
# "Reclaiming histories": The resounding call issued through the Simonites' culturally-marginalised memory of the apartheid forced removals

by

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## ABSTRACT

Produced with the intent to link the consciousness of the classified coloured Simonites to the needs presented by their physical surroundings, this study presents a poststructuralist critique of the post-apartheid culture of race. It invokes the Simonites' production of a living, inclusive and diversified archive as a disruptor to the existing colonial and apartheid power relations that structure social interactions. The study deploys oral history as a methodology due to its fluid administering of historical production. This study is a testament to the Simonites' agency pertaining their reclaimed histories and personhoods. These phenomena are intentionally pluralised to oppose a singularised, state-imposed culture of race that culturally-marginalises memories, histories and identities. An analysis of the Simonites' memory of the apartheid forced removals reveals that their memory is framed to meet a present cultural demand. Namely, the need to transform their culturally-marginalised social position as administered by the rainbow identity and subsequent citizenship status. Reclaimed histories are transformative to the extent that it produces a re-envisioned humanity that subverts existing power relations and appeals to greater society. A subversion of power relations reinvigorates a sense of belonging, broadens the recipients of state obligations and epistemologically undermines the dominance of racial discourse in a post-apartheid context. Therefore, this study supports an emerging discourse that posits Simon's Town as an ancestrally-diverse heritage landscape to which belonging and a unique history is claimed.

# INTRODUCTION

Disclaimer: This paper heeds the call of Dr Amanda Kemp to create a space for transformation through disagreement.[1]

This paper presents an analysis of identity as evinced through the memories of apartheid forced removals that transpired in Simon's Town, during 1968 and 1972. An analysis of these memories indicate that the Simonites' reclamation of their histories, through a living archive that constitutes their narrated memories and a locally-produced archive exhibited in museums, generates new social subjectivities that demand a transformation of a culturally-marginalising citizenship identity. This paper refers to the Simonites as the classified coloured population that were forcibly-removed from Simon's Town, as ordered by the Group Areas Act of 1950. Notably, this label is invoked by the interviewees as a manner of referring to their collective, politicized group. As race is a socio-cultural construct, the subversion of a racially-defined citizenship identity is performed with the vision to reap social benefits.

This paper is intended to be situated amongst cited works that critique the retention of colonial and apartheid power relations that continue to structure the post-apartheid domain of knowledge-production. The current state of power relations is influenced by an amalgamated configuration as it exists in the past, present and future.[2] This entails that should the political culture of the colonial and apartheid state, and indeed their historical institutions, remain unchallenged, political identities will continue to be legally and politically defined in racial terms. This has devastating implications in terms of an inclusive citizenship identity. Namely, it entails that officially recognised heritage, as a symbol of belonging, remains aligned to the interests of the state and thereby upholds segregationist motives.[3]

Hence, a historical and dialectical Marxism Feminism theoretical framework serves the objective of the paper. Notably, it alludes to the necessity of addressing subjective interests in order to effect social change. Social change is interpreted as an ideological shift that effects an altered material reality. This framework is accompanied and reinforced by Nietzsche's "willto-power" which illustrates the potential of a subjective will to transform the discourse of personhood, agency and history.

Therefore, the Simonites' production of a local archive and invocation of diverse ancestry to scorn an inattentive, failing post-apartheid government is interpreted as a subversion of the existing power relations. It is within the above-mentioned configuration of power relations whence the Simonites' local archives should be understood as a disruptor to the hierarchical power relations that permeate knowledge and historical production. Thus, the local archives transform the representation of the past, heretofore produced by liberal ANC government officials tasked with the re-production of the nation's history at the time of the political transition.[4] An inclusive, diversified and locally-produced archive not only widens the scope of the public, but responds to a greater range of present needs overlooked by an inattentive and failing government. Simultaneously, the production of a local archive is an attempt by the culturally-marginalised working class to work towards an envisioned future that requires a revolutionised consciousness to overthrow a crippling mode of production. Namely, a bourgeoisie capitalism. Through a reclamation of their diverse ancestry and subsequently pluralised identities, entrenched within the heritage landscape of Simon's Town, the configuration of power relations is redirected to support their subjective interests. These subjective interests provide Nietzsche's will-to-power to transform, not assimilate to, citizenship identity.

Structured through a Marxism Feminism framework (deliberately unhyphenated), the identified gaps in the engaged literature draw largely upon the dialectical and historical relationship between material realities and consciousness. In fact, as a subversion of existing power relations that privilege a culture of race, the subjective claims of the Simonites redefine their desired material realities as determined not by a marginalising racial identity; but rather, by an inclusive, diversified identity tied to pluralised cultural communities. Hence, their epistemologies might emanate from a particular context. Yet, these epistemologies have a diverse appeal through its creation of a diversified, inclusive public. The significance of the Simonites' local production of an archive is located in the manner by which it responds to the following gaps in existing literature.

Firstly, the engaged literature on oral history fails to draw links between the intellectual and physical space. Instead, the literature critiques an empowering oral history of the marginalised. However, this paper argues that the culturally-marginalised Simonites reveal this form of oral history that is not necessarily disparaging. The interviewees' command of the personal interviews, evinced through an immediate establishment of an elder-youth dynamic that

facilitated the transmission of cultural capital (i.e. family histories), illustrates that oral history can be empowering if the interviewees wish to utilise the tool in that way. Notably, oral history was adopted as a chosen methodology that unforeseeably emerged as a dialogue about memory that evoked an oral tradition. Yet, the author remains steadfast in her distinction between oral history and oral tradition. Indeed, both have influenced the textualized oral history produced in this paper.

Secondly, the heritage claims of the interviewees subverted the notion that the individual is enmeshed within the social.[5] A socially-prescribed ideology, as illustrated by a political culture of race, denies the individual any agency pertaining their histories and personhood.

Thirdly, despite the interviewees' allusion to a cultural struggle pertaining the post-apartheid government's unequal distribution of resources and provision of services, this paper does not adopt cultural relativism as an analytical framework. In fact, the paper opposes the anthropological cultural attribute theory. Instead, it notes how the culturally-marginalised' presentation of a reimagined (as it appears to those who constitute dominant society yet has always existed amongst the marginalised) humanity has a reach that surpasses the boundaries of the community. This is explicated by their existence as rational and compassionate beings against a history of being othered, vilified and rendered ambiguous. Therefore, this paper presents a history-by-emotion that accompanies a legal history. The broad applicability of a new conceptualisation of humanity is entrenched in the indispensability of mirrored, intersubjective relations to society.

Therefore, a post-structuralist critique of the post-apartheid culture of race is underway to provide a transformative space for creolised subjectivities to showcase their history of survival and humanity. Oral history, as a transformative practice and tool of engaging memory, allows a subjugated creolised individual to challenge conditions of inequality that are reminiscent of enslaved histories; to assert their will and participation in a creolised way of life; and to present their humanity as integral to their histories of survival. It witnesses their shift from an objectified position in history to a subjectified position.[6] Thus, the interviewees' established elder-youth power dynamic influences the direction of this paper. It is precisely their creolised subjectivities and way of life that constitutes their memory as a survival strategy.[7]

Rationale and problematisation

The problematic, namely the culture of race, is demonstrated by the semantic tensions that divide the Simonites, recognised as public historians, and the academy of technocratic historians.[8] Opposed to the ethnography of oral history practice that followed the mid-1990s political transition of South Africa, and which critiqued an oral history of the marginalised, this paper justifiably posits an oral history of the culturally-marginalised. The retention of the colonial and apartheid culture of race culturally-marginalises the memory, histories and identities of the Simonites. This has a ripple effect on their material realities. Notably, material realities are inclusive of cultural phenomena.

Integral to this critique is the local production of an inclusive, living, diversified archive that pays tribute to the many cultural communities whose ancestral roots are grounded in the heritage landscape of Simon's Town.[9] Through its subversive and transformative potential as an alternative spatiality, the production of an inclusive archive by a culturally-marginalised Simonite populace represents an indigenous, non-European re-configuration of a legallydefined, racially-determined citizenship identity.[10] As race resonates as class in South Africa, the local production of archives displays a performance of active citizenship that confronts the government's pursuit of passive citizenship.[11] The latter is evinced through the retention of anachronistic and inaccessible provincial and national archives that largely reflect the interests of the white-dominated, elite society.[12]

By addressing the identity crisis that emanates from the privileging of European ancestry, the local production of archives further represents a social struggle that lobbies for the equal redistribution of resources which the post-apartheid, rainbow identity has failed to effect.[13] This failure creates an opportunity for creolised identities to politically transform the citizenship identity and re-position the present culturally-marginalised Simonites as beneficiaries of resources.

Therefore, the Simonites' political subjective claims, made in a scene of address, is significant. The post-apartheid context witnesses the prevalence of a "totalised colouredness".[14] This "totalised colouredness" is understood to either be legally-imposed or self-determined.[15] Yet, it distinguishes itself from a shame-laden identity that emanates from a history of miscegenation.[16] Contrastingly, this paper presents an alternative creolised identification that

disputes the historical, state-imposed meaning of a life that is led by a broadly classified Coloured individual.

Therefore, this paper seeks to provide a microcosm of non-European indigeneity in the Southern Cape Peninsula region. It is largely influenced by the Simonites' self-awareness of their historical past. It presents historical storytelling and emotion as a form of producing history and culture.[17] Historical storytelling is a form of working-through the past that necessitates an elder-youth power dynamic.[18]

This is achieved through a qualitative paper that adopted a combination of the following methodologies: semi-structured personal interviews, observations of verbal and non-verbal signifiers during the interview, a case paper of Simon's Town and phenomenology. Albeit, phenomenology was approached with caution, as a paper of lived experiences was not suited to the objective of the paper. Such would have facilitated a fact-finding recovery of experiences as opposed to a participatory production of history. However, Martin Heidegger's conceptualisation of phenomenology is relevant for this paper. It recognises the mutuallyconstituting relationship between material realities and human consciousness.[19]

Nonetheless, this paper is intended to contribute towards an ethnography of oral history practice by grounding the interviewing experience of and revelations of the interviewees in existing literature. Notably, the literature that supports a standpoint theory is most applicable.
In fact, the Simonites' discourse indicated where such theory requires improvement. Indeed, a class standpoint is unable to capture the power relations of race nor gender. However, Elaine Salo, a southern African feminist writer, makes a link between race and class in post-apartheid South Africa.[20] Yet, due to the time and length constraints of the thesis, gender could not be adequately engaged. It is suggested as a recommendation for further research.

## The fluidity of the coloured identity

The intent of this section is to provide the groundwork for a conceptualisation of the coloured identity that will be carried throughout the paper. Note that 'coloured' is intentionally written in lower-case to strip the power from a culture of race.

By 1975, the Group Areas Act (No. 44 of 1950, as amended) disqualified 500 000 legally and politically classified coloured individuals from their homes.[21] Most of these forced removals transpired between 1966 and 1972.[22] Beginning 1968, every classified coloured resident of the Southern Cape Peninsula, inclusive of Simon's Town, was disqualified from their property.[23] Roughly 19 000 classified coloured individuals were forcibly-removed from Simon's Town.[24] This dispossession and forced removal dismantled the traditional cultural patterns and disintegrated the identities of many cultural communities that composed the region.[25]

### *Discursive approach*

Contrary to the fixed legal, political and social coloured identity, this paper discursively defines the term 'coloured'. It vouches for a symbological identity of the classified coloured population; as dependent on context. Firstly, concurring with Salo and Mohamed Adhikari, the historical context is understood to influence the socio-economic, political and cultural position of the broadly classified coloured population.[26] Secondly, as a manner of opposing the prevailing dominance of European ancestry, to assert membership to a colonially-influenced dominant society, this paper owes tribute to the non-European ancestry that if recognised, has the potential to transform the existing citizenship identity. Heeding the call of Zoë Wicomb, ambivalence is displayed towards a definition that uses the following jargon to elucidate the coloured identity. Namely, multiracial and multi-ethnic. These terms will only combine a colonialist biological and cultural understanding of identity.[27] In addition, the racial and ethnic identification cannot account for the diversity of the legally-defined coloured populace.[28] Therefore, this paper adopts the definition proposed by Ruben Richards. Namely, the coloured identity symbolises a "non-racial fully integrated society".[29]

### *Spatial history of the coloured identity*

Salo argues that a meaning of race, namely the coloured identity, needs to be understood in relation to the spatial history of Cape Town.[30] Specifically, one must acknowledge how a racial identity was concretised to justify colonial and apartheid segregationist policies that continue to permeate the post-apartheid context.[31] An economic history of South Africa is capable of

illustrating the concretisation of race relations. Notably, an explication of the colour bar and the 1924 Civilised Labour Policy is informative. Enhancing the argument of Salo, it is evident that the racial stratification of urban spaces signified more than a mission to modernise Cape Town.[32] It was a programme dedicated towards the establishment and retention of white supremacy, particularly in the economic sector. Therefore, it is plausible to argue that space is representative of race.[33]

A history of dispossession and land seizures is dated to the arrival of the Netherlands East India Company (hereafter, VOC) at the Cape.[34] Namely, the Khoikhoi were dispossessed of their land and a free market did not ensue.[35] Instead, slave labour was brought from elsewhere.[36] The British colonialists and their German allies continued the process of dispossession upon their arrival at the Cape in 1820.[37] They pursued a free market. Whilst the local African population was not forced into slavery, the increased rate of land seizures, purposed towards an eradication of "free land" to which the Africans could flee, forced a sale of labour.[38] The rate of dispossession and land seizures reached it pinnacle in the passing of the 1913 Natives' Land Act.[39] This Act limited Africans' ownership or occupation of land to the reserves.[40] However, this Act did not as yet apply to the Cape where slavery was abolished in 1834 and equality before the law was observed.[41]

From the mid-1880s to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, South Africa established an agrarian and mining economy.[42] It was during this period that the Afrikaansspeaking, poorly-skilled "poor whites" relocated from the farms to the towns.[43] They were disgruntled with the mining companies' preference of black labour.[44] It is in this respect that the colour bar was reinforced. The colour bar prevented any African from obtaining skilled and semi-skilled employment.[45] Notably, less severe prohibitions were conferred upon the coloured and Asian population.[46] The colour was introduced when the demand for black labour surpassed the farms.[47] This was spurred by the onset of the mineral revolution in the late 1800s.[48] Yet, this job preservation allowed the white population to retain their jobs and successfully widen the wage gap.[49] Notably, the colour bar was extended to the Cape Province with the onset of the 1910 Union.[50] Therefore, the colour bar was a colonial measure to maintain white supremacy.[51]

The 1924 Pact government, which represented the Afrikaner National Party and the English Labour Party, largely supported Afrikaner nationalism and introduced the Civilized Labour Policy.[52] It was a policy that foregrounded labour discrimination.[53] Namely, civilized labour was preserved for those who were recognised as leading a "tolerable" life that emulated

European culture.[54] Contrastingly, uncivilized labour was preserved for those who worked merely to survive.[55] This condition was argued to be observed amongst those stereotyped as "barbarous and undeveloped".[56] Briefly, the Civilized Labour Policy entailed that higher wages and first preference to any job in the public sector would be secured for the "poor whites".[57] This was to the expense of the non-white population. Although, the coloured and Asian populaces were protected from the encroachment of African labour too.

The white economic and social position, created by the Civilized Labour Policy, was reinforced by the 1924 Industrial Act, the 1925 Wages Act and the 1926 Mines and Works Amendment Act.[58] Whilst the Industrial Act barred an African from assuming an "employee" status, the Wages Act established the standard for wages and work conditions in the place of trade unions.[59] Furthermore, the Mines and Works Amendment Act extended the colour bar to all skilled work across the country.[60]

In 1948, apartheid ensued with the following objective: To reinforce racial segregation with the intent of pursuing a future of white supremacy.[61] This objective was stipulated in the Sauer report.[62] Therefore, the presence of black (inclusive) populations in the urban areas were no longer tolerated.[63] Their movement was subsequently policed.

Prior to the 1950s, the white English and Afrikaans-speaking population tolerated the close proximity of the coloured population, evinced by their residence and identity.[64] The favoured European ancestral history afforded the coloureds an intermediary position that ranked higher than that conferred upon the black African population.[65] In fact, the racial zones of Cape Town, until that point, situated the white population either within, or near to, the city centre.[66] Contrastingly, the black African population were forcibly relocated to the peripheries.[67] However, the 1950 Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act shifted the legal, political and social position of the coloured population in Cape Town.

Whilst the population count of the classified coloured population and the 1924 Civilized Labour Policy posed no social and economic threat to the English-speaking white population (leading to the 1950s), the Afrikaans-speaking white population and the National Party government felt threatened.[68] As of the 1930s, the growth rate of the classified coloured population exceeded that of the white population.[69] Nonetheless, the population count suggested otherwise. [70] Furthermore, the economic depression levelled the social and economic position of the coloured to the white Afrikaans-speaking populaces in Cape Town.[71] Consequently, the 1950 Group Areas Act implemented the second round of racial zoning in

Cape Town.[72] Subsequently, the legally, politically and socially classified coloured population was pushed out to the peripheries as well.[73] The Simonites' forced removal to Slangkop (i.e. Ocean View), alternatively known as "the forgotten town", elucidates the extent of the removal.[74] It could only be accessed via "one long, dark road."[75]

*Opposing a shame-laden identity*

The fluidity encapsulated in a cultural construct of power, allows for an invocation of a particular historical background to meet present needs.[76] Gqola, Wicomb, Erasmus and Richards concur that a history of slavery, miscegenation and indigeneity is silenced in the heritage of the classified coloured population due to the shame and bastardisation attached to an affiliation with non-European ancestry in a colonially-founded society.[77] As observed by Gqola, Wicomb argues that the prioritisation of European ancestry is sustained through the relationship that exists between historical consciousness and shame.[78] The silencing of indigeneity, through the defensive mechanism of shame, ensures stability of the self by blocking a memory that might trigger the trauma of a colonial past.[79]

Despite acknowledging an ancestral history of miscegenation, the interviewees displayed no shame towards their heritage. Rather, their diverse heritage is celebrated. Their cultural identities and histories prove their state of belonging and are claimable to rights. By way of remaining a recognised legal, racial group in post-apartheid South Africa, the classified coloured population was never depoliticized. Hence, in a similar vein, through their opportunity to reclassify in 1959 and decision to personally maintain that identification despite the prominence of racial identification at the onset of democracy, their 'marginalised yet politicized' status in the post-apartheid context allows them to lead a "creolised way of life".[80]

A recognition of "a creolised way of life" is necessitated by the creation of identities through a complex of power.[81] This entails that coloured subjectivities are relational.[82] The meanings these identities attribute to lives vary.[83] Therefore, Erasmus' conceptualisation of creolisation is applicable.[84] Namely, a process of creolisation transpires when an individual is subjected to inequality that is reminiscent of histories of slavery.[85] As culture precedes racialisation, creolisation is embedded in "cultural practices".[86]

*Cultural hybridity*

It is not my intention to undermine Wicomb and Erasmus' attachment of shame to a history of miscegenation. Its undermining of racial identity is as impactful as an argument in favour of cultural hybridity. However, the interviewees' culturally-hybrid argument is a response to their

material realities that remain determined by their legally-classified, state-imposed racial identity in a post-apartheid context.

Based on the interviewees' narrated memories, it could be argued that their self-identification corresponds with their material realities. Wendy Isaacs-Martin (2015) notes that an identification with the rainbow identity, namely the South African national identity, will be expressed in the hope that equal access to resources will be guaranteed.[87] However, Erasmus notes that racial identification will be adopted in instances of racial redress provisioned in the post-apartheid context.[88] Yet, in a post-apartheid context which witnesses the prolongation of the coloured identity as a symbol of cultural marginalisation, the personal differences within the legally-defined coloured populace (alluded to as the inferiority complex which facilitated an identity crisis) and between different recognised racial groups (in terms of access to resources, opportunities and welfare) spurs the desire to redefine citizenry and revise official history to affiliate with the indigenous and non-European slave ancestry.[89] Thereby, a will to assert belonging is illustrated.[90]

This self-identification opposes externally-imposed ethnic identities that were social and political in nature.[91] It also opposes the notion that as a pure racial group, the legally, socially and politically-defined coloured populace shared a common language, culture and history.[92] In fact, a shared history of dispossession cannot be assumed as this equates the experience of all apartheid forced removals to that of District Six. The Simonites' allusion to their diverse ancestry further resisted the misconception that all classified coloured individuals emanate from District Six.[93]

The fallacy that the classified coloured populace is a homogenous group has damaging implications in terms of racial redress. The present-day Dido Valley Housing Project reveals disparities amongst the broadly classified coloured populace in terms of racial redress.[94] Most of the beneficiaries stem from the Red Hill Informal Settlement who were not forcibly-removed from Simon's Town during apartheid.[95] Therefore, Ms Margaret Constant, an interviewee, invokes cultural identity, as opposed to a homogenous racial identity, to assert belonging and a right to land redress.[96]

Amidst an academic debate pertaining coloured identity, it is significant that the interviewees celebrated their ancestral differences without scorning their coloured identity. Against a backdrop of being othered, vilified and regarded ambiguous due to difference, the interviewees

have subverted the power relations in discourse by associating difference with a sense of pride.[97] As iterated by Gqola,

> "Otherness…is the antithesis of colonial shame".[98]

## THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The applicability of theories, concepts and existing literature to the Simonites' performed history and epistemology

Listed below are existing theories, concepts and viewpoints considered applicable to an inquiry pertaining the Simonites' historical and epistemological production. Each suggested theory, concept and perspective adheres to an applicability criteria drafted by the researcher. As regards context and content, each view should be applicable to a southern African context; centred upon a shift in power relations; and the model a re-envisioned humanity that has a broader scope than the community concerned. The anticipated audience of this paper, grounded in the applicable theories, concepts and viewpoints, is the public that is produced through the Simonites' local production of an inclusive, diversified, living archive. Notably, their reenvisioned humanity appeals to the broader society. It is the view of the researcher that the relevance of each theory, concept or perspective be evaluated in relation to the historical and dialectical relationship that exists between material realities and consciousness. Therefore, the review analyses the extent to which each theory, concept or perspective links intellectual space to the physical realm. The review is composed of two main sections. The first section provides different theories, concepts or perspectives that meet the applicability criteria. The final section posits a theoretical and a conceptual framework that links the previous section.

Individual theories, concepts and perspectives

*Defining a cultural struggle*

This paper refutes the anthropological cultural attribute theory based on its retention of colonial and apartheid legacies in its conceptualisation of identity.[99] It thereby promotes epistemological violence by defining the oppressed as 'Other'.[100] Instead, this paper defines culture as a discursive, power-defined symbolic repertoire. Subsequently, the meaning of this symbolic repertoire shall either fluctuate according to context or resonate with those beyond the social and physical demarcations of a particular community. Within South Africa, culture is a realm of power, permeated by coloniality and negative biases.[101] As a subversion tactic, culture should be symbologically perceived to note its various connotations.[102]

As a symbolic repertoire, culture denotes a power-defined realm that is embedded with meaning. David C. Chaney, Danille E. Arendse, Jorge A. González, Theodore Petrus and

Wendy-Isaacs Martin posit culture as a symbolic repertoire. Chaney defines culture as a normative structure.[103] Arendse illustrates culture as a realm of power, marked by politics and subsequent epistemic violence.[104] González notes that a cultural field, whether perceived in a national or a micro-cultural community, is a symbolic universe in which cultural institutions and social agents interact and are discursively grouped.[105]

González appears to frame his argument through a Marxist lens. He notes that the symbolic repertoires are determined by the "social division of labour".[106] In other words, the interviewees invoke their conceptualisation of culture, as a material phenomenon, that is in tension with the existing power relations that maintains the dominance of a culture of race. This tension informs their consciousness.[107]He thus draws a relation between the symbolic, intellectual space and the physical realm (i.e. material existence and reality). Hence, cultural institutions constitute the self and indicate differentiation too.[108] The cultural field hosts a struggle for control over the meaning of shared exigencies, values and identities.[109] Hence, the discursive and fluid nature of symbolic repertoires warrants a creative form of historical production that produces pluralised identities and histories through dialogue.[110] The significance of a creative and fluid oral history is thus illuminated.

Culture is a lived performance. Arendse enhances González argument by noting that the geographical context frames culture as a lived performance and structure that facilitates social encounters.[111] This draws upon the political culture that frames memory. Similarly, Richards notes that heritage is the performance of cultural capital.[112]Therefore, the socio-spatial relations, underpinned by the politics of culture, informs identities.[113]

However, the retention of coloniality and apartheid identification in symbolic repertoires promotes violence. Arendse argues that the identity crisis witnessed amongst the classified coloured population invokes both an epistemic and an ontological violence.[114] The former alludes to the retention of coloniality. The latter alludes to the internalisation of the apartheidimposed, legalised coloured identity. As a form of resistance, Petrus and Isaacs-Martin note that the symbolic shifts in the meaning of coloured identity, as witnessed in a post-apartheid context, are traced to the varying ancestry of the populace.[115]

As a symbolic, structural repertoire, the transmission of culture is intergenerational.[116] Albeit, culture remains susceptible to change.[117] Chaney limits the intergenerational transmission of culture, as a way of life, within the confines of the community.[118] Richards supports this confinement by noting that culture and identity is learnt through imitation of that which is

acceptable within one's surroundings.[119] This transmission could either be perceived as Isabel Hofmeyr's transmission of cultural capital, Freud's observation of an infant imitating the mother, a child's acceptance of phenomena at face value or Cathy Caruth's transmission of unmediated trauma.[120] An elder-youth power dynamic facilitates all listed forms of transmission.

Even though the transmission of culture is intergenerational, that transmission is multidirectional as the cultural capital has an appeal that extends beyond the borders of the concerned family or community. However, Chaney limits a cultural shift to the space within the social and physical borders of the individual's life. Namely, he only notes a shift in the performance of culture from an inherited way of life to a socialised, fashioned lifestyle.[121] Salo and Lewis enhances Chaney's argument by noting how a new culture of humanness might be extended beyond the "social and physical" borders of a socially-marginalised individual.[122] In addition, González notes that a cultural shift, which resonates within the community or has relevance for the larger society, is driven by need.[123] This paper recognises the interviewees' expressed need for political representation, economic equality and a transformed, inclusive citizenship identity. Concurring with Chaney, Eduardo Neiva notes that global communication and transnational transmission of cultural knowledge has sparked debate pertaining the authenticity of new cultural meanings.[124] However, these new cultural meanings are authentic as they constitute subjective truth.

An acknowledgement of ideology is central to a discourse pertaining cultural struggle. González alludes to culture as an ideology. As the individual is enmeshed within the social and lives by shared exigencies, values and attitudes, it is evident that individuals lead their lives according to an ideology.[125] An acknowledgement of culture as an ideology entails that the self is constructed and expressed in material realities and in the symbolic universe too.[126] However, Althusser notes that ideological apparatuses are not automatically instruments of state power.[127] The plurality of ideological apparatuses supports the Simonites' subversion of existing power relations through subjective claims. Notably, the cultural institutions, family units and faith-based groups, to name a few, would comprise the ideological apparatuses of the Simonites.[128] Should these apparatuses resist the socio-cultural worldview of the state, they are simultaneously inverting the notion that the individual is entrenched within the social.

As histories are reclaimed from an overpowering Eurocentric history, a cultural shift from race must link the histories of the classified coloured population to that of the politically black

and black African identities.[129] Even though no law prevents a historically classified coloured individual from identifying as African, the observed response is a disputation of that identification.[130] Thus, whilst Erasmus, Desiree Lewis and Gabeba Baderoon adopt a politically black identity, culturally, Erasmus prefers an identity that alludes to "multiple belongings" as opposed to a singular, pure race.[131] Contrastingly, Lewis and Baderoon prefer 'politically black' to a creolised identity or a "totalised colouredness".[132] By identifying oneself as black in alliance with the Black Consciousness Movement, a classified coloured individual situates oneself in the vast possibilities of being black according to consciousness and not skin colour.[133] Black Consciousness is a decolonised culture of being that requires a self-awareness of one's social position in a particular society.[134] This culture of identification prescribes a decolonised consciousness that re-envisions humanity.[135] Thus, the Black Consciousness Movement opposes a Manichean philosophy that supported the race relations of colonialism and apartheid.[136]Therefore, the adoption of a 'politically black' identity critiques the culture of race.[137] Thus, Biko's problematisation of liberalism is insightful.[138] Yet, contrary to Lewis and Baderoon, the interviewees emphasised their cultural difference as a way of reclaiming their heritage and redefining their identity.

*Feminist research*

Cognisant of the power hierarchy in the production of feminist knowledge, the literature on personhood and agency are drawn from the works of black (inclusive) feminist writers from southern Africa.[139] Namely, Erasmus, Wicomb, Baderoon, Lewis, Salo and Gertrude Fester. In each of their referenced works, the authors engage identity politics through intertwined, shifting power relations.

*A) Intertwined, shifting power relations*

Eramus and Wicomb discuss the shame-laden history of the coloured identity. Erasmus historicises the shame attached to the Coloured identity and produces a counter-narrative through the production of creolised subjectivities.[140] Similarly, Wicomb observes the privileging of intersectional identities in the attribution of shame to a stable, timeless, homogenous coloured identity erroneously claimed to originate in District Six.[141]

Contrastingly, Lewis and Baderoon engage the meaning of the label, 'politically black feminist', by noting how consciousness can resist racial politics.[142] However, Lewis and

Baderoon are not convinced by studies that merely claim the marginalised reclaim their histories and identities. Instead, their focus, as politically black feminists, is centred upon the manner by which the relationship between consciousness and oppression facilitates the production of new forms of humanness and subjectivities.[143] Whilst Lewis, Baderoon and Erasmus might disagree with respect to creolised identities, they do concur that representation, particularly in the historical narrative, is important.[144] Through memory, the interviewees are reclaiming their locally-produced histories of survival and producing non-enslaved subjectivities that present new forms of humanness.

Therefore, Salo's discursive production of a social position through a complex of power, is significant.[145] This discursivity extends to citizenship identity. Similarly, Fester posits a feminist conceptualisation of a citizenship that includes women as social beneficiaries and decision-makers.[146][147]

*B) Model of intersectionality*

As cited by Lewis and Baderoon in *Surfacing: On Being Black and Feminist in South Africa* (2021), Jasbir Puar's concept of assemblage is selected as the intersectional framework that applies to this paper.[148]

The identity model of intersectionality, used to interpret social positions whilst overlooking the processes of social change that account for positionality, cannot serve the purpose of this research.[149] Instead, a model is required that contests stable, timeless identities that could be neatly divided into its various components for analysis.[150] Namely, race, class, age, gender and ethnicity.[151] Jasbir Puar's concept of 'assemblage' is insightful.

Assemblage recognises the processes that challenge the existing power relations which support a hierarchized social order.[152] Assemblage defines an individual as vested with a transformative desire for social change.[153] This desire represents Nietzsche's will-to-power. Assemblage thereby captures the shift from one social position to another.[154]

*C) Teleological history*

Notably, neither of the aforementioned feminist authors cited a teleological history as the cause of cultural shifts. This is not too surprising as Shahrzad Mojab notes that Marxism is more inclusive of feminist perspectives than Feminism is to Marxism.[155] The sexism of Hegelian and

Marxist thought is cause for concern too.[156] Nonetheless, this paper posits cultural history as teleological. It reflects the interviewees' narrated linear, incremental genealogical history. It draws upon the Hegelian-influenced Marxist teleological progression of history as posited in *The Communist Manifesto*.

Whilst Hegel illustrates a supranational history, the Marxist theory of historical materialism analyses the internal forces of history. Hegel argues that culture is the medium through which the world spirit is developed.[157] The teleological progression of history reflects the fatalistic development of the spirit. A Marxist teleological history reflects the development of productive forces which produce a social consciousness.[158]

Personified as a human being, Hegel argues that the world spirit develops a self-consciousness through "the labour of the negative".[159] Namely, self-awareness if achieved through a selfinterrogative dialogue that it hosts with itself and perceived through the mirror reflections emitted from the external world.[160] This "labour of the negative" is purposed towards selftransformation, as deduced from the attainment of freedom.[161] Marx's historical materialism explicates the "social division of labour".[162] It is elucidated through a functional explanation that cites how the effects of a phenomenon is perceived and explained in terms of the phenomenon.[163] Therefore, a functional explanation invokes a self-interrogative exercise that relies on the perceptions others hold of the phenomena. This paper deploys a functional explanation that elucidates how a class struggle relies on the effect which it has on class members for them to justify the struggle in terms of systemic need.[164]

Furthermore, Hegel's development of the spirit is facilitated through a dominant culture that is destined to become anachronistic and replaceable.[165] Similarly, Marx's perception of social change requires a shift in social consciousness.[166] Namely, it necessitates a transformation in the social relations of production which subsequently transforms the material relations of production and productive forces.[167] This is necessitated once the social consciousness, developed through an economic structure, is rendered anachronistic.[168]

It is significant that Hegel supplants his epistemological dialectic onto a historical dialectic.[169] This entails that the family symbolises an undifferentiated sphere in which unity is observed, ethics are taught and another's welfare is cared for without insincerity.[170] The civil society represents a competitive sphere in which independence and economic wealth is sought.[171] The state symbolises a differentiated unity which is represented by political institutions and the national, collective community.[172] The culture of this differentiated unity is sustained by a

nation.[173] Notably, it is this culture of race, sustained by the rainbow and citizenship identity of South Africa that is critiqued by the Simonites. Moreover, Pires notes that Hegel's teleological and speculative philosophy of history displays a logical historical progression within an idealised system that privileges the abstract.[174] This alludes to a teleological history that facilitates the constitution of a mythical identity. As Field and Gqola note, this identity is dehistoricised if it is no longer idealised.[175]

However, Salo argues that historical materialism is unable to capture the "cultural construct of power".[176] Instead, Marxism is argued to conceptualise history, power, agency and personhood as it relates to the political economy.[177] This forms the basis of Salo's critique of material feminism too. Namely, a Marxist construct of power is unable to account for a pluralised personhood.[178] The "social division of labour" in a capitalist system posits a singular personhood.[179] Yet, it is significant that the interviewees displayed a socio-cultural personhood in response to economic inequality.

Furthermore, Erasmus argues that the post-apartheid Coloured identity, represented in racial terms, retains enslaved histories.[180] In order to confront inequality, Erasmus argues that conditions of slavery, inclusive of externally-produced histories, need to be challenged.[181] This argument invokes Hegel's third grade of potentiality for the spirit to be free. Namely, conditions need to be met in order for freedom to be attained.[182] The locally-produced histories of survival that create creolised subjectivities provide an avenue to contest inequality.

*D) Personhood, History, Agency*

The post-apartheid culture of race reveals that personhood continues to be permeated by the social construct of race.[183] Notably, race is a socio-cultural construct that presents a singularised personhood. Salo, Lewis and Arendse oppose racial personhood.

Salo's notion of multiple, intersecting personhoods is significant. As a reflection of fluid social positions, it opposes the cultural attribute theory posited by anthropologists. Furthermore, a pluralised, socio-cultural personhood that intersects across numerous social and economic contexts, encapsulates Lewis and Baderoon's observation of a humanity that extends beyond the "physical and social" borders of the marginalised community.[184] This reach is explicated by the dialectal relationship that exists between competing socio-cultural worldviews and their respective notions of power and agency.[185] Notably, Salo's notion of personhoods draws upon

Gonzalez's cultural field and Althusser's plurality of ideological state apparatuses.[186]. Each cultural field is composed of vying socio-cultural worldviews that posit their own notions of personhood, agency and humanity.[187]

Thus, whilst the Simonites' humanity and personhood is recognised and exercised in their cultural communities, the national sphere (represented by the rainbow identity) denies them the opportunity to exercise their citizenship rights and be on the receiving end of state obligations.[188] This is evinced through the post-apartheid government's pursuit of a passive citizenship.[189] Therefore, social constructs of personhood can either entrench or challenge inequality.[190] Salo's notion of personhood appears to draw upon Puar's notion of assemblage.

Moreover, the political culture of race in post-apartheid South Africa is a colonial and apartheid legacy of personhood.[191] It is a cultural construct of racial personhood that is located in a segregationist context.[192] The segregationist context of racial personhoods necessitates Danielle Arendse's geopolitical analysis of the coloured identity. This geopolitical analysis denotes a historicisation of the mythicized identity. Through personhood, the individual is embedded within the social and historical.[193] The socio-spatial relations, as informed by the power dynamics within a geographical context, informs identities.[194] The "politics of space" is framed by the physical landscape and the social dynamics that constitute the geographical context.[195] Furthermore, Arendse notes that coloniality, the retention of a colonial and apartheid hierarchy of power and knowledge systems, continues to shape the geopolitical and cultural context of South Africa.[196] As geopolitics and culture are realms dictated by politics, Arendse notes that racial classification, evinced by the posing of "what are you", invokes discourses pertaining inequality, belonging and citizenship.[197]

Adopted conceptual and theoretical framework

*A) Conceptual framework: Nietzsche's concept of a 'will-to-power'*

Nietzsche philosophy of genealogical history is applicable to this paper. Notably, his conceptualisation of a will-to-power elucidates the significance of a locally-produced archive that represents histories of survival. The interviewed Simonites are understood to be genealogical historians and autobiographers.

A "will-to-power" provides the impetus to interpret reality.[198] A historicisation necessitates an interpretation as opposed to an assertion of absolute truths.[199] Nietzsche argues that the raw,

authentic form of a phenomena under scrutiny is disfigured through the many absolute truths posited thereof.[200] These absolute truths are subsequently unable to capture the fluidity of historical realities.[201] Therefore, a genealogical historian must present an anti-realist interpretation that invokes symbols which don't necessarily have to abide with reality.[202]

Huyssen, Gonzalez, Richards, Olick and Witz et al. posit arguments that apply Nietzsche's critique of absolute truths.[203] The invocation of timeless cultural traditions, granted a status of absolute truth in order to be definable, represents more than a selection from many available myths (such as identities).[204] These cultural traditions are symbols that vie for power in a cultural field.[205] Therefore, factual evidence or expert knowledge is a mere perspective.[206] The subjectivity in a supposed objective claim is illustrated by the centrality of the interpreter's psyche in the interpretation.[207] Thus, the nature of the interpretation reflects the "power interests" of the interpreter that spurs a will-to-power.[208]

However, Nietzsche does not privilege subjectivity over the influence of the external world. Rather, along with Kurusawa, Oliver, Passerini, Field, Portelli and Salo, observes a relationship between subjectivity and objectivity in an intersubjective encounter that is marked by recognition and the possibility of misrecognition.[209] Similarly, the subjective interpretation of the autobiographer or genealogical historian requires the mirrored perceptions of the audience which is drawn to, and created through, the archives. These mirrored perceptions indicate if the autobiographer's representation of the past is driven by a will-to-power, is plausible, not verifiable.[210]

Therefore, Field (2008) and Portelli argue that memory provides a medium in which meaning could be attributed to one's life.[211] Through self-reflection, the subjective is produced.[212] However, this necessitates a dialogue with the Self and the external world. The external world is conceptualised as matter that exists beyond the consciousness of the self-reflecting individual. Yet, the rewards of self-reflection is constrained by the amount of time that has lapsed between the self-reflection and the mental state it causes (i.e. the possibility of retraumatisation in an interview), and the memory of the event and the immediate mental state it caused.[213] Thus, it is not plausible to definitively explain one's mental state, driven by a willto-power, during an event which transpired years before the self-reflective act.[214] One must take into account the mediation of a memory that inevitably denies the claim to absolute truth. However, as Portelli, Althusser, Kennedy and Wilson argue, the plausibility of the subjective truth remains.[215]

A will-to-power, captured by a mental state and a memory, lends itself to a discourse of empowerment. This conceptualisation is not argued to support the disparaging intent to "give voice to the voiceless".[216] Instead, it is invoked within a paper of shifting power relations in a complex of power such as Gonzalez' cultural field. It notes the vying, conferral or assuming of power over the self, life and the external world.[217] It is in fact the "power interests" of the interpreter that is being empowered.[218] Representation is one such interest.

Therefore, the Simonites' locally-produced archives are driven by the need to exert power over their lives through the production of histories of survival that are representative of their interests, and created through an intersubjective encounter. These histories of survival are socio-cultural constructs that represent multiple personhoods that simultaneously intersect many contexts.[219] In so doing, the production of a new form of humanness, evinced through identities that acknowledge multiple belongings as opposed to being narrowly defined through race, has relevance for the realm of citizenship.[220] As evinced by Donald L. Donham and Salo, productive inequality is addressed in cultural terms.[221] Donham explicitly alludes to the "cultural interpretations of history" as histories of survival.[222]

Represented through living archives, Judith Butler and Salo concur that a performance of personhood can link generations through a transmission of cultural capital.[223] However, a performance of personhood can also reveal the conflicts between generations pertaining power, agency and inequality.[224] Yet, through the transmission of a non-racial heritage, the youth inherit cultural capital that presents fresh perspectives on personhood. These introduced forms of personhood and humanness are invoked by the youth to undermine and transform the publicly-acceptable notion of personhood.[225] These new notions of personhood are accompanied by the provision of skills and new mind-sets that can challenge the culture of race that determines their class and material realities in a segregationist context.[226]

*B) Adopted theoretical framework: Standpoint Theory as posited through a Marxism Feminism approach*

This paper adopts a dialectical Marxism Feminism framework with a particular inclination towards Standpoint Theory.

Shahrzad Mojab and Frigga Haug recognise the dialectical relationship between Marxism and Feminism.[227] However, asserting a relationship between Marxism and Feminism does not equate to the adoption of a materialist-feminist framework.[228] Instead, Mojab critiques material

feminism on the basis that material reality is narrowly confined to the political economy as opposed to a broader range of phenomena that exists in a dialectical, although external, relationship to consciousness.[229] Culture is one such phenomenon.[230]

Marxism and feminist research conjoin at the point where a historical materialist conceptualisation of temporality renders a feminisation of poverty, relevant.[231] Mojab notes that the dialectical relationship between Marxism and Feminism addresses conditions that facilitate poverty and servitude.[232] This dialectical relationship is concretised through the mutual quest for freedom.[233] In fact, Marx's critique of the capitalist mode of production draws upon a working-class individual's shift from an objectified position to a subjectified position. A shift that is posited by feminist research.[234] This shift, effected through revolutionary acts, is preceded by a recognition, through self-awareness, of how one might be facilitating the reproduction of conditions that create oppressed realities.[235] To illustrate, the manner by which the classified coloured population continue to silence their indigeneity, is insightful.[236]

Marxism Feminism captures the shift from an objectified position to a subjectified position.[237] The political quest for freedom is only effective if the individual whose freedom is jeopardised or threatened, performs the revolutionary act.[238] Through the acknowledgement of subjectivities, individuals are rendered as experts over their own lives.[239] This is evident through self-reflective memory work.[240] Similarly, Marxism could be invoked as a disruptor of knowledge systems and unilinear historical narratives with the intent to assert the agency of the working-class individual in the knowledge and history that is produced about them.[241] Namely, Marx critiques the objective conceptualisation of materialism.[242] His critique surpasses the delimitation of a relationship between reality and consciousness that overlooks agency that is evinced through revolutionary acts.[243] Human agency can transform realities.[244]

It is thus evident that the dialectical relationship between Marxism and Feminism asserts that social change is not possible without an address of subjective concerns and inclusion of subjective agency.[245] This inverts the notion that the individual is enmeshed within the social. This notion marginalises subjective agency as evinced through collective memory. In fact, a contributor to standpoint theory, Anna Jónasdótter, echoes the arguments of Lewis and Salo pertaining humanity.[246] Namely, humanity is the outcome of social relations.[247] Through a subversion of power-defined social relations, driven by the need to be recognised as emotional beings vested with unconditional love and acceptance, new forms of humanness are produced that are applicable to the larger society.[248] Thus, a history by emotion cannot be overlooked.

Standpoint theory encapsulates the production of epistemologies by the oppressed, driven to initiate a revolution of the consciousness that upends existing power relations.[249] This vision surpasses the present temporality and remains the goal of a historical struggle for liberation.[250] The significance of a standpoint is not the assertion of truth, but power.[251] Thus, standpoint theory records the development of a knowledge of resistance that shifts the positionality of publicly-accepted knowledge.[252] Donna Haraway defined the standpoint of the subjugated as "situated and plural knowledge".[253] Thus, standpoint theory opposes universal knowledge propagated by the historical "master".[254] Hence, standpoint theory draws upon Hegel's philosophy of history that illustrates the dialectical relationship between the slave and the master as a struggle for life or death.[255]

In his postulation regarding human nature, argues that through the struggle for recognition between a slave and a master, the master is defeated as their self-consciousness is reflective of the consciousness of the slave.[256] Mills observes that attaining the recognition of another does not denote the death of the consciousness of the Other.[257] Rather, the self-consciousness of the master is reflective of the truth of himself, reflected back to him by the slave.[258] In fact, the slave exhibits human control over nature through labour.[259] Hence, the slave is free as it is no longer subservient to nature.[260] Whilst being subjected to physical slavery, the slave experiences internal freedom.[261] By that accord, the slave produces history.[262] This argument draws upon the notion of multiple spaces and thus, alternative spatiality, whence resistance to oppression is launched, freedom is attained and history is produced.

Mojab asserts that "transformation occurs when matter transforms into consciousness and consciousness into matter".[263] In a capitalist mode of production, Marx argues that capitalism is not unjust.[264] The power-vested bourgeoisie have no reason to question their labourdetermined social position as their life of wealth is supported by the mode of production.[265] However, the proletariats' skills and accolades are commodified and thus separated from their nature.[266] This provides a 'will-to-power' to revolutionise their consciousness.[267] This involves a self-introspection of one's position within the social division of labour. This introspection is a continual process that is purposed towards achieving an overthrow of the capitalist system.[268] Therefore, whilst Marx argues that material realities determine consciousness, Standpoint Theory, vested with a transformative ontology, denies that social relations, identities and behaviours are a given.[269] Instead, through noting that consciousness informs material realities,

Standpoint Theory takes into consideration Nietzsche's will-to-power. It thereby overcomes the limits imposed by material realities on consciousness.[270]

Taking into consideration the inclusion of cultural phenomena in the realm of matter, a distinction from cultural relativism is pertinent. Mojab and Bannerji dismiss studies that explicate and subvert politics in cultural terms.[271] However, the post-apartheid context is permeated by a culture of race that stems from colonialism. Therefore, this paper critiques a culture of race that continues to shape the material realities of the South African population. It conceptualises race as a socio-cultural construct and ideology that is power-defined.[272] This culture of race stems from a capitalism that incorporates conditions of slavery and renders race and class as indistinguishable.[273] It notes that capital is realised through cultural relations.[274] Therefore, the paper does not present a cultural relativist framework that fragments the social sphere whilst overlooking the mirrored, intersubjective relations that constitute society.[275] Rather, it recognises race as a social and cultural ontology.[276] As self-transformation is required to change the conditions that facilitate oppressed realities, culture is invoked to disrupt the social relations that support the capitalist mode of production.[277]

# METHODOLOGY

The intent of this chapter is to illustrate the political significance of performed histories of survival. It discusses the interview as a political moment whereby memory facilitates the reconceptualization of coloured identity to represent creolised subjectivities as agents of history.[278] Thereafter, it presents oral history as an inclusive, diversified and living archive that is purposed towards the reclamation of histories as a survival strategy.

## The interview as a political moment

The interview, as a dialogue about memory, constituted a realm in which history was made and produced.[279] Conceptualised as the intermediate contemporary space between the disclosure of the past and the entrusting of that past to historical records, the interview constituted a political moment owing to the manner by which it united socialised collective and individual collected memory through patterns of the past that respond to the present.[280] Meaning is only attributed to the historical past once the past is recalled in the present.[281]

The interview facilitated two discussions. Overtly, it constituted an intersubjective dialogue between an academic researcher and a public historian regarding the memory of the historical past. Namely, the interview facilitated a political renegotiation and representation of the past in the public realm.[282] Secondly, it implicitly acted as an intersubjective space in which political subjective claims redefined the modern subject through accounts of oneself that were evinced through memory-making.[283] These claims are either limited or shaped by political culture.[284]

### The elder-youth power dynamic

The underlying power dynamic that set the tone of the interviews simultaneously defined the discursive space as a political moment. One's subject position and perceptions of the self are continually renegotiated through intersubjective encounters with another.[285] The interview was framed as an opportunity whereby the researcher, keen to expand her research horizons and forthright about her lack of knowledge pertaining the Simon's Town forced removals, was welcomed into discussion as an interested member of the youth capable of preserving the ancestrally-diverse heritage of the interviewees. The tone of the interviews resembled an education in public history. Contrary to an infantilised relationship between the interviewees

and the researcher, the trust established during the course of the interview should be perceived as emanating from a relationship that exists between a young member of the cultural community and the source of cultural capital. Namely, the elder. This act of imparting cultural knowledge to younger generations was described as the norm in the upbringing of Mr Warren Kindo. The elders were his "point of conversation".[286]

> "I grew up totally enjoying the conversation of the older folk (the fishermen, my grandmother…I didn't know my grandfather that long… he died earlier)".[287]

As many of the forcibly removed were of senior age or already departed, interviewees were initially sought with much haste. Mr Kindo's following statement spurred the determination:

> "All the older folk in Ocean View: they died one after each other… They couldn't take that…that…form of life".[288]

Although retrospectively, the ignorant haste spurred the many challenges experienced during the interview process. Securing potential interviewees proved challenging. The terms 'haste' and 'securing' were exactly the impediments to the interview process. It was soon realised that trust needed to be earned. The extent to which the past is invoked, falsified or silenced through the narrated memory corresponds to the conveyed subjectivity of the active listener as noted through the intersubjective encounter.[289] Hence, an established trust between the narrator and the oral historian is imperative.

Additionally, a readiness to be educated was to be displayed. A desperate pursuit of interviews proved unsuccessful. The time it took to build trust could not be anticipated. Acquaintance was necessary. Two visits paid to the Simon's Town Museum and email correspondence with the manager preceded an approval to host interviews with staff members on the museum's premises. Acquaintance and a well-defined research intent was required. Moreover, the interview hosted with the curator of the Simon's Town Heritage Museum was scheduled for the second visit to the Amlay House. The first visit was memorably marked by a guided tour of the exhibition and a narrated family history. Similarly, the contact details of Mr Warren Kindo was provided by his nephew. The interview was scheduled and prepared over telephone and through email correspondence. Mr Kindo discussed what he felt was comfortable to relay within the interview. The actual interview was hosted over a telephone call a week later.

Trust was central to the process as the memory of traumatic events undoubtedly left the interviewees' feeling unsettled. During the course of the interview, the interviewees' "structure

of feeling" was overwhelmed as their experience of the present was interrupted and shortened by the traumatic memories of the past.[290] It was thus important that interviewees knew, prior to the interview, the risks involved with their participation. It was important too that they knew the researcher would be cognisant thereof. Therefore, it was communicated prior to their participation that psychosocial support could unfortunately not be offered by the researcher. Hence, trust was crucial as glimpses were not solely provided into their personal lives. The ramifications of the interview could be felt in their present lives too.

Memorably approached by the curator of the Simon's Town Heritage Museum, in the parking lot of the Simon's Town Museum, the researcher was confronted with the following question: "Would you like to learn about our people's history?" Coincidentally, this curator visited the Simon's Town Museum whilst the researcher was in conversation with the museum's manager. The curator of the Amlay House spoke in a manner that immediately included the researcher within his community. Albeit, his assumption of a shared legal and politically defined-race was based on his observation of phenotypical features and dialect. This memory evinces how biological and scientific race is substituted by culture in the post-apartheid present.[291] However, the post-apartheid culture of race is critiqued.

As an oral historian, it is the duty of the researcher to discern the political culture which simultaneously structures the interview, the spoken narrative of the interviewee and that which is left unsaid. If the interview constitutes a political act, political culture should be historicised and categorised.[292] Namely, the manner by which political culture structures the interview and the political identities which inform the narrative, should be analysed.[293] Indeed, it is the prerogative of the researcher, informed by the narrative of the interviewee and the underlying framework of their academic discipline, to detect and define the political culture. Admittedly, the interviews were limited by the decision to delegate an analysis of the political culture to a post-interview present, as opposed to taking stock of the political culture during the interview stage of the research process. However, a timely consideration of the emerging political culture would have provided greater depth to the level of questions posed within the interview. Particularly with respect to identity.

Subjective political culture

*Theories, concepts and perspectives*

Political scientists and feminist oral historians analyse interview material through a subjective lens.[294] Conceptualised as a sub-field of political development, subjective political culture

denotes the process whereby political identities and political activities are moulded in the individual's psyche in which social symbolic patterns are embodied.[295] Thus, subjective political culture denotes self-introspection to locate socially-available symbolisms.[296] However, in *Giving an Account of Oneself (2005)*, Butler emphasises that singly embarking upon a process of self-awareness will not reveal the social norms that influences one's behaviour, thoughts and actions.[297] Instead, this introspective and self-confessing exercise will only be fruitful in the presence of a mediating and active listener.[298] Contrastingly, Carolyn Hamilton lauds the subjective manner whereby interviewees reconstruct the memory of their historical past.[299]

The significance of subjectivity is evident in a context in which historical marginalisation and a privileging of objective academic history, is observed.[300] Feminist oral history can be lauded for its interdisciplinary and self-reflective approach.[301] Due to the elder-youth power dynamic and the need to uphold the fluidity and creativity of oral history, interdisciplinarity and selfreflexivity are pursued in this paper. The interviewees' conveyed relationship between themselves and their histories evinces the extent to which subjectivity is asserted.[302]
Subjectivity is exposed through the narrator's relationship with their history. Leslie Witz, Gary Minkool and Ciraj Rassool (2017) argue that the task of the historian is to adopt an interdisciplinary approach that engages academic history and public history in a way that does not suggest either as absolute truth.[303]

Historically, academic history dominated the hierarchy of history-making and historical production.[304] Therefore, in order to subvert the historical authority granted to the academic historical discipline, Witz, Minkley and Rassool frame their argument in a discursive field of history-making and historical production.[305] Thus, the historian is entrusted with noting the multitude of ways in which history is made and produced in a discursive struggle for power.[306]

This significance of subjectivity is further elaborated by Sean Field (2008).[307] Concurring with Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, he argues that a discourse on the publicly-acceptable overlooks the relationship between the said and the unsaid.[308] The publicly-acceptable is defined as the dominant patriarchal perspectives which define social standards.[309] Thus, Field's critique reiterates that the unspoken is as important, if not more, than the spoken.[310] By neglecting the relationship between the said and the unsaid, the discourse on the publiclyacceptable discourse cannot account for the manner by which subjectivity is silenced.[311] Nor can the pursuit of self-awareness take into account the influences of the

unconscious.[312] Instead, neglecting the relationship between the said and the unsaid deliberately overlooks the role of the unconscious in memory-making.[313] Even though a dearth of literature exists pertaining the means by which to unlock the unconscious, the role of psychoanalysis in a dialogue about memory nonetheless renders the oral history interview, political.[314]

Thus, advocates of the subjective turn will examine the text for "feelings, values and attitudes" that are illustrative of the narrator's subjectivity.[315] This analysis supports the Marxism Feminism supposition that the personal is also political.[316] As illustrated by Alessandro Portelli, subjective political culture is observed by shifting the position of the narrator from third-person speaker to a first-person speaker.[317] Thereby warranting the inclusion of the speaker in the narration of their life story and initiating a shift from an objectified to a subjectified position in history.[318]

Although, the possibility of subjective political claims might stem from the theory that the personal is also political.[319] However, the relationship between these subjective political claims and a public audience are two-fold. These claims demand an audience that is to be addressed.[320] Yet, this audience might or might not constitute the public group or community which is consequently produced through the expression of subjective political claims.[321] This expression demands an intersubjective encounter due to the role of the audience. Therefore, the notion that the personal is also political, expressed through subjective political claims, has the potential to redefine the membership of a social group should one not be able to view the reflection of oneself in another member of the group.[322] Simply put, subjective political claims can be expressed in light of a marginalised social position.

*Applying a subjective lens*

As a 'student' of the lessons of an elder, it was difficult to question the interviewees' proffered facts about the past. Heeding the call of Alexander Freund, subjective memory, oral traditions and oral history are understood as distinct terms.[323] Reflecting upon Hofmeyr's voiced concern regarding the growing incredibility of oral traditions in southern Africa, one situates the significance of the interviewees' command of an elder-youth power dynamic in a context where the transmission of cultural capital through oral traditions is not supported by the "physical and institutional contexts".[324] Despite the limiting context, the elder-youth power dynamic facilitates the oral tradition of transmitting cultural capital.

Richards argues that each narrated story (alluding to Hofmeyr's historical storytelling as an oral tradition) is driven by motive and ideology.[325] A representation of the past shapes a present, and hopes to influence a future, subjective and national identity.[326]The task of the oral historian, then, is to engage the consciousness of the interviewees, as opposed to the experience that is invoked through the memory. However, the oral tradition, as facilitated by an elder-youth power dynamic, determines the content of the memory that permeates the oral and written sources.[327]

Therefore, the narrator has the freedom to create a truth about themselves in the space provided by the interview as opposed to revealing the factual truth.[328]Argued by Rosanne Kennedy and Tikka Jan Wilson (2003), an educational motive produces factual, verifiable evidence.[329] However, Kennedy and Wilson limit the production of factual evidence to experts on a particular experience.[330] A group of experts, whom they claim, cannot be composed of "nonspecialised members of a community".[331] Therefore, Kennedy and Wilson prioritise a positivist academic history at the expense of a fluid public history. However, a dismissal of subjective truth as equally valid cannot be lauded. Instead, a psychoanalytic model of conceptualising historical production is better suited.

Oral sources expose the psychological ramifications of an experience or event.[332] The subjectivity is evinced through the manner by which the narrator orders the sequence of events. [333]This model values the veracity of subjective truth despite a lack of objectivity.[334] In Althusserian terms, the subjective truth resembles an ideology that illustrates the relation between an individual and their material realities.[335] Despite the "illusion" of an ideology, this worldview is nonetheless capable of alluding to reality through interpretation.[336] The objective truth might be unspoken or not consciously known.[337] However, the psychoanalytic model notes how the unconscious is co-constitutive of the thoughts, actions, behaviour and identity of the individual. In addition, Portelli emphasises the credibility of subjective truth despite obscuring truth with fantasy, metaphors and personal desire.[338] Furthermore, Richards debunks the notion of facts as scientifically true. Instead, he argues that facts are merely viewpoints.[339]

Therefore, the psychoanalytic model recognises the interviewees' expertise as narrators of their own experience. As such, the political nature of subjective claims based upon material realities, are acknowledged.

Therefore, it cannot be concurred with Anderson and Jack that upholding a respectful tone with an elder limited the paper to a factual as opposed to subjective inquiry.[340] Their decision to

partake in an interview that engaged trauma undoubtedly denotes a discussion of a personal nature and evokes a subjective response. Anderson and Jack seem to contrast a history by emotion and a legal, factual history. A history by emotion invokes subjectivity too. As the forced removals were justified on the basis of one's legal and political identity, the interviewee was anticipated to share their remarks regarding their subjective identity. The act of remembrance constitutes identity too.[341] Therefore, one cannot overlook identity-constitution in an intersubjective encounter. That is the interview itself.

Intersubjective political culture

Recent work by advocates of an intersubjective political culture takes into account the symbolism which regulates social encounters and social relationships.[342] They consider how culture not only establishes political identities, but prescribes experience and facilitates difference too.[343] Engaged literature relevant to this argument includes Chaney's analysis of experience through a cultural framework; González' illustration of a discursive cultural field in which different cultural institutions and agents vie for power over the meaning of shared exigencies, values and identities; Arendse's observation of epistemic violence which emanates from a cultural struggle; and Erasmus and Wicomb's discursive, pluralised and creolised subject.[344]

The intersubjective political encounter structures the interview as a political moment in which plural identities are claimed, reproduced or transformed.[345] Therefore, the interviewees' decision to centre their narrative on their varying family histories is interpreted as their response to the following: a white and western narrative of their past (perpetuated by the apartheid state and neoliberal post-apartheid state); a liberal anti-apartheid history that not only supports a rainbow identity, but privileges an African renaissance whilst maintaining the history of the white population as part of the transition's compromise; and a totalising, allohistory of District Six as the classified coloured population's place of origin from which they were dispossessed and forcibly removed.[346] These three points of tension illustrate how the interviewees remain historically marginalised based on their racial identity, despite belonging to a cultural community that is constituted by discursively defined, plural identities.[347] The apartheid legacy of totalised, pure races continues to permeate the postapartheid context. Race is no longer considered biological or scientific; but, is instead culturalised in response to the non-racial, multi-cultural national identity.[348]

The political culture to racialise identities

Furthermore, the political culture of the colonial and apartheid state, and their historical institutions, continues to permeate the post-apartheid context whereby political identities remain legally and politically defined in racial terms.[349]

The national heritage claims to support a non-racial, multicultural rainbow identity. However, officially recognised heritage remains aligned to the interests of the state.[350] Notably, the liberal African National Congress government officials reworked the official history of South Africa at the time of the political transition.[351] Lynn Meskell notes that the ANC's policy of nonracialism suggested that race no longer structured society, but culturalised race.[352] The postapartheid government has continued the apartheid legacy of capitalising culture.

The political culture of race in post-apartheid South Africa abides to a western-prescribed modernisation theory of development.[353] Argued by Damian Ukwandu, the status of 'developing' is conferred on sub-Saharan African countries whose cultural context impedes a western conceptualisation of development.[354] Namely, economic growth.[355] It overlooks access to welfare, opportunities and skills-enhancement that are better suited indicators of development in the region.[356] Therefore, political claims in South Africa are made in response to racially-defined structural inequalities. These inequalities supported the economy of apartheid and continues to permeate the post-apartheid economy. In an attempt to emulate the culture of the West, responsible for economic growth, totalising culture in terms of pure races was observed.[357] In so doing, race was legally and politically recognised as constitutive of one's identity. However, a retained abidance to the philosophy of race, through racial identification, hinders an African, communal form of development.[358]

Concluding remarks

In response to a largely ahistorical heritage of the rainbow identity, the narrated family histories of the interviewees' are delivered in an educational setting and are entrenched within the larger history of the Southern Cape Peninsula.[359] Furthermore, heritage has emerged as the realm in which ethnicity and culture is invoked as a manner of making a claim in response to an inattentive or failing government.[360] This substitution is derived from the racially-motivated segregationist and separate development policies of apartheid that overrode existing cultural communities and fostered particular cultures in those racially-defined residential blocks; the

resistance to being defined racially should a closer familiarity be felt with a cultural identity; and the post-apartheid rainbow identity that calls for non-racialism and multiculturalism. Thus, Hearn's argument that political desire for change, in response to personal differences, is pertinent.[361]

## An inclusive, diversified living archive: Oral history in the present-day

The paper re-envisions a theory and practice of oral history as informed by the fieldwork experience. Providing a singular, agreed-upon definition of oral history is not an easy feat. The varying perspectives put forth in the engaged literature proves that one will inevitably be critiqued for the imprecision of an asserted definition.[362] Nonetheless, a definition that not only pays tribute to the memory turn, but takes into account the contemporary elder-youth power dynamic that structured the dialogue, will be provided.

As necessitated by the post-lockdown context and the appeals of the interviewees, this reconceptualization is a bid to diversify and produce an inclusive archive that speaks to the many cultural communities whose ancestral and cultural roots are entrenched within the heritage landscape of Simon's Town, yet continue to be cooped up in a marginalising, legal racial identity. Not only did the legally-defined coloured identity legitimate the physical dispossession that marked the apartheid forced removals.[363] The retention of the racial legal identity in the post-apartheid context propagates the intellectual marginalisation of the unique and pluralised identities of the affected cultural communities. Therefore, Linda Shopes' conceptualisation of oral history as the medium by which cultural bearers transmit cultural capital to younger generations, is integral to a re-envisioned oral history as evinced in the Simon's Town area.[364] Yet, Hamilton's notion of a living archive cannot be overlooked.[365] In fact, Mpho Ngoepe acknowledges the manner by which oral history could facilitate a reclamation of cultural heritage.[366] Despite the agency of the interviewee shortened by the conclusion of the interview, Field (2008) similarly notes the transformative potential vested by interviewees to undermine the ruling status quo within the interview itself.[367] Reclaiming histories asserts that the meaning of one's life is not tied to their bodies.[368]

### Defining oral history

*A) Discursive genre of historical production*

Therefore, due to the present conditions in a recently-emerged post-lockdown context, there is a greater need to transform the existing archives with the intent to create an inclusive, diversified archive "of the people, by the people and for the people".[369] In order to encapsulate the above-mentioned tenets of a re-envisioned oral history, a prioritisation of oral history as a discursive genre of historical production, that takes into account subjectivity, as opposed to

Paul la Hausse's fact-finding recovery of experiences, is necessitated.[370] A recovery of experiences or histories that might not have been textually recorded, denies local historians the power to produce their own histories or that of their cultural communities.[371] Perceived as a form of historical production, contemporary oral history is conceptualised as a dialogue about memory that simultaneously serves as a site of knowledge production; a track of changed meanings accorded to memory; and thus, a source of new perspectives.[372] Furthermore, the creativity and fluidity of oral history is most captured through its conceptualisation as a genre of historical production.[373] Significantly, this genre of historical production is prevalent in the everyday processes of social life.[374]

*B) A dialogue about memory*

As a dialogue about the historical past, the contributions of Shopes, Field and Portelli are valuable. Oral history is ingrained within the careers of these listed authors. Namely, Shopes is an acclaimed historian who spent many years documenting oral history projects; Field is a scholar of oral history methodology; and Portelli is considered to be the father of oral history. Shopes elucidates oral history as a form of historical evidence.[375] Through orality, the historical past is affirmed.[376] This is significant as the colonialist and apartheid privileging of a written history and production of a permanent archive cast accusations of falsity and unreliability upon the spoken word as a medium of transmitting history.[377] Portelli critiques the exclusion inherent in the written word due to language difficulties and the inability to accurately capture the narrative functions and emotions of the narrator.[378] In agreement with Field and Portelli, Shopes argues that a contemporary oral history must pay homage to the transactions and power dynamics that constitute the oral dialogue.[379] Therefore, these three authors allude to an intersubjective political culture that structures a spoken and unspoken dialogue about memory.

*C) A psychoanalytic model of historical production*

However, analysed together, the works of Lewis Kirschner, Kelly Oliver, Fuyuki Kurusawa and Luisa Passerini unpack the psychoanalytic perspective of intersubjectivity. Their academic profiles intersect through psychoanalysis and challenging dominant paradigms. Kirschner is a psychoanalyst. Oliver is a feminist philosopher. Kurusawa is a scholar of social and political thought. Passerini is a cultural historian. Through Oliver and Kurusawa's enhancement of Kirschner's phenomenological and psychoanalytic understanding of intersubjectivity, an oral

history that conceptualises the reclamation of one's inner self through the act of bearing witness to one's experience, is invoked.[380] However, this reclamation should be understood as being recognised by the listener as opposed to being prior stripped of agency or a voice. Whilst the spoken word alludes to a socio-historical context, the unspoken is a reflection of self-imposed silence or externally-coerced amnesia.[381] Understood in relation to this particular paper, the self-imposed silence could arguably be evinced through the internalisation of a legal identity. Similarly, an externally-coerced amnesia could arguably correspond to the publiclypermissible legal identification that is required in political processes (including voting, the population census and job applications to name a few). Notably, Oliver notes than an intersubjective relation is simultaneously marked by an external dialogue hosted by two interlocutors and an internal dialogue transpiring between the individual and the inner self.[382] In response to the dialogue hosted on two fronts, the desire for recognition and the fear of misrecognition, Passerini, Field and Portelli argue that the individual bearing witness to "an event, injustice or prolonged suffering" will produce a meaning-imbued memory thereof.[383] According to Field, the manner in which one reconciles personal desire and external demands is largely responsible for the constitution of identity.[384]Therefore, the psychoanalytic model of oral history reasserts its transformative ontology. As a memory, and thus historical enquiry, the ability of oral history to affirm the self is extremely significant in a positivist historical discourse that rejects the self.[385]

The motive to reclaim histories

Even though this paper was conducted in the early stages of the post-Covid-19 climate, when the economic situation in South Africa was particularly dire, its revelations are capable of serving an ethnography of oral history practice and theory. This paper illustrates that an oral history, purposed towards the reclamation of histories, is driven by an economically and socially-vulnerable position that necessitates the need to regain control over one's life.[386] A history of survival is invoked as a survival strategy. This is interpreted as a subversion of the marginalising rainbow identity through political heritage claims.[387] Notably, these diverse histories are invoked to lobby for government protection.[388]

Therefore, oral history should be conceptualised as a form of historical production as opposed to a recovery of experiences.[389] Admittedly, the interviewees were approached with a research intent to engage their experiences of the forced removals. This renders the interviewees

command of the interviews that much more significant. Following their lead, the purpose of the interview shifted from a recovery of the experience of a historical trauma, to a form of historical production in response to the present need to transform the marginalising rainbow identity.

Locating the significance of the Simonites' local production of an inclusive, diversified archive

As alluded to earlier, this paper is a mere appendix to the large amount of work already underway in Simon's Town with respect to family histories. The narrated memories in Simon's Town are accompanied by an overwhelming amount of mnemonic devices that are equally responsible for the preservation of historical narratives.[390] Namely, photographs, cultural artefacts and newspaper clippings. The use of the Simon's Town Museum and the Simon's Town Heritage Museum for three of the four interviews is significant as these institutions prioritise mnemonics and oral narration to immerse oneself in the past.[391] The visitors to these museums are able to gain new perspectives on memory and identity due to the relationship which the curators establish between the oral narration and the tangible objects.[392]

Ngoepe notes that even though the Western Cape Provincial Archives is ranked as one of the better-managed archive repositories in South Africa, it remains western-influenced through its retention of colonial and apartheid archival systems that subsequently produces colonial and apartheid perspectives of the historical past.[393] Furthermore, it produces a public that reflects colonial and apartheid interests. Namely, white privilege.[394] Thus, Ngoepe argues that currently, the archives are only frequented by researchers or Afrikaner males whose interests are represented in the repositories.[395] Furthermore, the Western Cape Provincial Archive and the National Archives are situated in Cape Town's Central Business District. This location is a far-stretch from the residence of the culturally-marginalised Simonites scattered across Retreat, Heathfield, Grassy Park and largely, Ocean View. Thus, Ngoepe draws upon the incongruence of the physical space and the intellectual space. This emphasises the importance of accessibility to, and appeal of, an inclusive diversified archive that speaks to a public that is created through its repositories.

Therefore, oral history has the potential to create an archive that asserts one's prerogative to citizenship identity. By engaging the consciousness of the interviewee, the presence of a citizenship conscience, necessary to exercise the rights of a citizen, assuming that enabling

conditions are present, is proven.[396] Together, a citizenship conscience and the conditions that enable the exercise of citizenship rights, justifies a conferred citizenship status that places the state-recognized citizen into a social contract with the government.[397] However, the interviewees' problematize the rights-based, legal, citizen status as their needs are not recognised as worthy of being addressed by government.[398] Perceived as part of a "forgotten town", Ms Constant laments that the legally-defined Coloured residents of Ocean View exist on the fringes of the social contract.[399]

Therefore, through civic education, conceptualised as a tool of empowerment, the interviewees' highlight their needs which require government intervention.[400] As the government has failed to address their housing needs, the interviewees have redefined the enabling conditions that permit the exercise of citizenship.[401] This is effected through appeals made towards the often overlooked subjective component of citizenship status.[402] Namely, the state of belonging.[403] Field explicates the relationship between the past and the present as: the past "(be)ing (long)ed" to be in the present.[404] By informing the listener of their diverse ancestral histories, the interviewees' are not seeking assimilation into an elite society that currently defines citizenship identity.[405] Instead, their redefinition of the enabling conditions and their asserted state of belonging appeals for the conferral of a transformed citizenship status.[406]

Thus, this paper cannot concur with Field (2008) or Freund who debunks the empowerment tool of oral histories.[407] Indeed, the notion of empowerment should not be perceived in this paper as the degrading act of 'giving a voice to the voiceless'.[408] Instead, this paper conceptualises empowerment differently in the present-day. Perceived as a tool of empowerment, civic education facilitated through an elder-youth power dynamic, is a channel through which the culturally-marginalised can assert their sense of belonging and present needs in order to transform the publicly-accepted notion of a "universal citizenship".[409] Therefore, civic education facilitates the creation of an inclusive archive that inevitably produces an inclusive public, society or community.

The significance of a performance of the self

Through a self-testimony, the interviewees were able to assert their subjective belonging. Indeed, as Field (2008) and Freund caution, moral norms are present in an intersubjective dialogue about memory that is similarly constitutive of identity.[410] One could not overlook the

varying historical positions and trauma of each interlocutor.[411] Butler argues that these varying historical positions would necessitate the imposition of social moral norms in order to ensure the comprehension of, and relationality with, each other.[412] This comprehension is key considering the opacity of a decentred, trauma victim.[413] Notwithstanding the possibility of being re-traumatised through one's participation in the intersubjective encounter.[414] It must be noted that on its own, the oral history interview was not political and thus incapable of retraumatising the interviewee. Yet, through its use, and thus politicisation, the possibility of retraumatisation is plausible.[415] However, a performance of oneself (namely, a self-testimony) stands in for the narrative reconstruction of oneself that is unable to capture the self adequately due to a decentred, traumatised self.[416] Therefore, the experience of the interviews permits the conclusion that temporary agency was prioritised over the internalisation of social moral norms.[417]

Anticipating counter-arguments

Albeit, Minkley, Rassool and Witz presented an argument that could potentially subvert an oral history that appeals to citizenship. Namely, a modernist discourse that appeals to citizenship necessitates a literate group of appealers.[418] Indeed, this privileging of literacy renders such oral history as marginalising to the majority of South Africans whose dominant mode of expression is orality due to low literacy levels.[419] However, it must be emphasised that in response to the identity crisis identified by the interviewed curators of the Simon's Town Museum and Simon's Town Heritage Museum respectively, tracing the family lineage is an initiative undertaken by the Simonites themselves. Therefore, the presence of an academic historian in a dialogue about memory was merely to use her available resources to widen the audience of their work. Although, access to such resources grants the academic historian the liberty to preserve or refute the selected memory of the interviewees.[420] However, this paper is directed towards the establishment and preservation of a diverse, inclusive archive. Due to the difficulty of accessing the archives, or being unaware of the existence of the anachronistic National Film, Video and Sound Archives, the elder-youth power dynamic commanded by the interviewees reflects a local method of producing and transmitting historical knowledge.[421] Unfortunately, the fluidity of this historiography was constrained by the researcher's use of a recorder.[422]

Moreover, this elder-youth dynamic counters the western-based archives that are unable to match present needs and realities.[423] Through the prioritisation of a western-produced past, as characterised by South Africa's archival system (as the provincial archives do not operate independently of the National Archives), the culturally-marginalised archival material and manner of producing historical knowledge that could transform the nation's history and rainbow identity, is overlooked.[424] Instead, the retention of white privilege in the rainbow identity has failed to secure the equal redistribution of resources.[425]

Concluding the section

Therefore, the conceptualisation of oral history as an inclusive living archive provides an alternative theory and practice of "redress, transformation and knowledge production".[426] The Simonite interviewees' contribution to an inclusive, diversified archive is thus significant in that it subverts the existing unsuccessful strategy of transforming the archive. Namely, the employment of more black archivists without changing the archival systems and levels of accessibility.[427] Contrastingly, the request for research assistance from the Simon's Town Museum and Simon's Town Heritage Museum is a simple process. Notably, the first visit to the Simon's Town Heritage Museum was marked by an opportunity to sift through the files documenting family lineages according to surname.

**Contribution towards an ethnography of oral history practice**

Heeding the call of Sheftel and Zembrzycki, this section makes a contribution towards an ethnography of oral history practice by acknowledging the successes and pitfalls of the interview stage of the research process.[428]

In keeping with the demand of self-reflexivity, an attempt was made to maintain spontaneity within the dialogue.[429] The spontaneity coupled with the recognition of narrative functions and emotions allows the narrator to express their position and existence in the social world, on their own terms.[430] Yet, spontaneity on behalf of the researcher is beneficial to the extent that a setting of a semi-structured conversation allows a fluid discussion that is sensitive to the needs of the interviewee. Any good interviewer knows when to end the interview. The pauses or silences; the 'corridor talk off tape'; the moral judgements or anecdotes; and the emotional reactions and the sign of emotion in speech, are key patterns of speech which provides a picture of the social powers which rule the narration and self-judgement.[431]

As Anderson and Jack, linguists, memory historians and sociologists argue, the verbal and nonverbal signifiers of memory (speech and body language) provides an indication of how strongly or weakly social forces infringe upon the thoughts and activities of different genders.[432] This social effect, or lack thereof, is gleaned from the meaning attributed to their memories.[433] Hence, an attempt was made to remain sensitive to the needs of the interviewees by ensuring confidentiality, comfort and reassurance that the interviewee's name and life story will not be used against them.[434] Prior to the commencement of each interview, each interviewee was with relevant information that informed them of participation risks. They were also informed that they were permitted to end the interview at any stage, without penalty. As the interviews concluded, the interviewees were requested to sign a form that protected them as the interviewees and granted an opportunity to state the conditions with which their memories could be used as research. Throughout the entire process, it was clear that that the narration of one's life story may trigger traumatic memories and inflict psychosocial harm. Psychosocial support was unfortunately not offered. However, transparency regarding the risks of their participation was upheld.

As highlighted by Anderson & Jack, oral history methodology was adopted as a manner to expand the researcher's *a priori* knowledge or research horizon.[435] Valerie Yow believes that a scholar of history could be the tool through which an individual or a community's historical

past be told.[436] In Simon's Town, this is not necessary. The public historians, i.e. the interviewed former or current residents, are already educating their community and visitors about the vast histories encompassed in the heritage landscape of Simon's Town. Thus, the task of an oral historian was to engage the perspectives which the interviewees shared of their historical past.[437] Thus, a set of guided questions was prepared should the interviewee require it. However, the questions posed in each interview were guided by what the interviewee felt relevant to discuss. Furthermore, Portelli and Thompson urged the oral historian to have preliminary and explorative discussions with potential interviewees to gauge what the interviewees' deemed fit to be researched.[438] This stage of the research process is dedicated towards defining the research problem, rationale and available resources.[439] This paper was preceded by a pilot project centred upon the gendered experiences of apartheid forced removals across Cape Town. That project produced a possible research question that would direct this paper. Namely, an inquiry of subjective truth. Due to time constraints, I was unable to do follow-up interviews for clarity in both the pilot project and for this paper.

**Linking physical space to intellectual space**

It is alarming that none of the referenced authors, whose work on oral history is discussed, allude to the relation between physical space and intellectual space. This relationship is relevant in a discussion concerning space and race. Hence, this gap provides a crevice where Mamphela Ramphele's illustrated relationship between physical and intellectual space, and Salo's noting of the racial stratification of Cape Town's urban spaces, proves useful.[440] Note, Mamphela Ramphele's arguments are cited in Rita Barnard's *Apartheid and Beyond (2007)* but are drawn from Ramphele's *A Bed Called Home: Life in the Migrant Hostels of Cape Town (1993)*.

Ramphele's conceptualisation of physical space denotes the micro- and macro-physical space which denotes licit occupation in a particular, demarcated area.[441] As physical spaces are intended to serve particular functions, these spaces determine the social activities and habits which are adhered to within its borders.[442] The apartheid policy of separate development as pursued through the racial stratification of Cape Town's urban spaces, is illustrative thereof.[443]

However, physical space influences intellectual space.[444] Ramphele argued that all social encounters are guided by a discursive intellectual space.[445] The intellectual space denotes the limits to what is known and imagined.[446] Indeed, the creativity of the imagination plays out in an oral history dialogue.[447] As evinced through the oral history interviews, the elder-youth power dynamic structured the intellectual space. Therefore, intellectual space is constrained by political culture.

However, the engaged literature lacks an acknowledgment of Ramphele's argument that the intellectual space is the realm in which the origins of oppression are identified and long-term strategies for freedom as opposed to temporary coping mechanisms, are devised.[448] The shortterm coping mechanisms, or strategies of containment (as Field labels them), are devised in the process of mediating memories.[449] However, argues Ramphele, these temporary coping mechanisms (such as nostalgic longing for an idealised past and continued abidance to conservatism in terms of traditions, gender roles and passive victim status) may facilitate the immediate survival of the oppressed in an oppressive environment.[450] However, in the longterm, they may have a degenerative effect, especially in terms of development and social position.[451]

Richards enhances Ramphele's argument by using the example of gang violence on the Cape Flats to beg the following question: As a manner of addressing gang violence, what would

happen if the violence inflicted upon the community members are redirected towards the source of oppression?[452] An internalised race is understood to be a source of oppression.[453] Salo adds that if race is internalised as a social identification, it moulds the individual's thoughts, actions and behaviour.[454]Assuming the lead of Ramphele and Richards, this paper inflicts an epistemic violence on race by critiquing the post-apartheid culture of race.

Hence, it is imperative that an analysis of mediated memories take into consideration the proximity of the narration to the event which is being reflected upon. Strategies of containment and the social environment in which the memory is being narrated may influence the content of the narrated memory. This is not to lessen the validity of subjective truth in any way, but one must note how the objective world, and indeed social and political reality, is entrenched within "subjective mediation".[455]

Yet, if race is internalised, consequent to the racialisation of urban spaces and the social encounters that mark the complex of power, then a conceptualisation of alternative spaces in which creolised identities and histories are expressed, is necessary.

Foucault's notion of 'alternative spatiality' forms the basis of Partha Chatterjee's 'political society' as the channel by which government intervention is sought. Both theorists posit the mobilisation of a particular set of relations, in order to attain a goal.[456] The Group Areas symbolised a "space of emplacement" whereby movements were localised.[457] In order to devise an alternative spatiality that facilitates an act of resistance, Foucault's "displacement of the space of emplacement" is needed.[458] In order to debunk the negative stereotypes imposed on a Coloured demographical area, the "displacement of the space of emplacement" redefines the nature of the demographical area.[459] A demographical area is redefined by the set of relations between the community members.[460] Chatterjee argues that these set of relations amongst community members provide an avenue for political engagement.[461] The community represented a political society which negotiates their interests with the administrative departments of government.[462] Namely, the culturally-marginalised solicit representation and citizenship status.[463]

As far as Simon's Town as a heritage landscape is currently being discussed amongst community members, researchers, interested members of the public and stakeholders of the museums, it is plausible to adopt Chatterjee's notion of a political society to describe the Simonite community. This is despite Nissim Mannathukkaren's valid criticisms posed towards

Chatterjee's limited conceptualisation of civil society.[464] Simon's Town illustrates how democracy is negotiated within the informal political sphere of a community who deploy heritage as a survival strategy in a challenging socio-economic context.

Furthermore, Donham's "residual cultural processes" is relevant to a discussion pertaining alterity.[465] He recognises how anachronistic cultural forms and traditions present "alternative, oppositional ways of living" that is excluded by the dominant form.[466] The alterity is showcased by the values and the nature of relations that define the cultural community.[467] However, this paper concurs with Donham only to the extent of the above-mentioned. It cannot concur with his argument that the anomalies are incorporated into the dominant cultural form as a manner of removing the threat which they pose.[468] This suggests assimilation as opposed to transformation.

## THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE SIMONITES' NARRATED MEMORIES

Despite the many challenges incurred, oral history was the most suited methodology for an inquiry of this nature. Personal interviews provided an educational setting in which Simon's Town as a heritage landscape could be aptly described. Through a thematic analysis of the interviewees' narrated memories, it is evident that their childhood and adolescent memories of a trauma (namely, the forced removals) are mediated though their diverse family heritage. In fact, each interviewee commenced and concluded the interview with reference to their ancestral heritage. It is thus plausible to argue that ancestral heritage signified the subjectivity of the interviewees through their referenced relationship to histories culturally transmitted or externally imposed upon them. The apartheid past and the post-apartheid present is reconciled through their representation of the past that favours family heritage in response to the present need of belonging and citizenship status.

A significant finding pertains the profession of each interviewee. As each interviewee holds an educator's role in their profession, it is not too surprising that an elder-youth power dynamic structured the interviews. Two interviewees are museum curators who are responsible for the compilation and overseeing of forced removals exhibitions. They are employed at the Simon's Town Museum and the Simon's Town Heritage Museum respectively. Another interviewee is involved in the Phoenix Committee of Simon's Town, responsible for the educating and assisting individuals as far as the land restitution process is concerned. The final interviewee has been an educator for many years.

As educators in their own right, the importance of informing younger generations of family histories was emphasised. Knowledge of these histories might have averted the identity crisis, observed by Ms Margaret Constant, amongst the classified coloured populace. Her reflection of the many visitors who seek research assistance from the Simon's Town Museum illuminates the scope of the identity crisis.

> "I work with research here at the Simon's Town Museum and uhm, do you know how many people come here to do research work on their grandparents? They are shocked when they find out certain things about their parents because they were never told certain things. People are starting to research their family backgrounds because they want to know. Especially if you coming from a town like Simon's Town where five

> thousand people were forcibly removed out. You see the whole picture of this whole drama unfolding because Simon's Town…it was a mixed breeding".[469]

Her emphasis on the forced removal of five thousand individuals from Simon's Town entrenches their diverse family histories in Simon's Town. In so doing, a sense of belonging is tied to Simon's Town as opposed to Ocean View, Retreat or Heathfield.

However, younger members of their families haven't shown too much enthusiasm towards their family heritage. Therefore, the educational, elder-youth dynamic that structured the interviews is noteworthy as it represented an opportunity for the interviewees to transmit cultural capital to a member of the youth.

> "I would definitely say underwhelming. I've been trying…I've followed up on the roots of our family. I've been trying to instil some form of excitement, you know, in my own family. And I have three boys and I have four grandchildren. And the only time they will talk to me about it is if school projects require it".[470]

Another interviewee concurred.

> "If we look back at us being young, we never listened to our grandparents' stories. And that is so important. If we did, we would have a much richer understanding of the early ancestry history of Simon's Town".[471]

Presently, the interviewees' invocation of diverse family histories forms part of a larger discussion currently underway in Simon's Town. These interviews were conducted roughly a year ago. On 14 June 2023, a participatory dialogue, titled "Museum Futures", was scheduled to be hosted by the Simon's Town Museum.[472] Notably, the first topic of discussion was listed as Simon's Town as a heritage landscape.[473] Yet, this explicit reference to family heritage is greater felt in the museums of Simon's Town than any other visited museum that dedicates an exhibition to the forced removals. These visits were made during the year, 2022. Whilst the District Six Museum paid homage to the many communities across Cape Town who were dispossessed of their homes and forcibly-removed by the Group Areas Act, the tributes were listed on banners that stood at the entrance of the museum. The rest of the museum's exhibition is linked to its namesake. Moreover, the Cape Muslim and Slave Heritage Museum provided the most culturally overwhelming experience. As indicated in its name, the museum dedicates a large part of the exhibition to the history and heritage of the Muslim and Cape Malay identity. This museum is significant in that its exhibition reveals how entrenched the Muslim and Cape

Malay identities are within the Cape. However, the exhibition on forced removals is largely dedicated to District Six too. The concern is that the metaphor of District Six runs the risk of portraying a totalised history of the legally-defined coloured identity that has its origins in District Six. The family histories of the Simonites counter this overpowering mental image.

# DISCUSSION

## Public History and Heritage

By way of the intersubjective political culture, the interview was structured as a political moment in which plural identities were either claimed, reproduced or transformed.[474] Revealed through a thematic analysis, family histories were invoked as a cultural framework that facilitated a narration of experience and a performance of oneself.[475] Namely, in the present political moment that constituted the intersubjective interview, the identity of the interviewees, which was externally imposed by the colonial and apartheid states, and legally-determined their social experiences during apartheid, was entrenched in their diverse heritage as opposed to the broad, non-racial yet multicultural heritage of the post-apartheid Rainbow Nation. This redefinition of citizenship identity is performed in the presence of an addressed interlocutor who simultaneously serves as an active listener.[476] It is thus evident that diverse heritage, through public history, is invoked to transform the criteria that prescribes the membership of the South African citizenry.[477] It is through the production of histories that communities and the public are constituted.[478] Albeit, the representation of the past is constituted through the cultural demands of the present.[479]

### Family histories: The revisionist argument

The interviewees' invocation of family histories is interpreted as an attempt to produce revisionist histories. Therefore, the Simonites should not be perceived as subalterns. Instead, they constitute an oppressed group, who as a collective, consolidate their power through their revision of the historical narrative to force their recognition by the state and scribers of the publicly-accepted history.[480] The post-apartheid rainbow identity silences the subjectivity of the interviewees. Thus, their invoked heritage, presented through their exhibited histories and culture in the aforementioned Simon's Town museums, counters the white and western narrative that is sustained in the neoliberal post-apartheid state and threatens to overrule their prerogative to make and produce their own histories.[481] According to Meskell, the cultural heritage of the rainbow identity might be tied to Africa. However, its neoliberal framework indicates that it remains a western construction.[482] This entails that the interviewees, legally and politically defined as coloured, remain historically marginalised based on their racial identity despite belonging to a cultural community that is constituted by discursively defined,

plural identities.[483] Therefore, the diversity of family histories is significant as it counters a national, Christian-based identity; a socially-embedded identity that caters for an African renaissance and white heritage; and a totalised racial history alluding to District Six as the birthplace from which the Coloured population was forcibly-removed and dispossessed.[484]

*A) A spiritual identity*

During the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Archbishop Desmond Tutu referred to the South African population as the "Rainbow Nation of God".[485] However, isolated museums, such as the Cape Muslim Heritage and Slave Museum, as well as the Amlay House, allude to the fact that a "Rainbow Nation of God', underpinned by a biblical verse (namely 2 Corinthians 5:18), does not reflect the interests of the culturally-marginalised. Nor does it provide a reflection of themselves as would be expected in an intersubjective encounter. Notably, the grassroots movements were excluded from the process by which a new national identity was created.[486]Similarly, the supposed unity of the Rainbow Nation, as based upon the spiritual concept of Ubuntu, is not observed in the post-apartheid context.[487]

*B) An identity divorced from the racial past*

Borrowed from the American context, and introduced during the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the myth of the Rainbow Nation was intended to serve unification, reconciliation and national pride in the new democratic dispensation.[488] The Rainbow Nation, in accordance with The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), was intended to signify a physical break from the historical past.[489] This linear movement through mutually exclusive stages is incongruent with the cyclical trauma that is triggered by apartheid legacies. The supporting history, produced by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and liberal government officials, exposed how the racial policies of the apartheid state facilitated heinous atrocities in order to signal a break with the oppressive past; entrust that oppressive past to history; and work towards racial reconciliation and peace in the post-apartheid present.[490]

Hence, the official national history of the past is teleological and thus turns a blind eye to cyclical apartheid legacies that continue to permeate the post-apartheid present. The invocation of "never again", intended to prevent the repetition of past mistakes, is unsuccessful in its aim as the national representation of the past is inherently exclusionary. Richards argues that if no challenge is posed towards the publicly-accepted history which has an inevitable influence on

identity, then the mistakes of the past will be subsequently repeated.[491] It must be noted that Richards is critiquing the marginalisation of indigenous ancestry in the history and culture of the nation. Central to the act of remembrance is an act of forgetting.[492] As the minority white oppressors remained in South Africa, racial reconciliation was sought between the white Afrikaner and the Black population.[493] Therefore, the compromise was made to include white heritage in a representation of the past that avoided a stir of any unsettled or uneasy feeling amongst the white population.[494]

As the representation of the past responded to an aspired tolerance of multiculturalism and desire for harmony in the present, Irina Turner significantly noted and critiqued the manner by which the Rainbow Nation invalidated ethical differences by drawing upon racial differences which it quashed in the present post-apartheid state.[495] However, by neglecting ongoing racial and class tensions in the present day, symbolic of the structural inequalities created by apartheid 'divide and conquer' policies observed in the apartheid state's system of indirect rule, the rainbow identity not only overlooks the nineteenth-century patriotic South Africanism which began the marginalisation of the black population.[496] And thereby turns a blind eye to the implicit marginalisation that is facilitated under the explicit banner of a supposedly united South Africa.[497] It also capitalises culture and thus demands an assimilation to an elite class which remains racially-defined.[498]

Madlingozi observes a divided South African populace according to race and class. The dominant society is composed of all white and few black elite families who subscribe to a capitalist, neoliberal state.[499] Contrastingly, the marginalised sector is constituted by the poorer black (inclusive) classes.[500] The relation between capitalism and the political culture of memory necessitates a Marxist Feminist analysis of memory by way of memory's relation to a "social division of labour".[501] Namely, the neoliberal political culture of national memory necessitates a Marxist Feminist theory arguing that the personal is material and therefore, political.[502]

History, heritage, memory

Family histories have the potential to subvert the dominance of Maurice Halbwachs' nineteenth-century thought in contemporary memory discourse. Heritage necessitates a deeper understanding of the storage site of memory; the relationship between history and memory; and the ambiguous notion that the individual is enmeshed within the social. Halbwachs asserts

that memory is socially acquired through an external group context as opposed to located in the unconscious of the individual.[503] Therefore, Halbwachs posits that the ability to recall and the memory is prescribed by the group context.[504] This entails that an individual who might not have experienced the event nonetheless possesses the prerogative to claim the socially-acquired memory as their own.[505] Thus, the group context enables the preservation of memory as an idealised mental image.[506] Hence, Halbwachs' collective memory denotes a pluralised individually-recalled memory that is constructed through public symbolisms, public narratives, public preservation and a publicised transmission to younger generations.[507] Official national memory of the historical past can thus be argued to resemble Halbwachs' collective memory.

*A) The incongruence of Halbwach's 'collective memory'*

However, Halbwachs' collective memory is incongruent with the revelations of the interviewees, on two accounts. Firstly, Halbwachs overlooks Freud's account of childhood memories stored in the unconscious.[508] However, Field argues that early-childhood provides the traces of memory that constantly reappear to inform a remembered, and thus, silenced past.[509] The interviewees' narrated memories of their childhood and adolescent experiences of the forced removals were guided by their family histories. Contrary to Halbwachs, the interviewees' presentation of their heritage concurred with the observations of Witz, Minkool and Rassool.[510] Namely, history and culture are the carriers of heritage.[511]

*B) The relationship between history, culture, heritage and public memory*

The interviewees' questioned Halbwachs' denied congruence between history and private memory.[512] Instead, they asserted that heritage (and thus history) should be constitutive of public memory. This would enable them to make political claims pertaining citizenship and governance.[513] As culture is capitalised as race in a post-apartheid context, an epistemic violence on race involves an introduction of diverse heritage and re-envisioned humanity to the public sphere.

*C) Conceptualising heritage as a teleological history*

Hegel's teleological philosophy of history that replaces culture once the latter appears anachronistic for its further development, is relevant.[514] Similarly, Marx's teleological history illuminates the processes by which the internal forces of history reach a deadlock that

necessitates a shift in power relations. Namely, the tension between culture (as a material productive force that is transmitted across generations) and the existing societal relations of production (expected to emulate the power relations of the transferred culture, yet privileges a culture of race), necessitates an ideological shift.[515] To reiterate, as a socio-cultural worldview, culture is an ideology. These changing cultures concurs with varying patterns of the past that are invoked to respond to the uncertainty and fragility of the present.[516] History serves a particular identity at a particular time and in a particular space. However, the national memory of the past fixates the identity, heritage and history of the post-apartheid subject.[517] A fluidity of these categories could arguably be captured by a teleological notion of historical development and a shifting cultural form.

Admittedly, an argument in favour of teleological history might be risky should one take into consideration the manipulated uses of the 'never again' slogan. The modernist invocation of 'never again', as evinced in the final report of the TRC, inundates the present with the future.[518] This is encapsulated by Halbwach's notion that memory of the historical past is a vision for the future.[519] Modernism presents an idealised image of the past that was lost and is hoped to be regained in the future.[520] The hope of wholly restoring the 'good old times' in Simon's Town, as it existed prior to the forced removals, simultaneously drives the nostalgia for an idealised past and provides the impetus to work towards realising the idealised future.[521] Nostalgia drives the assertion that the past belongs in the present.[522]

> "We used to swim there. It was a small cove…You know, people would come here on a Friday afternoon *(to Simon's Town)* after work. Now after work and after school, it's already here by two o'clock. They get on a train. They come to Simon's Town. Stay by their families and friends and wherever. Monday morning, two-three-four o'clock, they are on a train back. Then they are on their way home. Back to town. That used to be Simon's Town. It used to be alive. People used to have functions, parties, whatever. Simon's Town. And there was no crime. There was nothing here *(with reference to crime).* Those trains were moving twenty-four hours".[523]

The same interviewee called upon the community of Simon's Town, as it existed prior to the forced removals, to host weekly gatherings that would simultaneously serve as reminder of the 'good old days' and facilitate a mobilisation to tender for property.[524] Therefore, the 'good old days' is integral to the process of claiming compensation and land restitution. The 'good old days' invokes the loss of an idealised past that is hoped to be wholly restored in the future.[525]

Pires notes that Hegel's teleological, fatalistic and speculative philosophy of history displays a logical historical progression within an idealised system that privileges the abstract.[526]As a myth, the 'good old days' ensures that the present is dominated by the authority of the past with the hope that the future would develop into a reflection of the past.[527]

Contrastingly, a postmodernist view notes how the present is inundated with the past, as the past is invoked to meet present needs.[528] In order to prevent cyclical reoccurrence, collective responsibility for past atrocities is claimed.[529] Collectively, the mistakes of the past are learnt in order to prevent its repetition in the present. This was iterated in the final report of the TRC. As a collective society,

> "we also need to know about the past so that we can renew our resolve and commitment that never again will such violations take place".[530]

Notably, Mr Kindo shared similar sentiments in his invocation of 'never again'.

> "Everyone wants to goes post-,post-,post. But I personally believe, how do you move forward if you don't know what mistakes you've made in the past. You know. And uhm, to me if I am going to move forward, I want to make sure I do it in a..a…a very objective manner. In a manner that is not going to make the same mistakes again".[531]

*D) The relation between public and private memory*

Significantly, Huyssen argues that a modernist view preoccupied with time and a postmodernist view concerned with space can intersect through a historical analysis that explores the relationship between time and space.[532] As aforementioned, the interviewees illustrated that private memory can infiltrate collective memory through a recognition of patterns of the past that meet present needs. Therefore, Huyssen's invoked historical analysis notes the outcome of a negotiation between an idealised past and a rationality of the present in a particular space at a particular time.[533] This negotiation constitutes public history.[534] The particular context denotes a poststructuralist analysis that historically traces the shifts in meaning of space and time. These shifts in meaning are reflective of the changing human perceptions and experiences of space and time.[535] This poststructuralist analysis of meaning in a particular context, along with public history, allows one to note how the re-presentation of the past, through a cultural framework of family histories, redefines national collective memory, national identity and the membership criteria for citizenship.

*E) Opposing the metaphor of District Six*

The interviewees' heritage claims and narrated experiences of the Simon's Town apartheid forced removals illustrates the power of particularised memories to undermine an overshadowing totalised screen memory.[536] Namely, the totalised racial history which depicts District Six as the birthplace from which the legally-defined coloured populace were forciblyremoved and dispossessed.[537] This totalised memory garnered and maintained its power through the commodification of coloured heritage (located in the time and space of District Six) as a source of entertainment.[538] The mental image of District Six as the source of coloured heritage provides an example of Andreas Huyssen's "original remakes".[539]

Huyssen's problematisation of memory culture critiques the reliance on supposed stable, conservative cultural traditions when faced with the uncertainty and fragility of the present.[540] However, these cultural traditions are adopted without the realisation that its presentation is influenced by modernisation.[541] These "original remakes" of the past (inclusive of cultural traditions) are thus often adopted with changes to their forms.[542] However, Huyssen's argument cannot be wholly supplanted on the South African context. Huyssen's argument is located in the contemporary culture of memory that permeates the West.[543] Namely, traditional and communal values (as denoted by *gemeinschaft*) located in a sub-Saharan African context are pervaded by the protection of self-interests that mark a western-prescribed society (i.e. *gesallschaft*).[544]

The stability offered by the myth of District Six as the heritage of the classified coloured populace inadvertently creates a hierarchy of suffering amongst the entire group who are shaped by their own experience and histories of forced removals in the Cape. This is significant as myths inform the identity of a social group whilst personal memories inform the identity of an individual.[545] Field (2008) and Gqola argue that discursive, mythical identities are historicised only to the extent that they remain unattained aspirations.[546] However, Gqola alludes to the inauthenticity of a discursive identity.[547] This inauthenticity cannot be concurred with. One scrutinises the denial of authenticity to the subjective position. Furthermore, Richards argues that facts, supposedly verifiable and authentic, are mere viewpoints too.[548]

Therefore, Field's argument that varying historical experiences produce different historical subject positions, is lauded.[549] As noted by an interviewee,

> "People need to know, it's not only District Six. It's also Simon's Town who has the same kind of trauma that happened between the 60s and 70s. Even those who live here, have no idea of the history".[550]

A *GroundUp* newspaper article, dated 28 July 2014, and titled "Redhill's ruins: Cape Town's forgotten District Six" invokes the forced removal history of District Six to draw attention to the forced removals that transpired in Redhill, Simon's Town.[551] It uses the screen memory of a well-known history to invite an audience to a lesser-known history of an area in Cape Town that nonetheless has large tourist appeal for its beaches, beautiful scenery, the South African Navy and Jubilee Square. Notably, one of the interviewed contributors to the article is Ms Constant who willingly participated as an interviewee in this paper too. In the article, she commented,

> "District Six gets so much attention and people easily forget that we also lost a lot. The only difference is that those people were scattered and we were [mostly] moved to one place".[552]

Significantly, Ms Constant reiterates her second comment in the interview that informed this paper.

> "The one request they (*referring to the Simon's Town Council*) had was according to…to…the paperwork, is that they wanted the Simon's Town people all to go into one town. Because with District Six, the people got scattered".[553]

The repetition emphasises that the move to Ocean View largely maintained the classified coloured community that existed in Simon's Town prior to the forced removal. Indeed, Ms Constant and her family had new classified coloured neighbours emanating from the surrounding areas of Simon's Town.[554] Not to mention that the initial forced removals in Redhill relocated some families to Retreat and Heathfield.[555] However, the sites of relocation were not nearly as scattered as was established for the dispossessed District Six community. The argument is premised on the fact that cultural communities and their histories vary. If District Six is lauded as the idealised past which serves as the classified coloured population's vision for the future, then the future of Simon's Town will be incompatible with the 'good old days' observed in Simon's Town prior to the removals. This would constitute an additional dispossession.

There are a few keynotes from the above problematisation of the District Six metaphor. The discursivity of heritage discourse is emphasised.[556] The resort to public history is useful as it illuminates equal histories as opposed to one racial history.[557] The public history of Simon's Town redefines the publicly-acceptable production of history that marginalised the Simonites' heritage.[558] As museums create a public, a marginalised community has the power to effect shifting relations between itself and a museum through issuing a demand to be addressed.[559] Through heritage claims, the interviewees' displayed their power to redefine that which is publicly-acceptable and demanded to be addressed by institutions entrusted with the power to produce history.

The relationship between heritage and citizenship

Witz, Minkool and Rassool (2007) argue that heritage can be invoked to redefine the membership criteria for "citizenship and governance".[560] As private memory constitutes history, heritage claims are vested with the power to transform governance and citizenship if it demands to be addressed through an intersubjective dialogue about memory.[561] As evinced by Ms Constant, a cultural struggle ensues regarding the post-apartheid government's distribution of resources and provision of services. Ms Constant elaborates an instance by which the residents of Ocean View felt to constitute "a forgotten town".[562]

> "We always called Ocean View the forgotten town. Because…you know…there was quite a few years back when President Obama – that's' why I don't like him at all – but there was a few years back when he came to visit Masiphumelele. And, Ocean View is five minutes down the run. And they never made the effort for him to even go visit the town that existed because of apartheid. Masi was created because people came from the Eastern Cape to live there and put shacks up before it became what it is. But here, we…we…we living down the road and nobody is interested. You get all these foreigners coming here and donating and doing things but Ocean View is five minutes away from it… And people is not interested in Ocean View. This is why Ocean View has become such a violent town now where there is so much shooting [and] so much drugs happening there because it feels as though everyone has forgotten about our town".[563]

In the above extract, the term "forgotten town" and the lack of interest shown towards Ocean

View, is repeated. Ms Constant's comparison between Ocean View and Masiphumelele is insightful. Ocean View, previously known as Slangkop, was purposefully established by the apartheid state to house the classified coloured populace from Simon's Town.[564]

Masiphumelele, originally known as "Site 5", was first established as an informal settlement during the 1980s, by roughly five hundred black African individuals.[565] However, the residents were driven away by force and instructed to reside in Khayelitsha.[566] In the early 1990s, the township was re-established by workers emanating from the Eastern Cape.[567] The frustration shared by Ms Constant relates to the post-apartheid government's provision of resources, services and redress. The rhetoric of the Rainbow Nation promised that equality would be observed in the redistribution of resources.[568] Therefore, the post-apartheid state was entrusted with the responsibility to equally provide for the needs of the citizens.[569] However, IsaacsMartin notes that the racial competition for resources, observed in a post-apartheid state that remains permeated with the apartheid legacy of structural inequalities, will inevitably be a response to state marginalisation.[570] The cessation of race, signified by 'post' in the term 'postapartheid', has not prevailed.[571] Besides racial redress, the instruction to racially categorise oneself on a state-ordered census or job application form, in a post-apartheid state, juxtaposes the non-racialism which underpins the state-imposed rainbow identity. There are four possible reasons capable of explicating the retention of race in a post-apartheid context.

*A) The legacy of racial identification that continues to permeate a post-apartheid context*

Erasmus notes that pure races are engendered through the process of racial redress.[572] Classified coloured residents of informal settlements claim that race limits their access to job opportunities, quality education and adequate housing.[573] As the state failed to provide for the needs of the Ocean View community, criminal activities have flourished.[574] Ocean View is but one of many areas in Cape Town, previously established by the apartheid state for the classified coloured populace, that remains inhabited by the forcibly-removed.[575] As of May 2023, 375 150 individuals are registered on the City of Cape Town's housing waiting list.[576]

Ms Constant problematizes the City of Cape Town's Dido Valley Housing Project which allegedly neglects the forcibly-removed coloured populace of Simon's Town.[577] Namely, the forcibly-removed community of Redhill.[578]

> "We have something called the Red Hill settlement which is now people that moved from the Eastern Cape and made their home there. Now, you ask the question for

> yourself: people were thrown off this land during apartheid but now they go and they build houses on for people in a settlement (*referring to the residents of the Red Hill informal settlement that are beneficiaries of the Dido Valley Housing Project*) but coloured people that lived all their life before the forced removals were thrown off that land and now they building houses for another settlement. And then in that part, the people of Luyolo was also very angry because uhm, a few people of them were -after the whole fight – few people were put on the list for housing there. But, the people of Dido Valley that stayed there wasn't even partly involved of getting housing there. It's like all people that doesn't even … weren't even from Simon's Town, is getting housing".[579]

The R170 million Dido Valley Housing Project is said to benefit six-hundred individuals and their families.[580] However, the beneficiaries only include 100 black African claimants from Gugulethu, who were forcibly-removed from Luyolo in the late 1960s.[581] Most of the remaining beneficiaries are residents of the Red Hill Informal Settlement.[582] These residents are alleged by Ms Constant, to emanate from the Eastern Cape. Ms Constant further emphasises that those forcibly-removed from Dido Valley during apartheid are not on the list of beneficiaries. Nor are the classified coloured families who were forcibly-removed from Red Hill. The referenced "fight" amongst the former Luyolo residents, by which most of the forcibly-removed were excluded from the waiting list, is further elaborated in an *EWN* report. Ntuthuzelo Nene quotes that only 100 of the 742 Luyolo claimants received the houses as the remainder accepted financial compensation.[583] The cited information published in newspaper articles supports Ms Constant's statement that the provision of state-subsidised housing in Simon's Town, as a form of redress, neglects the forcibly-removed coloured populace. However, the process of lodging a claim for land restitution proved challenging too. Ms Constant notes,

> "You know, my mom put in for land restitution *(she lodged her claim in 1996)* in the thing and my mom will be 86 this year. You know when they came…when the land claim people came, they told my mom she had to have five people before they would look into it… maybe five years back, she got her money. And she didn't have a choice now because where is she going to find five people now to fight back for land restitution… most of the people died".[584]

Her mother's lengthy battle for land restitution and her eventual acceptance of financial compensation denotes the exhausting process to regain land or be granted a home in Simon's Town. An anonymous interviewee described the unprofessionalism of officials who are entrusted with overseeing the process of land restitution.

> "It was a battle for eleven years…the government kept on losing documents. They kept on losing documents and the process had to restart again. And then the fight, the hardship, the trauma of them losing documents each time and you can't get that land back".[585]

Thus, the building frustration shared by Ms Constant about government's selective provision of housing, which she agreed is "racially marked", is understood to be fuelled through the challenges which the former classified coloured populace of Red Hill experience through a process of land restitution.[586] Notably, the racial tension is a far cry from the non-racialism which Ms Constant observed in Simon's Town prior to the forced removals.[587] Hence, it is arguably true that a "totalised colouredness", depicting the legal coloured identity as a pure race and single cultural community, will be showcased in response to marginalisation.[588] Notably, at a time when unity is most needed. The political power of the legally-defined coloured populace, as the deciding vote in the Western Cape since 1994, intersects with the singularly-defined coloured populace at elections.[589]

*B) Marginalisation*

Argued by Butler and Spivak (2010), marginalisation forms a core process in the unification of a state, as imposed and administered by a juridical state.[590] It is not a given that a state and a nation-state are unanimous.[591] However, the national rhetoric propagated by the liberal ANC government unites the nation through a singular rainbow identity. Even if pluralism, such as multiculturalism, underpins the Rainbow Nation, the rainbow identity will always be perceived homogenously.[592] Regardless of whether this homogeneity is sought in an alternative manner.[593] In addition, the ANC post-apartheid state and the rainbow identity are linked through the state's agenda of non-racialism.[594] Namely, the nation-state is founded upon a homogenous singular nation that would best legitimise the state.[595]

Therefore, the post-apartheid state has the juridical power to define citizenship and impose a state of non-belonging upon the marginalised.[596] The former classified coloured population of

Simon's Town constitute a marginalised group. They are neither "stateless" nor "depoliticized".[597] Even though the state of 'non-belonging' is effected through a transpiring struggle between the juridical state and the mental or physical state of being, the juridical state is not the sole entity responsible for propagating and upholding the social position of the marginalised.[598] Rather, the juridical state exists in a complex of power.[599] Thus, social relationships and material inequalities are also responsible for entrenching the social position of the marginalised.[600] It is through this complex of power that the marginalised are contained but not depoliticised.[601]

*C) Problematising liberalism*

As observed by an interviewee, Cape Town is marked by an inverted relationship between freedom and marginalisation.[602] Marginalisation and the prohibition of exercising freedom is central to the liberal concept of 'freedom'.[603] A problematisation of liberalism explicates this relationship.

> "Who benefitted from apartheid? The liberals. The liberals. Not the nationalists, not the *boere* (the Afrikaans farmers). The liberals benefitted because the liberals – they got our houses. Now why didn't you give the house back to the person that lived here? Or why don't you sell it to these people for next to nothing? No. Because you benefitted and you got the best of schooling. You had the best of jobs. The best of everything because of apartheid. That is how the liberals moved forward in life. And today, they are the ones, not the *boere (*Afrikaans farmers*)*, telling us to move one".[604]

The interviewee emphasises that racial liberalism prevents the liberation of the black (inclusive) population.[605] According to CW Mills, white liberalism constitutes a racial liberalism that only recognises total humanity and personhood in the white populace.[606] Thus, racial liberalism upholds racially-marked justice and guarantee of rights.[607] Hence, whilst all are considered individuals, one's race determines the extent to which one is recognised and treated as a human being.[608]

The origins of liberalism are not located in the liberation struggle.[609] Instead, it is a Eurocentric ideology that was introduced to South Africa by the British colonial settlers.[610] Therefore, liberalism inherently supports the colonial project and British settler society as opposed to the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle.[611] Instead, its origins underscore the racism and racial segregation that it permeates.[612] Therefore, Steve Biko critiques the intention of the white

liberal.[613] A similar complaint is lodged by the interviewee. According to Biko, white liberals, perceived as the Democratic Alliance in Cape Town, separated themselves from the white complex of power.[614] However, white liberals enjoy white privilege too.[615] The interviewee highlights the residence of white liberals along the Southern Peninsula coast.[616] Argued by Stokely Carmichael, white liberals who have assumed the role of mediators are known to prevent any confrontation between white conservatives and black radicals.[617] This aversion of confrontation maintains peace and white privilege.[618] The transitional compromise made by the liberal ANC government, to prevent an unsettled feeling amongst the white population, illustrates the maintained social position of white liberals.[619]

# CONCLUSION

This paper presented a poststructuralist critique of the post-apartheid culture of race. The Simonites' production of a living, inclusive and diversified archive disrupts the colonial and apartheid power relations that threaten to extend its dominance into the near future. It is therefore an attempt to reverse the western-imposed consciousness. Provided below, are key arguments posited throughout the paper. Memory, as a medium of subjectivity, is invoked to effect social change.

A cultural shift subverts dominant power-relations

Culture is understood to be a socio-cultural worldview. However, cultural shifts are observed should the existing power-relations be challenged. Namely, as a material productive force that informs socio-cultural interactions through socially-prescribed power relations, imposed power relations can be challenged to the extent that culture is acquired from a surrounding environment that is likely to change. Therefore, a subversion of the capitalised, political culture of race involves an ideological shift. Through a transformation of social consciousness, social change is realised.

Thus, a culture of identification that prioritises non-European indigeneity evidently disrupts the colonial and apartheid configuration of power relations that has dominated the past, present and hopefully, not the future. Indigeneity, as prioritised in historical production and identityconstitution, re-envisions Richards' "fully integrated, non-racial" future.[620]

A discursive definition of coloured identity

Therefore, coloured identity is discursively defined. Whilst Richards' acknowledgement of the three cultural strands that inform the coloured identity is useful, Salo's consideration of the spatial history of coloured identity cannot be overlooked.[621] However, consideration is taken to oppose a shame-laden identity that continues to vilify, other or render the classified coloured population as an ambiguous group. Whilst a history of miscegenation is acknowledged, there is no need to prolong an internalised shame that is externally-imposed through a discourse of race or ethnicity. Instead, difference is celebrated. Through a celebration of difference, histories and non-European subjectivities are reclaimed.

Engaging memory

Subsequently, herein, is a textualised oral history that engages the Simonites' memory of the apartheid forced removals. It is a conversation about the culture of race that continues to permeate their post-apartheid lives. Immersed in ancestrally-diverse family histories, the call for transformation is sounded. Favoured for its transformative ontology and creativity, a personal interview that is structured by an elder-youth power dynamic, significantly provides an alternative spatiality through which one's consciousness is revolutionised. Moreover, an inclusive, living and diversified archive provides an amalgamation of recognition and redistributive justice.

Problematisation of the Rainbow Nation

Despite constituting an oppressed group, the Simonites remain a politicized group that has access to revisionist histories. Their historical agency provides the will to embark upon a recognition justice. It challenges the Eurocentric, liberal power relations that silence their subjectivity.

Their political subjective claims problematize the Rainbow Nation in many respects. Firstly, the Rainbow Nation is incongruent with the cyclical trauma of spatial apartheid. It posits a teleological history that suggests that the liberation struggle was the source of the liberal ideology that defines the culture of the post-apartheid democratic dispensation. However, liberalism is argued to be a western construction. In a similar vein, the interviewees invoke a teleological history in their cultural struggle that challenges a culturally-marginalising national and citizenship identity. It emphasises and celebrates difference.

It is significant that the rainbow identity and Mr Kindo invoke the slogan, 'never again'. Even though the national representation of the past is exclusionary, Mr Kindo's observation about attitude is particularly relevant.[622]

> "So coming back to your question, in terms of politics: At that time we were fighting apartheid and yes, I was very active. But now with our new government now, I am tending to quieten down because I realised now that it's not a matter of colour. It's a matter of attitude."[623]

As long as politics reflects a culture of race, the Ubuntu aspiration of the rainbow identity will not be realised. Therefore, a revisionist argument ensures that the exclusions of the publiclyaccepted representation of the past is rectified.

Reclaimed histories through a heritage framework

The significance of reclaimed histories is plentiful. The generation of new social subjectivities, particularly creolised, launches an epistemic violence on the culture of race. This is observed through the prioritisation of subjective truth. Yet, subjectivity is a political statement to the extent that it is not intimidated by the dominant political culture. In fact, it redefines the relationship between one's material realities and socially-acquired consciousness. The Simonites have invoked heritage as political subjective claims that seek to transform citizenship identity and demand an improved quality of governance. As a microcosm of the many towns in the Southern Cape Peninsula, the heritage landscape of Simon's Town enriches the larger history of the region. The paper alluded to a specific instance whereby the allohistory of District Six imposed a historical narrative that all experiences of the apartheid forced removals are alike. The Simonites' memory of the forced removals pierces that illusion. Notably, this is achieved through oral tradition. Namely, the transmission and intrinsic production of cultural capital through an educational setting that is structured by an elder-youth power dynamic.

The significance of a heritage claim is that it ties history to memory. It posits an argument that subjective memory qualifies as history and should thus be incorporated in the national representation of the past. It is through an address of subjective interests that social change is possible. Social change requires transformed power relations. These shifted power relations demand a re-envisioned humanity. The political subjective claims of the Simonites provide that reimagined humanity.

Furthermore, the paper critiqued existing oral literature on the basis that it abandons a relation between physical and intellectual space. The intellectual space presents an idealised past that responds to the present needs encapsulated by the physical space. Therefore, heritage claims reveal the negotiation between the physical and the intellectual space. Thus, a poststructuralist critique of race is informative as it traces the shifts in meaning according to context.

Opposing the totalising memory of District Six

The paper problematises the totalised screen memory of District Six as it produces a racial history and creates a racialised public. A racialised history effects a racialised redistribution of resources. However, the Dido Valley Housing Project illuminates the Simonites' concern pertaining racial land redress. The culturally-marginalised communities of Simon's Town, forcibly-removed from their homes during apartheid, are excluded from land redress.

The significance of youth lobbying

Contrary to Butler's "stateless" group, the politicization of the interviewees are evident through their heritage claims, made during an intersubjective encounter marked by an elder-youth power dynamic.[624] These claims undermine the legitimacy of the existing rainbow identity. It has not produced the equal redistribution of resources. In fact, Ms Constant alludes to the power that is displayed by the youth of Ocean View who are demanding their families' return to Simon's Town. With reference to the Dido Valley Housing Project,

> "There was a whole article about this whole fight with the young people asking for answers from the City. Asking of: Why is it that other people are getting land on land that people were forcibly removed off?"[625]

As argued by Isaacs-Martin, that which is at stake through such political claims is the obligation of the state to provide for the needs of the citizens.[626] Therefore, through a display of political subjectivity in response to material inequalities, the interviewees have transformed the criteria for citizenship and the quality of governance. The historical knowledge produced through the narrated memory of the historical past envisions and creates a potential future.[627] If the youth constitutes the future, the elder-youth power dynamic that structured the interviews is highly significant. The interviewees hope to have an idealised, pre-removal past restored in the future. Upon return, claimants have felt disappointed that Simon's Town has not remained the same.[628] However, the forced-removals to Retreat, Heathfield and particularly Ocean View stripped the interviewees', their families and their descendants of the life which Simon's Town could have offered them. Not to mention their way of life that is integral to their identity and solidarity in a cultural community.

To conclude, the paper found that a particular memory of the past, framed to meet a present cultural demand, has the potential to overcome a culturally-marginalised social position. Due to constraints, this paper was unable to engage with gendered memories, the pivotal role of

Islamism in the history of Cape Town and the centrality of slave memory to the constitution of subjectivity amongst the classified-coloured population of South Africa. Furthermore, this paper grounded the narratives of the interviewees' in existing literature which largely posited western epistemologies and theories. Indeed, as knowledge traverses different spaces, its accorded meanings vary according to context. However, this paper falls short of challenging the dominance of teleological history as a conceptual lens due to the interviewees'narration performed through that perceived framework. These neglected aspects are recommended for further research.

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