother said that it had to be done. I think we thought all children did that in preparation for school.¹⁹⁶

David Kent says that he experienced racial discrimination at school on several occasions. The discrimination at school ranged from subtle forms of racial innuendo to overt racism:

The first time I experienced racial discrimination was in primary school. I was in class two. I saw this very pretty White girl everyday while going to school, so one day I decided to write her a letter and tell her that I thought she was very pretty. Somehow, her mother got the letter so she came up to me and said, “I do not want you talking to my daughter because you are Coloured and she is White and if you continue I will have my husband [who was a policeman] arrest you and throw you in gaol”. Then there was this Indian teacher who mocked me about the way I spoke. She would just always say, “Why do you have to talk like a White? You are not White, so stop trying to act like one”. The children at school and some teachers always had something to say about my hair because it was blonde and really curly. But the worst experience I had was when I was on the phone with one of my class mates. She was a Coloured girl and my dad used to drive me over to their house sometimes if we had class projects to do; somehow, the two of us always ended up in the same group. I was talking to her on the phone about some homework, I think, and I heard her grandmother say, “Are you on the phone with that White Kaffir again?” She also called me a half-breed. That was just awful.¹⁹⁷

Wendy Munroe said that living in the Coloured community shielded her from much of the ugliness of apartheid. “People say that they were discriminated against and treated

¹⁹⁶ Nate Smith, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 7 July 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁹⁷ David Kent, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 10 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

badly and all sorts of things, but I had it pretty good. In the Coloured community, it does not matter that you are mixed because everybody is mixed one way or another”.¹⁹⁸

6.6 A Gendered Perspective

While the violation of human rights was gross in respect of both Black men and Black women living in the grip of apartheid, Black women suffered more under the oppressive system than did Black men.¹⁹⁹ Black women in inter-racial relationships, in the context of apartheid, experienced racial oppression to a far higher degree than did their male counterparts. Young Black women were easy targets for sexual exploitation from White men, as seen in the cases of the relationships of Lorrain Green, Beryl Pillay and Dave Gary.

Lorrain Green believed that her White boyfriend took advantage of her because she was young and naïve. He had no intention of establishing a meaningful relationship with her but was only interested in sexual gratification. It was easy to exploit her because she held White people in high regard and was extremely flattered that he was showing her attention. He also had the financial means to spoil her during the time that he was pursuing her but became abusive and resentful once he discovered that she was pregnant and refused to have an abortion. Lorrain claimed to know many other Coloured women who suffered the same fate. It was easy to take advantage of young Coloured women, especially if they had straight brown or blonde hair and could pass for White. White men were able to socialise with them in public without arousing any suspicion. However, in most cases, as Lorrain noted, “they just wanted a fling and usually had unassuming White wives waiting for them at home”.²⁰⁰

According to Beryl Pillay, her White boyfriend gave her the impression that he was ashamed of her. Initially, he lavished her with love and attention, even though they had to be very discreet. However, as soon as she had fallen in love with him and felt as though

¹⁹⁸ Wendy Munroe, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 8 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

¹⁹⁹ Meer, F. *Women in the Apartheid Society* www.ipoa.com/women_in_apartheid_society Accessed: 12/07/2011.

²⁰⁰ Lorrain Green, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 12 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

she could not live without him, he displayed another side to his character. He told Beryl on several occasions that if their relationship were to be exposed, that he would die of embarrassment:

He actually said that to me! Can you imagine how I felt? He made me feel so small, I was broken and demoralized and every day that the relationship continued, I was losing more and more of myself. But the sad thing is that I still wanted to continue the relationship. I even fell pregnant thinking that that would change him but nothing did. I am so much better off without him in my life... It was a lesson well-learned but the scars will remain with me forever.²⁰¹

A second telephonic interview with Dave Gray revealed a wealth of insight into gender disparities within inter-racial relationships, during the era of apartheid. Gray stated in his first interview that he had had four inter-racial relationships during the period of apartheid. In order to gain clarity on his position, two telephonic interviews were conducted subsequent to that interview. The following is an excerpt from one of the telephonic interviews:

LN Did you understand the dangers Black women were subject to during the period of apartheid, based on the mysterious disappearance of the women in your first relationship?

DG Yes, absolutely.

LN Let's talk about the two relationships you were in before you met Carol. You said you had children from both these relationships but that the relationships did not work out, so you left. Did you see your children after the break-ups?

DG No, I had two children with the Swazi woman and a son from the woman in Durban, but no, I never saw my children after I left their mothers.

²⁰¹ Beryl Pillay, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 25 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

LN Why is that?

DG I don't know. It was just the way things were. When I moved away from them I left that whole world behind me and tried to make a fresh start wherever I went. My relationship in Durban ended very badly also. If I went back she would have killed me. She had a bad temper.

LN Were you ever concerned about the welfare of the children?

DG Yes, I'm their father, of course I was concerned but it was a terrible situation so what could I do?

LN How do think they survived? Were their mothers able to take care of them financially?

DG Well, as I told you, the relationship in Durban, she had a lot of money. She made more than I did. That was part of the problem and then she would blame me for things I had no control over. Yes, she could take care of the child. I'm sure of that but the Swazi woman, I know she must have had a hard time but what could I do? Things just did not work out and I couldn't take my children with me, they had to stay with the mother.

LN So the burden for taking care of the children rested squarely on the mothers' shoulders?

DG When you say it like that it sounds bad but you must understand, that is how things were at the time.

LN Did you try to send money to your children?

DG No.

LN Did you ever wonder what their predicament was; whether they had enough food, clothing, a good education; that sort of thing?

DG Sometimes, yes.

LN Have you ever had any contact with your children after you left?

DG No, they would be adults now. If they walked past me on the street I won't know who they are. But you know, like I said the last time, I took care of my son from this relationship I'm in now, I raised him, I did everything I could for him. If those relationships worked I would have done the same. The time of apartheid with the secret police and everything was a bad time. You can only understand that situation if you were in it, like I was. I was an outcast wherever I went because I associated with Africans. Yes, White people spoke to me and maybe even respected and feared me but they did not want to be with me. I was trying to find something, to be happy, that's all and I found it with my wife [Carol] that's why I'm still with her.²⁰²

The micro narratives of inter-racial relationships in the context of apartheid cannot be understood, without locating them within the grand narrative of the apartheid struggle. The bigger picture – what was happening in the broader setting under apartheid rule - affected every aspect of life. This, together with the patriarchal way in which South African societies were structured, ensured that Black women in such relationships suffered many hardships and were often left with the burden of raising their children as single parents.

6.7 Conclusion

The narrative accounts of the extent to which the research participants resisted without directly challenging domination offers insights into how ordinary people living under apartheid, produced and sustained mechanisms of resistance. These narratives lend

²⁰² Dave Gray, telephonic interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 3 April 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

credence to Scott's analysis that resistance does not only take place in situations of blatant and overt opposition to established powers, but that, more often, resistance is subtly weaved into modes of communication and action that gives the impression of conformity and obedience. While the apartheid regime was able to exercise power through ideological means and by wielding brute force, designed to subdue and coerce by terror, inter-racial families living in the context of apartheid, were not powerless, but, were able to exercise agency and power through the ways in which they resisted domination.

Yet, the "arts of resistance" which Scott describes can be practiced very skilfully at one level, while at another level, it is able to hold people in the grip of subjection, as seen in the case of some Black women in this study, who were subject to more danger and increased levels of exploitation. While the complexities of being in inter-racial relationships under apartheid revealed the diverse and nuanced forms that resistance took, it also revealed that resistance and exploitation coexisted in different ways in apartheid society.

The complexities of life under apartheid did not forestall inter-racial relationships, despite extreme repression. The relationships of the study participants were social and political taboos, destined to be erased, hidden and marginalized. Yet, in situations defined by danger and crisis, the participants constructed and preserved a "hidden transcript"²⁰³ that became the infrastructure of their resistance. In the face of social injustice under apartheid, the participants were able to create a counter-culture and counter-narratives, both of which rejected apartheid repression. The presence of these relationships in apartheid society, attests to the resilience of the human spirit; their presence in post-apartheid society indicates that the participants were not victims but survivors of the system that sought to eradicate their relationships.

²⁰³ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990. p 3.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CHURCHES' RESPONSES TO INTER-RACIAL UNIONS

7.1 Introduction

The 1970's and 1980's were politically crucial times for South Africa. On the one hand, there were those who acquiesced to apartheid rule and who defended its ideological stance; and on the other hand, there were those who fought to eradicate it. The stance of individual leaders within the churches in South Africa, with regards to the policy of apartheid, was divided and those divisions were multi-dimensional. Until 1986, the Dutch Reformed Church acquiesced, facilitated and promoted the policy of apartheid. The Roman Catholic Church, English-speaking Churches, and the Lutheran Church publicly opposed it. The Pentecostal Church and other Evangelical Churches remained silent for the most part and entered the debate much later than the other Churches.²⁰⁴

However, in situations of practical witness, there were those amongst the clergy throughout all the Churches, who did take a political stance on issues affecting the day to day lives of people and for various reasons, there were those who did not.²⁰⁵ Many members of the clergy, from all the different denominations in South Africa, shared in the general race prejudices which existed during the apartheid era, even if their official Churches were opposed to apartheid rule.²⁰⁶ For ministers who were confronted with the complexities of social life on the ground, such as inter-racial relationships in their congregations, the decision of whether or not to support those couples and families often boiled down to whether or not the clergy were prepared to break the laws which forbade such relationships. This was in order to either provide ministry and support, thereby taking a covert political stance against apartheid's segregation legislation, or to uphold the laws and in so doing, to renege on providing ministry and support to such people. Following James Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, this section will analyze how the research participants experienced their various churches.

²⁰⁴ Meiring, P. *Chronicle of the Truth Commission*. Carpe Diem Books, Vanderbijlpark. 1999. p 275-277.

²⁰⁵ Florin, H.W. *Lutherans in South Africa. 1964-1965*. Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa. 1965. p 43.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p 43-52.

7.2 Covert Resistance

Scott's concern was with the modes of interaction which exist between the powerful and those over whom power is wielded. What takes place publicly and offstage, by those who hold positions of dominance and by those who find themselves under social, political, economic and class domination reveal "contradictions, tensions, and imminent possibilities" which are made possible by what Scott referred to as "hidden transcripts".²⁰⁷ Oppressed groups, according to Scott, "operate with an experimental spirit and a capacity to test and exploit all loopholes, ambiguities, silences, and lapses available". The dominated are thus able to set a course at the very periphery of what is permissible.²⁰⁸ Scott maintained that resistances occur in "sequestered social spaces",²⁰⁹ and are therefore absent from historical and official records unless carefully uncovered.²¹⁰ Resistance is usually disguised, and "dramatic measures" are only resorted to "when disguised resistance fails, subsistence is threatened or perceptions of danger lessened".²¹¹ Some resistances take place in contexts where they have a double meaning or can be easily disavowed,²¹² and the hidden transcript may positively value concealment.²¹³

Scott noted that what takes place in the public arena is the "encounter of the public transcript of the dominant with the public transcript of the subordinate".²¹⁴ This however, is no reliable indicator of domination and resistance since this is the site where hegemony is displayed and captured. What really takes place in situations of domination and resistance occurs in the realm of "infrapolitics".²¹⁵ In order to understand what really takes place, we must look "behind the official story" or beyond that which takes place in the public arena, to the "hidden transcript". It is here that we will observe that resistances

²⁰⁷ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990. p X11.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p 138.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p 20.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* p 86.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² *Ibid.* p 98.

²¹³ *Ibid.* p 137.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* p 13.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* p 1.

are designed to prudently avoid, “with few exceptions, any irrevocable acts of public defiance”.²¹⁶

Ministers in local congregations in the South African context of apartheid were able to exercise certain forms of social power which were prohibited by law. Deeming the prohibition laws on marriage to be oppressive, many ministers were able to assert that when the laws of the land demonstrated a contradiction to the teachings of the Gospel, they were obliged to uphold the latter. The anonymity of the setting; for example, the wedding ceremonies of Jack and Thembi Kemp, and of Maria and Striny Naidoo, both conducted in private venues, represented covert contestations of the prevailing hegemony. According to Scott, “[m]ost of the political life of subordinate groups is to be found neither in overt collective defiance of power holders, nor in complete hegemonic compliance but in the vast territory between these two polar opposites”.²¹⁷ The space between overt defiance and collective compliance is the space in which these ministers were able to use their positions to become activists on behalf of inter-racial families in the context of apartheid.

By performing marriage ceremonies for inter-racial couples and by providing support and counselling, the ministers demonstrated their commitment to freedom of choice in marriage and addressed issues of segregation and injustice within South African societies under apartheid. These ministers demonstrated through their actions, that inter-racial relationships were not sinful in the eyes of God, even though they were regarded as sinful in the eyes of the dominant Church and of the state. Their actions, even though covert, symbolized a criticism of the status quo as well as a refusal to collude with the apartheid regime. Resistance was therefore present but not in the eyes of the dominant.

To understand what it is that dominated groups do to defend their interests as best they can, or “between revolts” as Scott puts it, he examined those actions in which the dominated engage and which fall short of open defiance; such as foot dragging,

²¹⁶ Ibid. p 17.

²¹⁷ Ibid. p 136.

dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, and so forth.²¹⁸ He maintained that the dominated are able to avoid reprisal from the dominant because their actions “rarely accord any social significance”.²¹⁹ However, multiplied many times over, these acts of resistance “may in the end make utter shambles of the policies dreamed up by their would-be superiors”,²²⁰ and in the long run, lead to meaningful change.

For the ministers who performed marriage ceremonies for inter-racial couples, their actions were masked by a display of “false compliance”.²²¹ These pastors were regarded as pillars in the communities and as ministers of the Gospel - committed to upholding the law. Even though they ran the risk of being prosecuted, their veiled actions were shielded from the scrutiny of the dominant because they took place in the sequestered social spaces of which Scott speaks. Moreover, since they were ordained ministers in the various Churches, they held positions of importance in society and would not have readily been suspected of transgressing the law. Inter-racial couples were also very circumspect about the way in which they conducted themselves outside the very tight knit circles to which they belonged, and they thus minimised the danger of discovery by the authorities.

Once the perception of danger was lessened - because of the domestic and international pressure on the government to repeal the laws - the Anglican Church declared that it would solemnise marriages for inter-racial couples, despite the laws forbidding them to do so still being in force. At this time, the South African political landscape was under heavy scrutiny and prosecution for such an action would have embarrassed the government and further alienated them from the international community. In 1986, when the laws were repealed, Jack and Thembi Kent, Maria and Striny Naidoo, and Dave and Carol Gray were able to have their relationships legalized by the state. The White partners in these relationships were prepared to lose their status as White South Africans and to be re-classified under the Population Registration Act, even though, for reasons

²¹⁸ Ibid. p 2.

²¹⁹ Ibid. p 172.

²²⁰ Ibid. Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid. p 86-87.

unknown, Dave Gray was not re-classified and maintained his status as a White South African.

However, the entire system of apartheid was based on segregation laws which affected people in all areas of their lives. The Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act, were still intact in 1986. Gail Govender and Henry Smith were unable to legalise their relationship because Henry Smith was not willing to run the risk of losing his job, since he was the sole breadwinner in the family. For this family, freedom was only realized in 1994, when the entire system was abolished. Lorraine Green experienced the Church as a place where she received support and nurture, and as a place where she was educated on the evils of the oppressive system of apartheid. Her experiences in the Anglican Church and with the multi-denominational prayer group, to which she belonged, indicated that the Churches were aware of the various situations confronting people in South African societies under apartheid. Additionally, the Churches were engaged to some degree in providing assistance to people facing various problems relating to oppression under apartheid rule.

7.3 False Consciousness

According to Scott, social theorists have been attracted to the notion of false consciousness and ideological hegemony because they have been deceived by the surface of social life. Overly impressed by what takes place in the public arena, they have failed to dig up what takes place beyond the direct observation of the dominant.²²² Theories of false consciousness assert that domination makes people passive and accepting. Scott concluded that people do not accept domination just because they have not experienced an alternative to it. Even those who are most restricted are able to imagine a reversal of power relations, a world where the last shall be first and the first shall be last, and where the oppression of their present reality is absent.²²³

²²² Ibid p 1.

²²³ Ibid. p 2-6.

However, based on some of the accounts given by the participants in this particular research, it was not obvious to some ministers that apartheid's oppression was a condition requiring counter struggle. The situation was simply seen as the way things were and was accepted as such. These ministers demonstrated a failure to see themselves as potential political agents. They were unable to imagine an alternative scenario and therefore chose not to resist but to conform. These members of the clergy viewed their realities as normal and were committed to upholding the existing social order.

David Kent saw the ministers in the churches which he attended, as those who conditioned themselves to ignore the present sufferings of their congregants and who chose rather to focus on life after death, where all the present sufferings of their congregants would come to an end. For Dave Gray, neither the Church nor any other institution provided a way of escape from his predicament but instead exploited him even further. Gail Govender and Nate Smith were socialised to believe the Church to be a place where one receives spiritual nurture only, and that their predicament was a matter that was beyond the scope of the Church's concern. Wendy Munroe believed that the Church provided no adequate ministry for people of her generation but that it was instead stuck in the past and dealt primarily with issues which did not enhance her life. Beryl Pillay received strong rebuke from her church for breaking the oppressive segregation laws of the country. Her pastor was more concerned with the effects of her actions on his church than for her well being and had no regard for the injustices she suffered because of apartheid's racist segregation laws.

In her book, *Right Wing Women*, Andrea Dworkin dealt with the reasons why women oppose feminism. She asserted that these women, on seeing feminism to be supported only by women - who are relatively powerless -, come to the conclusion that their best hope for safety lies in playing along with male power and male definitions of women.²²⁴ They oppose feminism because it threatens to expose their own accommodation of the status quo. The irony is that while these women view feminism as a danger to them, accommodating the status quo does not provide them with security, and irrespective of

²²⁴ Dworkin, A. *Right Wing Women: The Politics of Domesticated Females*. Perigee, London. 1993.

the extent to which they advocate for male superiority, they are still not safe from male violence. Dworkin describes their behaviour as a “self-hating loyalty to those who are committed to their destruction” and as something which prevents them from seeing that “they have been robbed of volition and choice, without which life can have no meaning”.²²⁵

The question that arises concerning the “right wing women” in Dworkin’s account is the same question that arises in the accounts of the ministers who failed to adequately respond to the situation of oppression in which their congregants found themselves. Had the ministers’ hidden transcripts become so deeply buried that they were not even discernable in the sequestered social spaces of which Scott speaks? Or had they so internalised oppression; to the extent that it had cultivated in them a deep-seated subjection? It is difficult to ascertain at this point on which side of the fence they fall. Further research in this area may be warranted.

7.4 Conclusion

The analysis of the responses of the churches to inter-racial relationships in the South African context of apartheid, revealed two distinct forms of struggle. On the macro level, the Dutch Reformed Church was actively involved in the formation, and the maintenance of legislation banning inter-racial relationships. Conversely, the Roman Catholic Church and the English-speaking Churches were actively involved in opposing the legislation. On the micro level, in local congregations, ministers from various denominations - including the Pentecostal Church, which entered the political debate on apartheid rather late - either supported or failed to support people in such relationships, thereby either legitimating or undermining the prevailing ideology.

Ministers who supported inter-racial families, engaged in covert forms of resistance and shared in the suffering of the families involved. Even in situations defined by danger and repression, these ministers were able to confront the prevailing injustices of apartheid’s segregation laws. In this way, they were able to construct alternative realities for inter-

²²⁵ Ibid. p 68-69.

racial families that blanketed them from apartheid's harsh system of racial segregation. The local churches, to which the families belonged, sustained and nurtured them until the oppressive system was overthrown. The support of these ministers provided a sense of shared oppression and reprieve. This allowed the families to live fulfilling lives and gave them hope for a future where total liberation would be realized.

The ministers who failed to support inter-racial families seemed to have accepted that subordination is “natural and inevitable”, as Scott puts it.²²⁶ It is however difficult to assess the motives and the positions of this group of ministers. One could theorize that they had been co-opted by the dominant and were therefore intent on maintaining the status quo. This could be because they themselves were living comfortably under domination and did not wish to undermine their own security. It could also be theorized that they had accepted that their domination was natural and that their only option was to live as best they could under such circumstances. One could also theorize that their resistance had become so deeply buried that it was not discernable. In any event, what remains true is that these ministers did not provide adequate support to inter-racial families.

²²⁶ Scott, C.J. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1990. p 96.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS, CONTRIBUTION TO NEW KNOWLEDGE, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 CONCLUSIONS

In her article, *Are We Nation Building Yet?: the Role of Oral Historians in Documenting the Transition out of Apartheid*, Julia Wells noted that the work of the oral historian in South Africa “involves deeply understanding the continuum from the depths of racial oppression in the past to a radically different mindset that will characterize the future... The very process of practicing oral history contributes to creating the transition”.²²⁷ Wells maintained that documenting the injustices of the past, exposed racism as an artificial construct, based on lies, distortions, fear and greed. Bringing these stories to light has the potential to defuse people’s pain and facilitate a healing process.²²⁸

Extreme repression under apartheid rule had two distinct characteristics: the dominant transcript of the oppressors, whose aim was to divide and conquer; and the marginalized transcripts of the oppressed, whose voices were silenced because they threatened to disturb the stability of hegemony. Since the advent of democracy in South Africa, empirical research has attempted to uncover such voices and to preserve their place in history. Bongani Finca, in his article, *Learning to Bless our Memories*, wrote:

We will not be able to chart the way forward from the brutal past from which we are trying so hard to emerge to a healed and compassionate nation we are hoping to become, until we discover the voices we have silenced. We have deliberately cut off these voices through many years because they question our lives and expose our hypocrisy. Until we revive those memories and learn to bless them, we

²²⁷ Wells, J. “Are We Nation-Building Yet?: The Role of Oral Historians in Documenting the Transition out of Apartheid” in Denis, P and Ntsimane, R. (eds) *Oral History in a Wounded Country*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. Pietermaritzburg. 2008. p 32-33.

²²⁸ Ibid.

will be robbed of our full story and of the celebration of who we are as a people and as a nation”.²²⁹

In tracing some of those silenced voices, this research is an attempt not only to unmask the omissions in our nation’s history but also to uncover the weapons of resistance to ideological dominance. The oral history methodology, combined with James Scott’s theories of oppression and resistance, allowed the researcher the opportunity to document the stories of people whose voices may have otherwise, never been heard. Yet, the stories of the research participants help to widen our understanding of South African history and play a significant role in the understanding of our nations past and charting a better way forward. Vern Harris’s *Madiba, Memory and the Work of Justice*, sums up the sentiment:

Under apartheid, swathes of South African history were erased, hidden and marginalised. Oppositional voices and narratives were repressed and silenced... Our memory work is hampered by secrets, taboos, disavowals and lies... it is imperative that we take responsibility for the cultures of opacity; understand that it is not only those who wield power who deal in silences; and (more difficult) accept that there might be legitimate secrets, healthy taboos, justifiable disavowals, even... necessary lies. In any polity it is, precisely, the secrets, the taboos, the disavowals and the lies which mark the place of bruise, of wound, of damage.²³⁰

The aims of this study were to assess the role of selected churches and communities in Natal (1970-1994) in the development and maintenance of inter-racial relationships, in the South African context of apartheid, and to document the lived realities of people involved in such relationships. To that end, the researcher sought to investigate four main questions:

²²⁹ Finca, B. “Learning to Bless our Memories” in Denis, P (ed) *Orality, Memory and the Past*. Cluster Publications. 2000. p 12.

²³⁰ Harris, V. *Madiba, Memory and the Work of Justice*: Alan Paton Lecture: 2011. p 8-9.

1. How were inter-racial relationships in Natal developed and maintained in the context of apartheid?
2. How did selected churches and communities in Natal engage with interracial couples and family units?
3. What challenges and support did selected interracial couples and children experience, particularly in relation to their churches and their communities?
4. To what extent did selected churches in Natal conform to the status quo and to what extent did they resist?

The study uncovered that, through the support of their communities and with varying levels of support from their local churches, the respondents were able to construct a counter-narrative of resistance, embedded within the grand-narrative of apartheid. Through a host of coded tactics, families were able to live relatively normal lives and parents were able to protect their children from the scrutiny of authorities.

The respondents in this study represented three Christian traditions. Respondents belonged to the Anglican tradition, the Roman Catholic tradition or the Pentecostal tradition. As on the macro level, where the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches opposed racial segregation measures instated by the state, so too, on the micro level, in local parishes, the ministers chose to offer support and nurture to inter-racial families. The responses from the Pentecostal tradition were varied. Some Pentecostal churches focused on an 'other worldly' type of Christianity, and simply chose to ignore the situation facing inter-racial families under apartheid. Other Pentecostal churches chose to place emphasis on obeying the laws of the land which forbade such relationships, while yet others, to offer their support. However, it must be stated that it is not clear whether these ministers grasped the political situation in the country fully, or whether they simply opted to follow their instincts with regard to inter-racial relationships.

People within South African societies generally accepted the racial ordering of the time. The racial categorization of South African societies affected relations even amongst the

Black population groups. As a result, some respondents experienced racial discrimination within the Black communities in which they lived, as seen in the case of David Kent. The World Council of Churches found that prejudices in South African society, as in societies the world over, were learnt. Children in these societies absorbed the prevailing attitudes of their racial groups.²³¹ As a result, children born to inter-racial families were seen as different and were therefore subjected to varying forms of discrimination, especially in their schools.

The respondents were most fearful of exposure to the White population, but generally, found amity within the Black population groups. Appearance was the criterion, not only on the macro level of apartheid society but also on the micro level, within local communities. Appearance and status were important factors in the way in which respondents were judged by communities and authorities. The Coloured communities were more accepting of mixed families and respondents within those communities encountered fewer problems. The arbitrary manner in which apartheid police executed their mandate to uphold segregation laws, left room for exceptions to the rule, as seen in the case of Dave Gray.

The repressive policy of apartheid and the patriarchal order of society put Black women at greater risk of exploitation and discrimination. Women in the Coloured community were particularly vulnerable because in some instances, their light complexion and brown or blonde hair made them targets for some unscrupulous White men who were able to exploit them. The burdens of raising children and of financially sustaining families were often left in the hands of Black women.

8.2 Contribution to New Knowledge

Studies relating to inter-racial relationships in South Africa's apartheid society are mainly located in the field of psychology. Aspects that are not covered in the literature on inter-racial relationships are the day to day experiences of people in such relationships and the

²³¹ The World Council of Churches. *The Responsible Society in World Perspective*. Geneva. 1954. p 12.

level of engagement with their communities and churches. The present study brings to light that there was far more resistance to apartheid's segregation policies on the ground than was perceptible.

8.3 Limitations

The present study is exploratory in nature and consisted of nine participants representing six family units. Further research, with a larger sample size may enhance the quality of the research. The study focused on the responses of churches to inter-racial relationships. Relationships in which people belonged to other faiths, was therefore excluded. Further research is therefore warranted.

8.4 Recommendations

This research shows the rich field of study on inter-racial relationships in the context of apartheid and how it can add value to the broader academic enquiry into race relations in South Africa. The need for more research on inter-racial relationships in the context of apartheid is apparent. Additionally, comparisons of enquiries into inter-racial relationships in post-apartheid South Africa, with such relationships in apartheid South Africa, may serve as an indicator of the level to which South Africans are dealing with their racially charged past.

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APPENDIX

Jack Kent, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 7 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

LN Tell me a bit about yourself, where you from, how you came to live in South Africa, that kind of thing.

JK I came to the country about the 24th of March 1971 which happens to be Haroon's [son, David] birthday 15 years later. My wife's 1st husband is Malawian. He was Muslim. So our family is mixed not only by race and culture but by religion as well and all our children have Muslim and Christian names. I started work in this country on the 6th of April, Van Reinbeck's Day 1971. I worked with African people and the only White person I knew was my boss. Most White people in this country grow up in a White family, go to a White school and all the people around them are White. The only people from other races they knew were the people who worked for them. I am formally from the UK. The thing is that Kent's here are a dime a dozen but that is because my father's ancestry is Dutch. They came from Holland and settled in Lincolnshire. As a child I went to the Baptist Church because there was no church tradition on my father's side but my mother comes from the Anglican tradition. Back to South Africa. When my grandmother died she left me about two or three hundred pounds which I used to go on holiday to Africa in her memory. So I took myself off to North Africa for about six/seven weeks. Joined a group and we traveled through Morocco and Algeria and so on. That was in 1969. I enjoyed it so much so that in the Easter time in 1970 I took a job as a courier driver traveling through Europe and North Africa as well. I've always been interested in Egypt and the pyramids and everything that goes along with Egypt as far as archeology is concerned. So we bought an old bus and traveled up to Athens and sold the bus there. I took a trip from there on the Mediterranean and spent some four weeks in Sudan and then moved on to Uganda during the time of Idi Amin. Then down to Tanzania, Zambia and then to Rhodesia from there. So from there I got here to South Africa with no money and

they wouldn't let me in. No it was the Rhodesians that wouldn't let me in because I had no money and if I got into trouble in South Africa I would become the problem of the Rhodesians. So I had to get some money together, travelers' cheques and so. When I got in I took a few weeks to come down to maritzburg because I knew some people there that I met on my trip to North Africa. I settled down into the regime of working here, not intending to stay though. I thought I'd be here for a few weeks, get some money together and go home basically. But I started to see this country with different eyes. I started to get a grasp of the political situation down here. I'll tell you one of my earliest incidents. I was taking some people to Durban and we stopped at a café and the lady working there [White] said, "You shouldn't be with those people!" and I said to her "Why not?!" "Because they Africans" she said. And I said to her "I work with these people and I don't know you from a bar of soap so how can you tell me who I should be with?" These kinds of thing came up quite often, stupid things but these were the things people did. I mean at Christmas time we would go down to the beach, me with my White face and all my staff members have got brown faces. We couldn't go on the White beaches because we'd be chased and locked up but the thing was when we went to the designated African beaches the African people had no trouble at all. Some of them whom I didn't know would come up to me and ask me to watch their stuff while they took a swim. It was an indication to me that they accepted me and trusted me because my friends were African so they saw me as one of their own. Just showed me that people, irrespective of skin colour are people and we should treat them as such.

LN You were aware then of the political, social and economic situation in the country, can you tell me a little bit more of how you understood the situation at that time?

JK Well the way people were being treated was a way of life. I basically got to know more and more about the situation as time went. You couldn't go into a shop, you couldn't sit down where you wanted to because of the colour of your skin, petty things! I mean when I met my wife I said to her, I will not even apply for

citizenship in this country because the people who were born and live here are not allowed to vote and I was so proud when in 1994 my wife and I went to vote together. [Very emotional]

LN I remember that. It was a magical moment, the first time I was allowed to vote myself.

JK Magical indeed. It was also my first vote because I never got to vote in England. I did attend one ceremony that was particularly significant for me. It was the inauguration of the first Anglican African Bishop and I remember how wonderful that was, we were all connected. My wife was living in Edendale at that time. There were Asian people there, Coloured people and African people. The only White people as far as I know were some nuns studying at the seminaries. As far as I know the Group Areas Act came into effect in 1966 and White people who had farms there were forced out. But I remember the wonderful sense of community where people were so helpful not because they were obligated or out of duty but just because that is how it was, when people needed help they got it.

LN When did you come to Natal?

JK It was in 1971.

LN When did you meet your wife?

JK That was in the very early seventies. Oh! So you want more details on how I met her?

LN Yes [laugh]

JK I was press-ganged.

LN What's press-ganged?

JK In the old days in the British navy if they found any likely chaps hanging around the port they would press them into joining the navy. One of the people working with me, Monica Gumede, the thing was there was some shows of Ippintombi. Some for White people, some for Africans and I took some of them to see the shows. What happened was that my wife also went to see the show and Monica and my wife knew each other and my wife said to Monica "who is this White chap that you bring here?" My wife arranged through Monica for me to come to Edendale to take some photographs and well let's just say at that point I got a new friend and my friend eventually became my wife. There's an old saying, a man chases a woman until she catches him. She lived in Edendale, I went to visit but did not stay overnight. From that time onwards she was the one for me.

LN Even though you were aware of the politics and the dangers?

JK Yes. We were very cautious. Her father had a big house in Edendale, a tea-room next door to it, a butchery nearby and a small farm in Henley and that was where the main family lived and as time went by I got to be known as Thembi's main friend not just a friend. Her mother and whole family embraced me wholeheartedly.

LN How did your relationship with Thembi affect the way you lived? Did you have to be very aware of where you were and what you did? Were you afraid that the police might be watching you?

JK I knew that I had to be very circumspect and not do anything stupid. But sometimes when we went to see my wife's folks in Henley and when we come back we were sometimes stopped by the police and they'd look and see that there is one White and one Black here and they would say, "Where you coming from? You know, you'd better make her sit in the back so you don't have any trouble" and I'd say,

“Well what trouble could I possibly have with you here to protect me?” You see I’d turn the situation around on them. Amazingly, especially with the local police, they knew that what they were doing really deep in their hearts they knew it wasn’t right. We had an incident where my brother-in-law borrowed my wife’s car to go to the mosque in Edendale and he got stopped because what is this African chap doing driving a nice car. They brought him to me and said to me we can charge him for stealing the car or charge you for letting him use the car because he did not have a license so we both went to the police station and paid a fifty rand fine each and the form we had to fill said he must specify race. I said he is South African. The policeman said no you have to specify whether White, Black, etc. I said, well he is South African and that’s that and I refused to budge to the point where they just gave in and accepted it. You see I refused to be caught up in this whole race thing. I made them put there South African, not White, Black or what. I refused to be part of the system.

LN So from the time you began dating your wife did you have many run-ins with the law?

JK No, I think I was being looked after by another power. We had very few problems with the police. Mostly for being together in the same car, but I knew how to get around that one. The only real problem I had was in the very late seventies or early eighties. It was to do with my wife. At that time if you were an African woman your rights were virtually nil. You had no legal rights, you were a minor in the eyes of the law and you needed to be emancipated. I said to my wife one day, you being treated like a child is just wrong. You can’t buy something, even your property cannot be yours. The property where you staying at is yours, your father gave it to you but you can’t say it’s yours. So we went and got her emancipated. A chap at Bantu Affairs, a commissioner or something would decide whether she was a fit person to be emancipated. It meant you had no criminal record, you had this and that, you had some sort of social standing in the community because her husband passed away in 1972 and we have a death

certificate for him but he says he is not happy about this at all. He says “I still think her husband is floating around somewhere and that’s why she wants emancipation and he’ll come back at some point and claim the property. The thing was this property was given to her, not her husband at that time by her father. How ridiculous is that?

LN Ridiculous!!!

JK It was her house and the tea-room was hers and since it was a commercial property she could not take any legal consequence for the business at all as far as the law stood. Her minor brother, he was about fifteen or sixteen at that stage was considered the elder male and he had the rights to the property but luckily Dumisani [brother] understood. His father explained to him that Thembi was the entrepreneur in the family and that the business should be run by her. What she touched she could make work because she was business-minded. Eventually we went to another commissioner and got it done but about a year after that law was scrapped but it was well worth the effort because it was an education for me as well. Seeing how people were treated and so on. Then my late daughter was born in 1980.

LN She was your first child?

JK Yes, she died about three years ago. But anyway, it was then that we had a problem because the question was whose name is she going to take? She can’t take my name because I can’t be her father because of the Mixed Marriages Act and that so my wife had to pretend to be a single mother and we put her under my wife’s name which was Mgadi. My daughter became Jessica, Hawa, Faith Mgadi. David was born on the 23rd of March 1982.

LN When were you married? Did you have an actual wedding ceremony?

JK I was married in 1984 by one of our ministers from Sobantu.

LN The Mixed Marriages Act was still in place?

JK Yes, what happened was that Rev. Dlamini knew my wife's father so he was a family friend of ours. He said to Thembi and myself, it's not right for you to be living like this, you should be married. He is a member of the Full Gospel Church. He said we can have a ceremony in the house. We will have all the doors and windows open so that anybody can walk in and see what's happening and I will conduct a marriage ceremony that is standing in the Church and in the eyes of God, but not in the land.

LN Is this church still in Sobantu?

JK Yes, we went there to avoid the whole business of going to town. We could not put our children in danger like that you see. The old man is now passed away, his son is a minister although now retired.

LN What was the full name of the officiating minister?

JK Reverend Wilfred Dlamini. So when the Mixed Marriages Act was repealed we approached him again and said we want to get married. He agreed and said that it was the first time he had married two people twice and they hadn't even been divorced in between. [chuckle] So we were married in 1984 as far as the church is concerned and in 1986 as far as the church and state is concerned. The Rev said he would only not perform a marriage if there was polygamy, but he knew us so we were ok.

LN In the time that you were with your wife, where did you live and where did she live?

JK To start with I lived in Maritzburg.

LN In the city?

JK Yes, in the city in a flat in Selgro Centre. We had a bit of a problem there sometimes because the security guard would see my wife arriving although she was not my wife at the time, and then he'd see her going away and very often not on the same day. So he said to me, "I don't know what's going on and it's worrying me. He was an African chap and his worry was that if he did not do something about this he would get into trouble. So we went to the office and declared to them that Thembi works for me and we had a name plate made so now the security guard was protected and we were safe as well and he had no problem with us after that. We were not married at that time though we were just courting but now she could come and go as she pleased.

LN Did you have lots of community support?

JK Yes. We knew that we could not expose this relationship to White people but the other race groups protected us. When we went to Durban to visits my wife's relatives we would stop at an Indian restaurant to eat you know because we could not eat just anywhere. That was the only place they would actually let us in together and the manager would come and have a chit chat you see. Even when I was with my wife's family I was treated as an equal. They called me brother. That was special to me. What's so nice about it is that they did not see me as mlungu, just brother.

LN After you were married did you settle in one place or did you live between your flat and her house in Edendale?

JK Well, between my flat and her Edendale house for a bit you see. Then when the Mixed Marriages Act was repealed I applied to Home Affairs for an ID book. I

already had one but I wanted to change my address so I gave my address as Lot 22 Sub 21 Edendale and somebody didn't check up so my address in Edendale wasn't questioned but what they also did was they changed the last few numbers on my ID book which gave your race classification and I was made an honorary African. [Emotional] It was a mistake you see or they thought he is in Edendale he can't be White so they just changed the race bit. I wanted to stay with my wife in Edendale but could not according to the law but somebody had taken it a step further and actually unwittingly legalized it for me. There was a lot of curiosity especially with the Whites. One night we heard a motor bike, it was my boss's son checking up to see if I really did live in Edendale. He did that all the time, we had to be careful.

LN Were you ever arrested or in trouble with the police because of your relationship?

JK Amazingly no. Not once. There were angels on my shoulders I promise you.

LN But were you always aware of the danger that the two of you could be arrested?

JK Yes, very aware. In the mid 1970s they were still very strict about where you would go to for entertainment but the City Hall was being slowly opened up and there were singers and entertainers from America who broke the sanctions as far as entertainment is concerned with the proviso that they would only do shows in South Africa to a mixed audience. So things were eased up a little by then.

LN Did you go to the theatre a lot as a couple?

JK Well, as much as we could because it was the only place we could go as two people you see. We met other mixed couples there too, and formed a nice little group to share our lives with.

LN Did you enjoy the arts?

JK Yes but we could not go to the cinema. Well there was the Kismet and African people could go there but they were still segregated because only the African people had to go on the balcony at the top but later, the late eighty's things were different. That was when my wife and myself and the kids went and we saw *Gorillas in the Mist*. It was the first time we could go as a family. So the edifice was beginning to crumble at that stage. But between 1987 and 1990 those were the years when it was tougher although the laws were sort of relaxed in a way, it was a time when the police were stricter. The police were stronger as people began to realize liberation is near and the shackles were being released so people started taking advantage of this opportunity. The first time we got to sing Inkosi Sikilele Africa was at a meeting by the UDM or UDF at the Lotus Hall. It felt like the whole of Maritzburg was singing it. You could sense then that things were happening.

LN So by this time did you know and feel that liberation is near?

JK Yes. We lived in Edendale through the Six Day War. I was the only White person living in Edendale at that time. I actually could not go to work for a few days.

LN What type of job did you do at that time?

JK I was running the Roadhouse in Hayfields and all my staff was African people.

LN So the two of you actually met through attending the theatre?

JK Yes. It was in a bit of round about way but yes you quite right we met through the theatre. There is another story I must tell, I'm sure you've heard of Sarah Essa? She is an entrepreneur as far as theatre is concerned. When she opened up her theater one of the shows was *An Arabian Knight* and we went there as a group to see it. That was magical. About two or three weeks after that the police came there because the municipality didn't like it and said this was not right because they realized it was not just for Indian people but for all races and she was serving

tea and coffee as well. The theatre was a resistance and a catalyst. The resistance wasn't only in song but the entire Arts were a resistance. The Rainbow Club in Pinetown still exists today; a Jazz club and we went there. We knew many places that were sort of clandestine.

LN Were you ever under police surveillance?

JK I don't know for sure. I do know that we were very careful, we would never use our names on the phone so I was Eem on the phone.

LN What were your fears if you were caught out?

JK Well, she would have been sent to prison for sure and I would have been deported back to England. That would have been the most likely outcome.

LN What about when the children came, did your fears intensify?

JK My daughter was born in 1980 before the Mixed Marriages and all these things started to fall apart and she had to be my wife's daughter and not my daughter as far as the law for when she went to pre-school and so on. Jessica [daughter] went to a school that was supposed to be only for Coloured children. So when we went there to get her into school...

LN So you took her there to have her enrolled at school?

JK Yes, as I've said I've been through my catharses of accepting my daughter as my daughter. And she was very Coloured looking Jessica was so she was introduced as my daughter but we couldn't do the documentation. The lady there at Rosebud [school] was Jenny Sharpley. I put my hand up to be a committee member at the school so Jenny Sharpley and I formed an alliance to take all the Coloured children from the surrounding areas and any space left we would take children, no matter

where they came from, just children. So we had mainly Coloured children and some Indian and African children but no White children and that same year the municipality started to rumble and groan and make noises because the funds they received were for the Coloured children not other races. So they said you can't have these other children here. But Jenny Sharpley's late husband left her some money. She took that money and we rented 388 Boom Street. It was a Moravian Church and they had a crèche built behind the church house and it had toilets for the children and everything so we approached them and said we want this place and we were there for five years and I was a part time teacher there teaching my own children as well.

LN So you were really involved in your children's lives?

JK Yes, Thembi and I were determined to be there fully for our children. Jessica used her mother's name and also her registration of birth was done very late because we did not want to register her so the documentation was always all things pending. We wanted her to be our child but we could not make her our child until she could take on the name Kent later. Funny thing was, after 1986, White people would approach us and say, "what lovely children" I think it was that the shackles were falling from other people. They were in shackles and they didn't even know it.

LN So would you say that your experience helped people change their perceptions and break down barriers?

JK Yes.

LN Did it help White people?

JK Yes. But we were very careful with White people. You had to be able to trust them and we trusted very few, sad to say. Men have always been tight lipped but

women were more expressive. There's an old saying that says "may you live in interesting times" and we did but the interesting times for us were not of the magnitude where you had people being arrested. The only thing was the Six Day War [in Edendale].

LN Did you go to the shops and do the day to day things that people did as a family freely?

JK Not really. I have always been the shopper, but my wife's sister lived with us and she did the shopping so that we did not have to, a precautionary measure. When my daughter was at Rosebud [school] we taxied some children from Edendale to school as well so we would go into the supermarket as a whole tribe [chuckle]. We never had any issues because the people at the tills were not White people so why would you make cases out of your own people?

LN But you were aware of your limitations were you not?

JK Yes. We also had a business in Corey Road and funnily enough the chap there is Indian. Muslim and his wife is White and funnily enough they were married legally in the same year we were married.

LN What's his name?

JK Farouke.

LN Are they still around?

JK Yes. His business is in Winston Road, up Victoria Road almost to Meyers Walk. It's called Farm Stall. Her married name is Kombri. We were both pioneers in this thing. We went to have our marriages legalized at the same time and we were among the first to do that [names and places have been changed].

LN Where do you live now?

JK In 1994 we moved out of Edendale and took a house in Polar Avenue and we've been there since. It was there that Jessica [daughter] passed away three years ago. She was fine. I took her to work in the morning and brought her back in the afternoon. She worked for an off-shoot of the Road Traffic Department that dealt with traffic fines by camera. She was a marvelous person and everybody there loved her. She could converse in English, Afrikaans and Zulu so you did not feel lost with her. I picked her up from work to go to the gym.... I got a phone call from Farouk saying "you need to go to Jessica, she's in big trouble" and when we got there [emotional] She was walking across the floor from one apparatus to another and she just collapsed. She had an embolism in the brain and it just burst and she just passed, just like that. [Pause]

LN Did you feel that you had to be extra protective of the children?

JK In some ways yes. I never wanted to put them in a situation where people would be rude or unkind to them just because of who they were. David had some bad experiences. So when I came back to the Anglican Church I was very pleased to see the situation here. Bishop Desmond Tutu was here in 1989. I knew it was an environment that would be very accepting of us as a family. This was the time under Dean Johnson.

JK Yes. I was very happy about that because I had already received an honorary African status which enabled me to legally live in Edendale with my wife.

LN What about the involvement of the Church in your lives? You say you were married in the Full Gospel Church?

JK Yes, it was circumstances. My wife was Lutheran but the minister who got us married was a friend of her father and a regular visitor at our place.

LN Which church did you receive support from?

JK We worshipped at the church in Sobantu and the Anglican Church as well sometimes, but the one in Sobantu was our best option, we could just say, if the police stopped us that I was taking people to church. Especially in the early days. She was a dressmaker and she often made the wedding dresses so we went to a number of weddings in the church as well. This church [The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity] was known as the Red Square because of the Red Square in Russia you see. They were looked at as being communist because of some of the things that went on here. We had functions at the Community Hall that were not under the prescript of the Group Areas Act, but I came here seldom during those times and not with my family, until 1986 or later. You can we safely say that we were supported by the Full Gospel and the Anglican Church. The pastor at the Full Gospel Church, Wilfred Dlamini is now passed but his son is still there. He is retired now but he is still around. I have a marriage certificate from the Full Gospel Church and even the one for 1986 when the Mixed Marriages Act was repealed, one of the first in Pietermaritzburg as was my friend Farouk's.

LN I know that nothing was ever easy at that time but what do you think, was it easier if the man was White or if the woman was White?

JK Well, I can tell you that it was very easy for the Black communities to accept us. We had a few White people but that was few. My wife and I attended the Anglican Church as full members in 1988-89. It was the tail end of Apartheid.

LN Why did you come back to the Anglican Church?

JK Well, besides it being the church of my birth, it was very receptive to us as a family. It was also a very forward-looking church as far as mixed people were concerned. They had a very open attitude.

LN Do you know other people in a situation such as yours?

JK Yes, there were many. We met sometimes at the theater. In Maritzburg there was one person. He was married and had a White family but he also had an African girlfriend and a child from that relationship as well.

LN Was he White?

JK Yes. They worked together at the Imbali Funeral Parlor in Edendale. He is passed now but the lady is still here. When he had a stroke it all came out and ended the relationship with his girlfriend.

LN Well, that about sums up my questions. Thank you so much Jack. I really appreciate you taking the time to talk to me and you sharing your story with me. I really enjoyed this interview.

JK Thank you for allowing me to tell it. We'll keep in touch.

=END=

Dave Gray, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 20 December 2010 in Pietermaritzburg.

LN Tell me a little bit about yourself.

DG My name is Dave Gray. I was born in Uganda in a small town called Kilembi, a mining town, multinational. I left there when I was five with my mum, my two sisters and my brother. We moved to Durban. My father stayed there.

LN What year was that?

DG I was born in 1954 so that was in 1959.

LN What did you understand about the situation in South Africa?

DG I understood the separateness. I schooled in Durban on the South Coast. When I was about fourteen had a better sense of what was happening. It was not nice. People liked to think that they were better but I wouldn't call it that, to me people were different and I liked that. The first time was around 1971-1972, my first relationship with a Black woman, a girl really. I met her on the South Coast. She was a waitress at a hotel that I used to go to often.

LN What was that like? Did you go through a period of courting? Where did you meet? Did you go out together?

DG It was very difficult. We couldn't go anywhere public. We would just meet and go sit on the beach.

LN There were restrictions on the beaches then, Whites and Blacks had separate amenities, so which beaches did you go to?

DG We went to a Blacks only beach.

LN Did you experience any discrimination there?

DG Most of the time no, not from Black people anyway and usually they were the only ones there. But there was one time. What's the word? The Immorality Act. They caught me in my van, it had a canopy and we used to sit in the back and they arrested us. We were on the beach, parked there. I managed to escape.

LN Can you share a little more about the incident.

DG I was seventeen years old. She was fifteen. I was still a baby. It was puppy love. They took the woman and put her in their car I was to drive my vehicle in front of them to the police station and I escaped.

LN What happened to your girlfriend?

DG I don't know. I never saw her again. Her name was Olivivia. She was African, a Zulu girl. I went back to the hotel the next day to find her but she was not there. I went back again and again for a long time but she just vanished after that night. No one ever saw her again. No one from around there anyway. Even today I think about her, wondering what happened to her and what I could have done to save her, but, that's how it was. I was just a boy, frightened, didn't know what to do really and who could I tell? It was the time of the security police. They were not nice people, honestly. They did not beat me up, but they might have hit her and killed her, and even raped her. I don't know. I could not talk about it because I committed a criminal act in the eyes of the law so what could a seventeen year old boy do? Cards on the table, African ladies were easier to fall in love with than White women. They were just stuck up. I was living in a majority English area. My mum was Irish. She was very strict. At birth my dad made us South African

citizens even though we lived in another country. We lived in Doonside in Emanzimtoti. I left school at fourteen and started work. Later I joined the army.

LN Where were you deployed?

DG Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other boarder countries. I don't want to talk about my work there. It was bad and I was made to do terrible things to Black people which I don't want to talk about. It was horrific. But I left the army and then I had many relationships with Black women. I met another Zulu lady in Durban. I was working for a security company. We met in the lift and so on and we started speaking to each other and so on. She was Zulu also.

LN You say she lived in the same area as you? What about Group Areas Act?

DG It was not a problem in that part of town I guess. She was Ntuli, her last name but her first name I'm not prepared to share. We had a son together as well. His name is Andrew Keith. But let me tell you how it all began. We started dating pretty quickly after we first met. She moved into my flat. She was a prostitute, working in the docks on the ships. She gave that up when she fell pregnant. She made a lot of money too, enough to send home and keep her family comfortable and enough to make sure we lived very well too. It would not have been that good with my salary alone. She would come home and empty her purse on the bed. I tell you, only dollar bills would fall out. For a day she made sometimes four hundred dollars. That was a lot of money. I felt inadequate sometimes because she made so much more than me and we used to fight a lot over it. I had to wait a whole month to get some money. She made thousands and thousands of American dollars every day. We lived a good life. There were many problems. My son could not take my last name because of the apartheid thing so he took her last name, Ntuli. We were never arrested or detained by the police for being in a relationship but we did have many problems. The system was against us so even though we had a lot of money we were fighting all the time. She said that my son was not really mine because I

could not even give him my name. I said she was making money by selling herself. She would often tell me that it's the system that my brothers put up that makes her be a prostitute. She would always rant and rave about the education that Black people received. I think she would have loved to send her siblings to fancy schools and that but it was apartheid so what could she do. She was frustrated as well. She actually became very bitter towards me in the end and she would become so violent at times. She would beat me up often and I stayed because I loved her spirit and I loved my son and I knew that it was not her fault. But the relationship ended when my son was still a baby about eight months old. She tried to stab me with a knife and I had to leave. My son was not yet crawling. I never saw them again. I lived in places like Soweto, KwaMashew and so on during apartheid. I never got in trouble, I don't know why but I know people who were detained, arrested even. Maybe the fact that I was a soldier, and a special kind of soldier that they overlooked a lot. I was in a relationship with a White woman and I caught her with another man and beat he up terrible. She could never have children after that. She died of cancer of the womb. After that I went to Joburg. I met and lived with Bonny Simelani, a beautiful woman. She was Swazi. Black women seemed more attracted to White men at that time. We lived in Berea. We lived openly the community. It was nice. We had two kids. The relationship ended and that is when I went to Durban and met Ntuli. I also met Carol in Natal, we together still and we have an eight year old son. I was in the army for about twenty years, the things I did I will always regret and it twisted my life. It poisoned me. Today the people who have the apartheid are the Africans. Jacob Zuma and Julius Malema I hate them. The majority of politicians are liars only in it for the bucks. In the army I was taught to kill people. All the people I had to kill were Black. It was the Angolan war. The people I killed were not South African hey, all from other Black countries.

LN Are you still in a relationship with the Coloured woman?

DG Yes, we raising our son. Apartheid was bad. Many of my relationships could not work because of it, because of what was happening in the country. That's just it. Apartheid was a total waste of time. It ruined me, ruined my families. Okay, there was always work at that time but people were not free to be a man. In Durban there was the municipal security. We called them the Black Jacks. If an African was caught walking on the street at ten o'clock at night and did not have valid letter to say its ok, they would be locked up. How could people go anywhere? Family life? How could it have worked? No way! It was doomed before it started.

LN Where do you live now?

DG In Woodlands, I still want to be around Black folk. I was fighting for that all my life and now that I can how can I live in a White areas? But I'll tell you this much, if anyone wants to offer me a million rand, I will shoot Julius Maleme no problem, just like that. I am not racist, I lived my whole life not trying to prove that I'm not but just wanting desperately to be left alone to live my own life and now I see this guy just come in and wanting to mess things up all over again. It makes me very angry, very angry. I want peace now. I was in the army with people like that, it's dangerous. Please you can use my first name but use Gray for my last name. Like I said I was in the army, did some stuff I'm not proud of so I want to protect myself. I know I told you we can talk for about an hour, but I have to pick up my son, can we talk on the telephone again? I will leave my number.

LN Sure. Thank you so much for giving me the time to chat with you. I really appreciate it.

DG You welcome.

=END=

Wendy Munroe, interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 8 March 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

LN Tell me a little bit about yourself, who your parents are, where you were born, that sort of thing.

WM Well, firstly, my parents met in Johannesburg. My mom went there to work after she matriculated.

LN What year was that?

WM 1984, maybe.

LN What race group does your mom belong to?

WM My mom is Coloured. She was born and raised in Pietermaritzburg. She went to Haythorn High. From what my grandparents tell me there was no good jobs here in KZN so my mom went there to get a good job and make a life for herself.

LN What about your dad? His name, where he was born?

WM Well, I don't know too much about my dad, only that he is White, still lives in Joburg with his White family. He was married and had children when he met my mom. His name is Patrick Hood. When my mom went to Joburg she was all alone. She planned to go to live with some relatives there but she was only at their house a week and things started getting sour. Luckily in that time she had already found a job as a waitress in a very nice restaurant and one of the girls working there told her to come stay by them. It was a group of girls sharing a flat but she had to pay rent not stay for free. My father was a manager where she worked and they fell in love. My mom was very young and naïve. She says she fell for him and all his lies hook, line and sinker. Well I'm sure you can tell where this story is

going by that. Anyway, my mom and the man that fathered me, I don't like to call him my dad because a dad is someone who is around, who actually cares about you and wants to be a part of your life. My father in inverted commas, [gesturing] wanted nothing to do with me.

LN Ok, so your mom went to Johannesburg in 1984 and got a job immediately?

WM Yes, I think so.

LN When did she begin a relationship with your dad?

WM That was also immediately [laugh]. I think it was because she was so lonely. She was far away from home you know. No family and the only friends she had were her flatmates. My mom and I are very close. We tell each other everything. She told me that he would come up to her at work and chat while she was on lunch. She didn't go out for lunch, just had a quick bite in the staff room. It didn't take long before she was in love and I think my father in inverted commas [gesturing] took advantage of her. But to cut a long and painful story short, my mom fell pregnant two or three months later. That was the end of the relationship. He would tell her you know, that she must go back to Pietermaritzburg and that his life would be ruined if she stayed. He told her from the start that he did not want to have anything to do with me, the baby when it came. But my mom you know, she was so in love with him, she stayed in Joburg until she was seven months pregnant hoping that he will change his mind. She begged him to help her and she did everything to get him to take her back. In the beginning when she first fell pregnant he wanted her to abort the baby but my mom grew up in the church and she just could not do that. So when she was seven months she was highly pregnant and could not even put her shoes on because her feet were swollen so she left work. One time she went to his house to tell his wife but they lived in this big security complex and she couldn't get in. By now my grandparents found out

she was pregnant and they actually came to Joburg and dragged her back home. She took a long time to get over him but she did.

LN What about you? Where were you born?

WM I was born here in Greys Hospital. I took my grandfather's name. Wouldn't want to have his name anyway, he only donated the sperm, he's not my father. My mom says I have his eyes and his lovely brown hair. I said to her well at least something good came of it then. You know my mom sits for hours with that hair dryer and special lotions and stuff but for me its just wash and go [laugh].

LN Did you feel different as a child, when you were growing up?

WM No, not at all. I went to the same primary school my mom went to and the same high school. I always thought my grandpa was my dad until one day when I was much older, my mom told me who my father was. I think I was in grade two. No, I didn't feel different, but as a child, I was very insecure, maybe because I didn't have a real, real father, you know.

LN How did you feel when your mom told you who your father was?

WM I was shocked, I won't lie and like very emotional because I mean I just heard that my father didn't want me you know, and I'm thinking, well what's wrong with me because my mom also told me that he has other children and that I have a White brother and a White sister. When my mom got married in I think it was 1987 or 88, I stayed with my grandparents. My mom also has two other children now so I have four siblings. But my two brothers and I are close it's just that I don't want to go stay by my mom's house. My ouma [grandmother] spoils me a lot. But ja, I got over it hey. I mean I am better off. He wanted my mom to have an abortion. I always say that if ever I meet him I'm gonna first sock him one then talk.

LN Sock him one?

WM [laugh] I mean I'm going to hit him. He didn't want me but the thing is I grew up with all the love in the world. Everyone says I'm my grandpa's pet you know. So I did have a father figure. And the community I lived in you know we mos all mixed anyway so it's no big deal really. I grew up normal and happy.

LN Did you get teased at school or experience racism or anything like that?

WM No! We quite a close community also. I mean all the Coloureds in Woodlands know each other. They must first ask, who's your father and I would say Tommy, that's my grandfather and then we cool.

LN What about church and religion? Did you go to church?

WM Yea, this is my church [Cathedral of the Holy Nativity]. My family is very religious. But no one ever asked any questions or doubted that I was Coloured or anything. I don't go to church. But only Sunday, like once in a blue moon because of my grandfather. I'm not one of those Christians who want to be in church seven days a week. I'm not even religious. I only go because my grandpa expects me to. To tell you the truth, if I had my way I wouldn't go at all. It's so boring. Eish! People there will be busy doing their own thing you know and I'm sitting there and thinking of the nice lunch my ouma made. I go out to clubs and things, tried everything from dagga to LSD and you know it wasn't for me. Now I'm just concentrating on my studies and to make a good life you know. And you know they say we can learn from the mistakes of others? It's true. I won't let someone take advantage of me! But I am very careful about dating and that you know. I must first trust a person before I get into a relationship. But the church! When I used to go to Sunday school in Woodlands, they knew something was wrong, like I said, I was so insecure, but what did they do? Nothing! They must give me some money or something, to study, because there is nothing else they can do for me.

The church is for old people who sit and dream about apartheid, and whose doing what.

LN Have you ever dated someone who is not Coloured?

WM No. Well, firstly, there's only Coloureds around me. I mean, I have met Indians and like Black people in school and church and even White people. But I don't know hey, I just feel more comfortable with Coloureds. Maybe it's because of what my mom went through, you know, maybe I'm afraid that they will just use me like my dad did with my mom. I haven't really thought much about that. Maybe if there is someone and I really like that person I would date him but it hasn't yet happened. I also don't have time now for boyfriends and things. I used to date a lot in school and well my last boyfriend, we broke up a few months ago. I just got gatvol [fed up] of that relationship but he was also looking elsewhere so we decided to break up. I also have to concentrate on studying now too so a relationship would be difficult because they want so much of your time man.

LN What are you studying?

WM Well, I haven't started yet. I'm working now.. I'm saving and next year I'm gonna study through UNISA.

LN Do you ever long to see your father or to connect with your sibling you have never seen?

WM Sometimes I wonder what my father is like, whether I am like him or not. I also wonder about my brother and sister. You know, how they would feel about having a Coloured sister. Whether they would accept me and that but I don't dwell on it. If it happens it happens but I'm not gonna go looking for it.

LN You were born in 1985 hey?

WM Yes, December 24th.

LN So by the time you were at an age when you could understand things like apartheid, it must have been already over, am I right?

WM Yes, but my grandfather used to speak about apartheid and all the things Coloured people had to go through and district six and all that so I know apartheid but I was just never interested in it.

LN Have you ever wondered how that system affected your life?

WM No, the way I look at it, it affected my grandparents more. Even my mother, I mean I know that White people could not have affairs with Coloured people during apartheid. I mean that's what your study is all about ne? But I don't think that apartheid had anything to do with what happened to her. Even if there was no apartheid my father was still gonna do that to her. He saw someone to take advantage over and give him a few moments of pleasure and he took it, that's all. He was a pig and was still gonna be a pig if there was no apartheid.

LN You know that apartheid meant that your mom did not have the same privileges and education that White people were able to have hey? So she went to Johannesburg and struggled to find work there because the system of apartheid disadvantaged her.

WM Now that you say it like that I think maybe it could have had something to do with it but I still think that we read too much into this whole apartheid thing. I mean you get Coloured people who do the same thing to other Coloured people and Black people who do the same thing to other Black people and Indian people who do the same to other Indian people and the beat goes on. Its always the older generation who want to blame apartheid for everything but if you talk to the younger generation they will tell you that its not like that for them. They did not

grow up under apartheid so don't keep on expecting them to live in the past. I think that people should live in the present. Forget what happened with apartheid in the past. It's over now. Everybody is free but we still want to dig up old bones. I'm not saying that what you doing is a waste of time or any thing. I'm just saying that we, the younger people don't see the world like the older people see it. We want to move forward.

LN Ok, I hear you, loud and clear.

WM Ja man, you know, I even get tired of the church sometimes because there too its apartheid this and apartheid that. That's why only old people go to church now days. I'm saying I want to move forward in my life and I like what you doing not because of the apartheid thingie but because of it gives me a chance to say this is what happened to me but I am still ok, I'm still here, I survived and watch this space coz this girl is going places in her life no matter how she came into this world.

LN I like that, that's a good attitude to have. Thanks Wendy. I appreciate you taking the time to talk to me.

WM Had nothing better to do on my day-off [laugh] No just kidding. It was good. But I don't know if it will help. Sometimes I feel my life is boring. I want to make something of it.

LN You still young, off course you going to make something of it. You are doing very well right now. You on the right track my dear. Education is the key, that's what I always say.

WM You and my mother [laugh]

LN Anyway, thank you so much.

WM It was a pleasure.

=END=

Nate Smith, telephonic interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 9 September 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

LN May I please speak to Nate.

NS Speaking, who am I speaking to?

LN Hi Nate, Its Linda Naicker. How are you?

NS I'm good thanks and you?

LN I'm very well, thank you. May I speak to you for a few minutes; I need to gain clarity on some issues. Do you have time?

NS Sure, I told you I'm always available after seven in the evenings. What would you like to know?

LN Well, I'm reading over our interview that was conducted in July. You shared some of your childhood experiences.

NS Yes, yes, I remember that, was just telling my wife about it the other day.

LN I just wanted to know, did you experience any discrimination in school, can you remember?

NS No, not at all. I have very pleasant memories of school, actually.

LN Did any of the children ever find out that your father was White?

NS There is one memory I have. I was in primary school. Remember I told you my father would drop us off a few blocks away from the school so that no one sees us?

LN Yes.

NS One day, it was really hot early in the morning, so my dad stopped at the shop and gave me some money to get him a coke and cool drinks for all of us. I don't know why he did that, it was strange, but anyway, one of my classmates saw me getting off the car and also noticed that the driver was White. So in class he says to me, "who was that in the car that you got off this morning", and I just said, "that's my father, why?" He didn't say much else actually. I knew that it was not a good thing but he just said, "oh! ok" and that was it. You see, children don't really bother with that kind of thing. If he thought it was a problem or a crime or something, maybe he would have seen it as something to use against me, but to him everybody has a father, so what? He didn't even seem too surprised that mine was White. Like I said, school was a pleasure for me because I had the opportunity to mix with other children. We only ever got to play with other children outside of school during the school holidays. I loved school. Even the standard of education we received in Indian schools was really good. It's the Black kids that suffered most. We had good schools, nice buildings, books to write on, text books, everything. That's apartheid for you. Now if my father was Black, then I would have had a problem because they were given absolutely nothing.

LN Well, ok. Is there any experience that you would like to share?

NS Can't think of anything at the moment but I'm sure something will come to mind. I've been thinking about my childhood a lot lately. Maybe because of your project, so something is bound to come up and you can call me at any time if you have a specific question or something.

LN Thanks Nate, I appreciate you taking the time to talk to.

NS It's a pleasure.

LN Will talk again soon, bye.

NS Bye then.

=END=

Lorrain Green, telephonic interview conducted by Linda Naicker on 15 November 2011 in Pietermaritzburg.

LN Hi Lorrain, how are you?

LG Hey, I'm doing very well my dear, so good to hear from you.

LN Lorrain, I have a few questions to ask, do you have some time to spare or should I call at another time, when it's convenient for you?

LG No, I'm doing nothing in particular, fire away [laugh].

LN Ok, thanks. I just wanted to enquire about the group of women that provide support and assistance to you.

LG OK, my prayer partners, you mean?

LN Yes. You have told me that the ladies belong to different denominations. I'm just curious, how did this group come about?

LG Well, the thing is, the lady who first got the women together and started the group is Anglican. She lives here in Woodland. She got the idea from the Mother's Union. You know the Mother's Union in the Anglican Church?

LN Yes, I've heard of them.

LG Well, that's how it started out, but then people from her church were not available in the week to do things, because everyone is working. So she decided to start her own group with anyone from any church. As long as you loved the Lord, you were welcome.

LN So your prayer partners do not form part of the Mother's Union?

LG No, not at all. We now mos lekker Pentecostal I tell you. Look, we just a group of women from all walks of life who are looking for ways to do God's work, and you see, because we have the same issues, you know, the same problems most of us, we can relate, we can help each other, we can learn from each other. It's just about building each other up. I mean in my situation, those women, man they just knew how to help me, and more than that, they also prayed with me. Now that inspired me to do the same for others. It's really not about which church we belong to. Most of us, our ministers don't even know about this group. We are community people, and we respect all the different churches but I must say, we are very Pentecostal in the way we worship, but I always say, those gifts that the Bible talks about, God did not only give them to Pentecostals but to all Christians so we too can claim them for ourselves. I always say it's about balance. You can't sit and pray and pray all the time and do nothing with the things God has given you. We share what we have with each other, we go out to poor communities and do soup kitchens, we do bake sales to raise money for the needy. Even if one of us has a project in church where they must raise money for something, you know, building or something, we all get together and help that person.

LN That's wonderful.

LG Yes, it is hey. Why do we need to fight and bicker and all that. We all belong to Jesus so we must work together. That is what God wants us to do.

LN Thank you Lorrain. I appreciate you taking time to talk to me.

LG Not a problem dear, any time. Just call me if you have any questions. We here to help each other.

LN I will, thanks again Lorrain. Bye.

LG Bye dear.

=END=